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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

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THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Spring 1956



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THE COVER

The Edward H. Funston home, about five miles north of Iola on US-59, will soon be opened as a state museum under the administration of the Kansas State Historical Society. The property was long owned by the family of E. H. Funston, a member of congress from Kansas, 1884-1894. It was the boyhood home of Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston, hero of the Philippine insurrection, and a top-ranking officer of the United States army in the early 1900's. The historic home was generously donated to the State of Kansas in 1955 by members of the Funston family through Mrs. Ella Funston Eckdall of Emporia, a sister of the general. (See pp. 78-86.)

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXII

Spring, 1956

Number 1

The Connecticut Kansas Colony

LETTERS OF CHARLES B. LINES TO THE NEW HAVEN (CONN.)
DAILY PALLADIUM

Compiled and Edited by ALBERTA PANTLE

I. INTRODUCTION

Notice is hereby given that a company is being formed for the purpose of emigrating to Kansas. Those, therefore, who desire to aid in establishing the Institutions of New England, and to secure for themselves and their families a good home in that delightful country, are requested to communicate with the subscriber as early as practicable. Men of all professions, and especially farmers are needed, but only such as will be able to contribute in some substantial manner to the building up of a flourishing community.

New Haven

C. B. Lines

Feb. 18, 1856.

No. 90 State Street.

THE above item in the New Haven (Conn.) *Daily Palladium* was the first public notice of one of the most famous Kansas immigrant companies, the "Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony." How it got this name, how it was organized, how it traveled to Kansas, and how it settled there, are described in the letters which follow.

The C. B. Lines who signed the notice was Charles Burrill Lines,¹ the writer of the letters. He had announced, at a public meeting the night before, that he would organize a colony. The struggle between free and slave-state factions in the new territory of Kansas

ALBERTA PANTLE is acting librarian of the Kansas State Historical Society.

1. Charles Burrill Lines was born at New Haven, Conn., March 12, 1807, the son of C. B. and Laura (Frost) Lines and died at Wabaunsee, Kan., March 31, 1899. He was a cabinetmaker and undertaker in New Haven before coming to Kansas. He had been on the board of selectmen for the town of New Haven for five years and had served in the Connecticut legislature in 1853. After coming to Kansas he took a prominent part in public affairs, serving as a member of the last territorial legislature in 1861; receiver of the United States land offices at Leocompton and Topeka from March, 1861, to April, 1865, and from January, 1875, to April, 1877; state pension agent from October, 1865, to September, 1874; regent of the University of Kansas from 1864 to 1874. He was one of the founders of the Kansas State Horticultural Society and an active horticulturist during his entire life.

Mr. Lines was married on January 19, 1829, at New Haven, to Maria Wooden. They had nine children, two of whom died in infancy. The other children were: Elford J., married Louisa M. Smith, died in October, 1869; Edward C. D., married Grace Thomas, died in the Civil War; Ellsworth, died at Wabaunsee, October 7, 1861; Libbie, married J. P. Evans who came from Connecticut after the colony was founded; Cornelia, married S. M. Thomas, a member of the colony, died June 11, 1879; Harriett, married Isaac H. Isbell, who was one of the children who came to Wabaunsee with the colony, died May 1, 1933; Lulu, married George S. Burt, died November 29, 1927.—Mss. in Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

was already a matter of concern to all New Englanders. In the fall of 1855, Eli Thayer and Samuel Clarke Pomeroy of the New England Aid Company had spoken at a series of meetings in New Haven. They and other prominent antislavery men had done much to arouse the people of the community. Many felt, as Lines did, that "if Kansas was saved, it must be by friends of freedom moving there to live in sufficient numbers to outvote the slave propagandists."²

Following Lines' announcement, meetings were held in Hartford, Meriden, Middletown, and other nearby towns. Within a short time 85 persons had signified their intention of joining the colony.

On March 7 a meeting was held in New Haven at which a "constitution or plan of agreement" was drafted and officers elected. Lines was made president; the other officers were Thomas C. P. Hyde, secretary; Walter Webb, treasurer; and Harry S. Hall, H. A. Wilcox,³ E. M. Woodford, J. P. Root, Benj. Street, and John J. Walter, directors.

At this meeting "Inquiries were had, in regard to the occupation, age & gifts of the members. It appeared that of those present a large proportion were mechanics with a considerable number of farmers, there were also professional men, surveyors, Teachers & merchants many of the number being professors of religion, and all range in their ages from 14 to 56."⁴

Definite plans regarding the buying of seeds, time of departure, tickets and freight arrangements were discussed at a meeting on March 11. March 26 was set as the tentative date of departure. It was learned that six wives expected to go along. A committee was appointed to explore certain portions of Kansas territory and select a suitable location for the settlement.⁵ It was voted "that the Directors make arrangements for a supply of provisions for two months." The following articles were approved: flour, beans, pork, meal, potatoes, smoked beef, rice, dried apples, smoked ham, crackers. It was also voted that the directors "provide a supply of Tent cloth,

2. See "Address by Hon. C. B. Lines," in *The Kansas Memorial, A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting Held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15th and 16th, 1879*, edited by Charles S. Gleed (Kansas City, Mo., 1880), p. 122.

3. H. A. Wilcox, a physician from Rhode Island, had come to Kansas in October, 1854, with the Fourth Emigrant Aid Party. He was a founder of Canton which was included in the organization of Manhattan in 1855.—See "The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854," by Louise Barry, in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 12 (May, 1943), p. 145.

4. "Minutes of the Connecticut Kansas Colony," March 7, 1856.—Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society. Hereafter referred to as "Minutes."

5. This committee was commonly referred to as the "pioneer" committee. Members chosen at this time were: H. A. Wilcox, H. S. Hall, J. J. Walter, and Walter Webb, but there are conflicting accounts as to the men who actually came to Kansas with this group. Amos A. Cottrell and Harvey D. Rice were members of the pioneer committee while H. S. Hall seems to have come with the main group.

and such other articles as may seem necessary.”⁶ Wagons, they concluded, could best be bought at St. Louis and teams near the Missouri line.

On the following Thursday evening a meeting was held in North Church for the purpose of providing the colonists with arms. The church was filled. Many clergymen were in the audience, together with a large representation of the faculty of Yale.

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher opened the meeting with an eloquent antislavery address. Lines spoke briefly on the necessity of providing sufficient arms for *personal defense*. Prof. Benjamin Silliman of Yale then rose and headed the subscription with the donation of a Sharps rifle.⁷ Others followed. Beecher promised that if 25 rifles were given at this meeting 25 more would be given by his Plymouth church in Brooklyn. In all, not counting Beecher's pledge, 27 weapons were subscribed. Within a week the promised rifles came from Brooklyn, together with 25 Bibles, the gift of a member of the same church. The incident gave the name “Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony” to the company and the name “Beecher Bible” to the Sharps rifle.

This meeting caused widespread comment in the press, criticism of the clergy for condoning the gift of weapons of warfare, and concern among Yale students, many of whom were from Southern states. Little or no criticism was aimed at the company, for it was recognized that any group then going into Kansas territory must be armed.

On the evening of March 31, a farewell meeting was held in New Haven. Every seat in the hall was taken and hundreds of persons were turned away. Speeches were made by prominent citizens and Lines gave a farewell address. “The Western Colonist's Song” dedicated to the colony by the Rev. H. Bingham, was sung. The New York *Tribune*, reporting the meeting, described the emigrants as follows:

A nobler looking body of men were never seen than our New-Haven Colony. They are mostly large, athletic men, with strong hands and strong

6. “Minutes,” March 11, 1856.

7. It has been estimated that arms costing more than \$50,000 were given to Free-State settlers in Kansas in 1855 and 1856 by Eastern aid societies and individuals. A large proportion were Sharps rifles manufactured by the Sharps Rifle Manufacturing Company, at Hartford, Conn. “This breech-loading rifle was a new invention and extremely effective; in comparison, the Missourian was poorly armed, carrying either a squirrel-rifle, a heavy buffalo-gun, or a clumsy army musket.” Sharps rifles became a byword for dispute and contention but they were, nevertheless, a decisive factor in the defeat of the Proslaverymen. —“The Sharps Rifle Episode in Kansas History,” by W. H. Isley, in *The American Historical Review*, Lancaster, Pa., v. 12 (April, 1907), pp. 546-566. In 1883 Sherman A. Baldwin, a member of the colony, gave the Sharps rifle he had brought to Kansas to the Kansas State Historical Society. It is now in the museum of the Society. The Beecher Bible belonging to the Mitchell family was given to Washburn University by Mrs. William Mitchell, Jr., many years ago.

hearts, and some of them are the flower of this, the metropolis of Connecticut Yankeeedom. Among the colony are two ex-members of the Legislature, one clergyman, one physician, one or two theological students; and quite a number of the members of the Colony have their diplomas from Old Yale. In point of education, talent and ability, the Colony stands unrivaled, and may well challenge competition.⁸

At ten o'clock that night the colony left the hall to take the boat for New York. They were preceded by a band and accompanied by the Elm City Guards, the Croton Engine Company No. 1, and four hundred friends. Buildings along the way were illuminated, and people assembled on balconies and in windows to cheer the procession and bid adieu. As the boat left the wharf, cheers were given for the New Haven colony and for the "Free State of Kansas."

II. THE LETTERS, APRIL 7-MAY 22, 1856⁹

MISSOURI RIVER, April 7, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We arrived in St. Louis on Friday morning, after a tedious journey of four nights and three days, with no opportunity for a change of clothing, and no sleep except what is afforded in the jostle of a railroad car. Near Buffalo we passed through snow banks higher than the tops of the cars; but by the power of steam we soon reached the region of spring, and saw the farmers at their plough. The country through which we passed from Cleveland to Terre Haute, is certainly not very inviting, but the town of Terre Haute itself is a fine locality, and it must become a place of considerable importance. At this point we changed cars, and running nearly at right angles, proceeded to Vincennes. Arrived there in the dusk of the evening. Again changing cars, we pushed on slowly through the night to St. Louis. The shifting of baggage upon these different routes is a serious inconvenience and damage to passengers. Pains seems to be taken by the men who handle it, to tumble it about with as much violence as possible, by means of which several strong trunks were broken in pieces, carpet bags torn asunder, and many valuable articles utterly ruined. On arriving at St. Louis, we were very politely requested to sign a

8. New York *Daily Tribune*, April 4, 1856.

9. Covered in this and the summer issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* are the letters Lines wrote from April through August, 1856, for publication in the New Haven (Conn.) *Daily Palladium*. He wrote another series for the New York *Sun*, and a third for the *Congregational Herald*. The letters to the *Palladium* have been chosen for publication because they are of a more personal nature than the letters written to the other newspapers. New Haven and its vicinity was home to practically every member of the colony so the letters must have been of great interest to the relatives and friends who read the *Palladium*. Some of the letters are from the "Lines Scrapbook," some from the "Webb Scrapbooks," both in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, and the remainder are from the files of the New Haven *Daily Palladium* in the collection of the Yale University Library at New Haven, Conn.

testimonial, certifying our decided pleasure and satisfaction in traveling over *that* route, and especially returning thanks for the great care with which our baggage had been handled. We replied that in New England we were taught to say *only* what we believed, and respectfully declined,—promising, on the contrary, to inform our Eastern friends of the *real* facts in the case. If some enterprising Yankee could get the control of the entire line of one of these routes to the West, and make it a special object to signalize the route for extraordinary carefulness in the handling of baggage, and so adjust his time table as to make his arrivals and departures with a good degree of regularity, *that route* would soon be adopted by the great body of travelers West.

After leaving Buffalo, some of our young men were *sure* they had discovered three *real* "Border Ruffians." Their movements had been watched with great care, and the fact fully settled. One was said to be a ferocious looking fellow, who examined our baggage very closely, and was heard to say some very significant things. Another was "half seas over," and talked loud about abolitionists; and the other was a big whiskered, rough looking fellow, with a large cane, *pretending* to be a friend of Gen. Pomeroy, while he was occasionally seen in conversation with the first named ruffian. The imagination of some of the boys was so much stirred, that a few of the old members took occasion to make the acquaintance of the gentlemen referred to; whereupon the first proved to be a transient passenger, from one of the towns in Ohio to another. The second was an Indiana farmer, who apologized for being "*tight*" the night before,—said he had a fine farm near by, and invited us to call upon him. The other was a citizen of Lawrence, on his way back, and he gave us the fullest proof that he was one of the Free State men elected as a member of the Territorial Legislature,—a very courteous and apparently Christian gentleman in a somewhat rough garb, and with a face long unused to the razor. After informing him of the suspicions that had been entertained, we had a hearty laugh, and became somewhat intimate friends afterwards.

The Levee at St. Louis is by far the busiest place I have ever seen. A large number of steamers are lying at the shore, and the drays are crowding each other, and can only with the utmost difficulty dispose of their loads. The freight is strewn in every direction *upon the ground*. Here a heap of half cured hams, or bacon, as they call it, with no protection from the *dirt*, and there a heap of hides—and near by, a multitude of bales of hemp and barrels of

whiskey, all of which seem to be *the* great articles of trade in this vicinity; wagons, ploughs, dry goods, groceries, and heaps of miscellaneous articles make up the assortment, and by their rapid transit to and from the steamers, give to St. Louis the aspect of a busy and thriving community. Just now they are very much excited with a pending city election to come off to-day. The parties are the Democrats and Americans. The latter, by their papers and handbills, assume to be the Southern or *slavery* party, accusing the democrats of being the "Black Republican" party, and it is quite evident, strange as it may seem, that the facts are somewhat so.

At St. Louis we purchased for the use of our company, a large quantity of groceries, provisions, tents, ploughs, stoves, farming utensils, seeds &c., &c., having appointed a settler to provide for us for two months, and "pulled in" the money at the rate of \$15 each to furnish the required capital, and on Saturday left in the steamer Clara for "Kanzas City." Our accommodations upon the boat are not first rate, as we are very much crowded with freight and passengers. The table is quite ordinary, but good enough if it were not for the half made butter and *muddy* Missouri river water. The idea of drinking water from your mud puddles would be quite as agreeable to you as it is to us to quench our thirst with the dirty stuff we get, and it is the more aggravating, as we know a very little Yankee enterprise in the way of filtering would overcome the difficulty entirely, but the people here say it is all right, and better than it would be *clear*. We have on board several citizens of Lexington, and some who are regarded as decidedly unfriendly to us, exciting the apprehension of a few that we may have trouble before reaching Kanzas. Such fears appear to me groundless, and will not be entertained without much stronger indications than have yet appeared. Our company, with the exception of some slight sickness from over-weariness, change of diet, &c., are all in good spirits, and full of courage and hope, and were pronounced, by our friends in St. Louis, the most valuable and promising body of men that have as yet gone into Kanzas in one company. We very much regretted the apparent necessity of being on the river over Sunday, but could see no way to avoid it, and made the best of our circumstances by holding religious services in the cabin, where we had a good sermon, and fine singing from members of our company.—L.¹⁰

10. New Haven (Conn.) *Daily Palladium*, April 14, 1856.

KANZAS CITY, April 11, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Our company arrived here yesterday, after a somewhat tedious journey upon the Missouri river, of nearly five days. We were all sick on the way, most of us with diarrhoea, and all, without exception, with colds, and why should we not be? for the water is totally different in its qualities from what we use at home, thus having a decided tendency to “diarrhea,” and so very muddy as to finish the work by physicing most effectually all who partake of it freely for the first time. The people here, however, seem to regard it as very fine, and say that if they were compelled to live at the East, they should find it necessary to mix mud in their water before drinking it.

As to colds, it would seem impossible to avoid them, for we were crowded into small state-rooms in some instances two in a bed, making ventilation indispensable, and yet so variable as to render colds almost inevitable. I think, ordinarily, with the best care, the temperature in these rooms alternates from ten to fifteen degrees several times every night, and unless some ventilation is attempted, the air becomes so close as to render respiration anything but free or agreeable, and besides the crowded state rooms, the floor and tables in the saloons are *covered* with robust specimens of the animal creation, to the number of from fifty to sixty men, throwing into the atmosphere of the area the noxious gases created by their conjoint respirations, thus making the material on which the denizens of the state-rooms were dependent for *fresh air*.

If any man, accustomed to sleep in a well ventilated room, sixteen feet square, upon a good spring-bed, can be subjected to such “accommodations” without caving in, he must have reached a point in the acclimating process where he is no longer influenced or controlled by the laws of health and life ordinarily recognized among men; and besides, the style of cooking and the *quality* of the food is by no means suited to the habits of New England people; but we are here, *all of us*, and one more, having “taken in” a gentleman from Maine,¹¹ on the way. Our course up the river was not signalized by any remarkable events, and there is but little in the scenery or settlements to demand special attention. The magnificent views so frequent on the Mississippi, are altogether wanting here. The stream is broad, shallow, turbulent, muddy, and full of

11. John H. Gould was admitted as a member of the colony at a meeting aboard the Steamship *Clara* on April 7, 1856.—“Minutes,” April 7, 1856.

snags. Ducks and geese are abundant, and occasionally swans and pelicans are seen. We run a large part of the time by the *lead*, and frequently were jostled by the boat *thumping* on the bars.

Soon after leaving St. Louis, Mo., it was quite apparent that we had on board several Missourians, who looked upon us with suspicion and dislike; but we made their acquaintance as soon as practicable, and after appropriate preliminaries, discussed with them very freely the various interesting topics connected with our mission. Some of our company, however, were unnecessarily suspicious, and one person not connected with us, but who hailed from Massachusetts, was very much disposed to manufacture a blow up, if possible. We were assured that in all probability, we should be molested at some of the landings and have our baggage overhauled and the "Sharps' Rifles" taken away, and so certain were some that on our arriving at "Lexington," the Quarantine Committee would be after us, that we consented to *be ready* to defend our property, and we were so, but it all passed off with the most quiet,—and so far from being any way embarrassed, we secured the good will of all on board,—the dreaded border men we looked upon at the commencement of our trip, becoming agreeable companions before we separated, assuring us that they never met anywhere before, a body of seventy-five men with whom they were so well pleased. They were specially interested in the quiet, orderly and intelligent appearance of the entire company,—the absence of profanity or drinking,—for the bar was very little patronized except by a few very strong temperance men, at home, who really *felt* that a little ale, at ten cents a glass, would do them good. One instance of this kind would excite some surprise among the "Sons of Temperance," and not a little amusement in other quarters. But the poor fellow was *really sick* and looked as sober as the grave, and *honestly* believed in the fitness of the remedy.

Several of these Missourians whose acquaintance we made, were men of influence, and they said to us distinctly, that when men came from the North with no other object than to become actual settlers in the Territory, and as such, do whatever they thought best to make "Kanzas" a free State, they had nothing to say; but it was the *belief* that many were *sent* by "aid societies" for no purpose but *to vote* and to disaffect their negroes,—that caused all the excitement and trouble. We assured them that our object was narrowed down to that point; that we came upon our own hook, and that while we believed the whole slave system to be bad, we did not purpose to

interfere with it in any manner inconsistent with the laws of the country and the rights of the States.

In order to show to what extent this good understanding existed, it is only necessary to state that, a few hours before our final landing from the boat, we convened a meeting of the company—when every member was present—and unanimously passed complimentary resolutions acknowledging our obligations to the Captain, Clerk, Steward, &c., and instructing the Board of Directors to make to the Clerk and Steward some testimonial of our regard, the result of which was the presentation to the Clerk, to whom we were much indebted for many acts of courtesy and kindness, of a "Sharps' Rifle," and some trifling gifts to others. This may strike our friends at home, as a somewhat singular use of the weapon, but we were satisfied it would do more to remove false impressions and prepare the way for a free and fearless emigration from the East, than any other use we could possibly make of a dozen of them. After the presentation, the Rifle was exhibited freely and carefully examined by the Missourians on board, and it was quite evident that we were not mistaken in our judgment in the case. One thing is now well settled in the mind of every man in our company, that no fear of molestation need deter any persons from coming here if they come as they ought, and that "Plows" and "Bibles" will be more useful than "Rifles" and "Revolvers,"—*and yet it may be well for those who trust chiefly in weapons of defense when exposed to molestation, to bring them along*,—but my own mind is, as it has always been, in favor of peace, and as a means of promoting peace, to have little to do or say about deadly weapons.

This letter is written in the Hotel, that was threatened with destruction last season, because it was supposed to belong to the "Emigrant Aid Company,"¹² but all things here are now very quiet, and we understand the same is true in the Territory. We have purchased to-day about thirty yoke of oxen, with wagons, plows and other implements of husbandry; also a sufficient quantity of provisions to serve us for about two months, and intend to start to-morrow morning for our destination in the Territory. We hear all sorts of stories about the country, but forbear saying anything definite until we see it for ourselves. We pay here for potatoes, one dollar per bushel, but they are worth *five* in the interior; all other articles are

12. The American Hotel purchased by the Emigrant Aid Company in 1854 as a refuge for emigrants en route to Kansas. Built in 1849 this hotel, known at various times as the Gillis, Western, American and Union hotel, became of historical importance due to the border troubles.—"Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," by Shalor Winchell Eldridge in *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 2 (1920), pp. 13, 14.

high, except apples, which can be bought for fifty cents the bushel. The great articles of trade here are whiskey and tobacco; 150 casks of the former are now lying upon the levee, and more than 400 boxes of tobacco, all of which, together with many similar facts, show clearly that here is work to be done by somebody.

It is now the 11th of April, and we know nothing of the result of the Connecticut election, but in order to show where we stand, a vote was taken from all the members of our company legally entitled to vote in our good old State this spring—each man being requested to vote as he would have done had he been at home. The following is the result:

Whole number of votes	59
For the Republican Ticket	27
" " American "	24
" " Whig "	4
" " Democratic "	3
Free State Temperance Ticket	1
	—
	59
Attest: C. B. Lines,)	
J. P. Root,)Tellers.	

If, therefore, you should find any difficulty in figuring out a clean majority *against* the Nebraska Democracy, please add the foregoing where they belong.

Yours, &c.—L.¹³

LAWRENCE, K. T., April 14, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—A few of our party arrived in this renowned city on Saturday night, at half past eleven o'clock. The whole company left Kansas City the same day,—some on foot, some in carts, and some in wagons, and moved on up the Territory, expecting in a day or two to meet our pioneers, and hasten on to the locations selected. We were not well pleased with Kansas City. The object of everybody from hotel keeper down to the teamsters, appeared to be, personal gain, without much regard to means, and it is next to impossible to get an honest answer to any inquiry, where private or local interests are concerned. It is, therefore, very important to every person or company coming this way, to be well posted before leaving home.

The Hotel where we put up there, is kept by a Connecticut man by the name of Eldridge.¹⁴—He charged us \$1.50 per day for *very common* entertainment. A few left, and found better fare for little

13. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, April 24, 1856.

14. Shalor W. Eldridge.

more than half price. So with teamsters. After engaging one at a certain rate, another would offer to do the same service for very much less, all showing an utter want of regularity, and a uniform disposition to make the most possible out of us while we remained. I think, in coming again, if there is no boat on the Kansas River, my preference would be to go up to Leavenworth, and from there into the Territory. But we are now free from all such embarrassments, and have our own teams, and may proceed on our journey as best we can.

In leaving Kansas [City], we passed through the Shawnee Indian Reservation, lying between Lawrence and the southern line of the Territory, and were delighted with the country. There is upon it a good supply of wood, and the rolling prairie, in beauty and fertility, far surpassed the expectations of us all. The air is also clear and balmy as could possibly be desired. No swamps or marshes exist, such as we find in abundance in passing through Illinois and Ohio, and wherever the ground had been broken. The soil turned up black and rich, as any possible combination of fertilizing substances could make it. . . .

The road through the country is simply an Indian trail, meandering like the curves and bends of a river, which gives a deep interest to the ride, now ascending by a kind of serpentine way up the sides of a gentle swell of land, and now descending into a beautiful vale below, not unlike the deep heavy swell of the ocean in the calm, that often succeeds a storm. Some of our men, who in the morning from being unwell and wearied with the journey, were dejected, on seeing these fine prairies, were re-inspired with the Kansas enterprise, and one of them, in his enthusiasm, suddenly exclaimed—"How our wives will enjoy riding over *such* a country in such an atmosphere, and with such an unbounded, magnificent landscape before them."

The same friend, in walking out in the evening twilight, and expatiating upon the balmy atmosphere in which for an hour we bathed our weary bodies, remarked that this would be a splendid country for "courting" interviews and promenades—that the inhalations of such pure ethereal air must be suited to the cultivation of the tender emotions; and walks over these gently sloping mounds would be more softening and social in their influences, than any we ever enjoyed in our eastern homes, even under the overshadowing arches of our own magnificent "elms." I am free to confess that our ideas were quite congenial in this particular.

Those of your readers who have seen prairie only as it lies *flat* in Illinois and other Western States, can have but a faint idea of what has ravished our eyes and delighted our hearts in this Kansas region. But I must not indulge in these vain attempts to describe what can only be comprehended by actual vision.

Our driver over this route was a Yankee, by the name of Bronson,¹⁵ from Southford, in Connecticut, and from him we learned interesting facts in reference to the country. He pointed out the residence of the Southern Methodist missionary, "Johnson,"¹⁶ who has made himself so notorious by his pro-slavery operations, and rich by his management in getting possession of a large amount of this splendid Indian country. He also designated several large and valuable farms of 1200 acres, each cultivated by white men, and when we inquired how *they* became possessed of it, replied, by marrying a *squaw*, as every Indian female has the right to 200 acres for herself and for each child born to her; and some of these Yankees had not only acquired a fine tract of land, but a first rate wife, also, in this way.

When within ten miles of Lawrence, we stopped for tea at an Indian Hotel,¹⁷ kept in a log cabin, where everything was exceedingly primitive and yet quite comfortable. We left this place late in the evening, and while speaking of the balmy nature of the atmosphere, our driver remarked that he had often witnessed a different state of things, and when we were out in some snow storms in winter, or thunder showers in summer, we should call it anything else but balmy. But as to the snow, the last winter's experience is undoubtedly an exception to the general rule, and in regard to the other, we replied, that even thunder and lightning, when properly contemplated, could be made sublimely and awfully interesting, just in proportion to its grandeur.

On arriving at Lawrence, our driver conducted us to what he called a hotel, but what is in fact a boarding house kept in a building with four rooms and a shanty for a kitchen, with another building near by for lodgers when the hotel "runs over." After the

15. This was probably Alvin B. Bronson who was a driver of the mail-coach between Kansas City and Topeka during this period.—*Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas* . . . (Washington, D. C., 1856), 34 Cong., 1 Sess., House Report No. 200, p. 1094.

16. The Rev. Thomas Johnson was sent to the territory of Kansas in 1829 by the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Church. He established the Shawnee Manual Labor School and was connected with the mission from 1830-1841 and from 1847-1862. The travelers evidently passed near the Shawnee Methodist mission still to be seen (1956) in northeast Johnson county.

17. This Indian hotel was undoubtedly the one known as the "Fish House." It was owned by Paschal Fish, a Shawnee Indian who was an active sympathizer with the Free-State cause.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 308.

lady of the house was aroused—for the establishment is kept by a maiden lady who has been a missionary and an editor, and by the way made a prodigious mistake in adopting her present business—we were ushered into the reception room, the furniture of which consists of three bedsteads, one work stand and one small oval table; the bedsteads being made by nailing four strips of boards on to four upright sticks of wood and slats laid across. One of the beds had just been vacated by the landlady and the other two were occupied by two other ladies, who entertained us by their conversation while the proprietress was contriving to crowd us in somewhere.

In due time we were informed that five of our number could be accommodated in the other building, and that she had half of two beds up stairs and a vacant single bed that belonged to a boarder, and might be wanted before morning. We asked if she could not arrange to put the two half beds into one, which after a while was accomplished, and we were significantly informed that the mattress was a "very nice one," and—after a little hesitation—"that sometimes *three* persons had slept upon it," but this suggestion was not responded to by us, and we therefore were permitted to occupy the boarder's bed as he was said to be quite disposed to accommodate in an emergency, and so it proved, for no sooner were we in the room than he came in with a little bed-ticking, sewed together and stuffed with something—a blanket and a pillow, and bunked down upon the floor, making in all nine men in a room 14 feet square, and *such* beds, made after the fashion above recited—and mattresses—so called—harder if possible than the soft side of a pine plank, were quite a new thing to us, but still very comfortable under the circumstances. In the morning as we awoke and looked out we saw within a few rods of the house, the mud forts erected during the "border war"¹⁸ last winter, and were informed that this house was the only "quarters" where the "army" partook of their "rations." But it is late, and for a more particular account of our first impressions of Lawrence you must wait for a more favorable opportunity, a better pen, and a less sleepy bodily condition.—L.¹⁹

LAWRENCE, April 15, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—The impressions we had in regard to many things in Lawrence before leaving home, have been confirmed

18. Mud forts were built by the men of Lawrence in December, 1855, to protect the town during the "Wakarusa war."—See "The Wakarusa War," by Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), pp. 457-471.

19. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, April 26, 1856.

since arriving here, in some particulars, and in others we have been disappointed. We had supposed that a fine Hotel was in actual operation, but we find that it is still in an unfinished state; and that the "Cincinnati House," heretofore partially described as our present habitation, is the *best* and only public house in the city, kept, as before stated, by a lady who while she is evidently a very excellent woman is not adapted to her present business. The house derives its name from the fact that it was built in Cincinnati and brought here. The inmates of the establishment cannot be at this time less than forty men, and all the furniture in the house, including beds, bedding, kitchen utensils, and *every thing* else, would not sell at auction in New Haven for \$30.

In our room occupied by nine men there is one "ewer and basin," one looking glass 4 inches wide by 6 long—and one-half of a chair. We have one pitcher of water for our ablution purposes in the morning. Our butter looks precisely like hog's lard, and does not taste like any thing in particular. Milk we only see occasionally, and potatoes are few and far between; dried peaches are very common, but the cooking of everything is bad. I would be glad to compromise my entire rations daily for one meal from home. Candlesticks are very much out of fashion, except blocks of wood. But for a new country it is very doubtful whether there has ever been an instance of such wonderful progress in building up a town as in this instance of Lawrence, and perhaps some other cities in Kansas.

There are now in this city about 150 houses, a few of them very comfortable, several good stores, three churches begun or provided for, two weekly papers, a very fine Hotel²⁰ nearly finished, &c., all accomplished in less than two years. The village, or city as it is called, is beautifully located on one of the rolling prairie swells, and the landscape in every direction as fine as could be desired. The soil is perfect, not only rich beyond description, but so formed and underlaid by mineral substances of a decidedly fertilizing character, as to render it next to impossible to exhaust it. From the few experiments made here in gardening, the success from all accounts we have received has been of the most gratifying character. We have astonishing and *reliable* accounts of melons, squashes, to-

20. This was the Free-State hotel under construction by the Emigrant Aid Company. The hotel was destroyed by Proslavery forces on May 21, 1856, several days before it was scheduled to be opened to the public. The site was purchased later by Shalor W. Eldridge and his brothers and a second hotel, the Eldridge House, was constructed at a cost of \$80,000. It was burned on August 21, 1863, during the Quantrill raid on Lawrence.—Andreas and Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

matoes, cucumbers, &c.,—water melons weighing over 90 lbs. and pumpkins over 100. We are also well satisfied that stock can be raised and fattened here with great facility. Corn is raised with great success. One farmer informed me that he had stalks in his garden as large as a man's wrist and 21 feet high. Wheat has not yet been fully tested, but it is supposed that it will do well.

The winds here are very heavy at this season, often sweeping over the prairie like a young tornado, and this circumstance is spoken of by some of our men as constituting the most serious objection to the country, while others regard it as far more tolerable than our long, drizzling, chilly, northeasters, when the sun is sometimes hid for a week. Here the storms are severe but short. We have already witnessed some of them with thunder and lightning accompanied, but the specimens have not been of the first class. A lady remarked to us to-day that the thunder and lightning was very much more terrific here than at the east, but no more destructive. Very little damage is done by it. We have found several springs of water that are very good, and the lady before referred to says that some of them furnish excellent soft water, suitable for washing. The people of Lawrence are dependent for timber chiefly upon the Delaware Indians, whose "Reserve" is on the opposite side of the river, and is finely wooded. There is great need here of mechanics and laborers.

Lawrence has no livery stable, furniture store, machine shop, foundry, and but very few stone masons, while many are wanted, as most of the best buildings will undoubtedly be constructed of stone. I find it quite difficult to procure the necessary facilities for writing, my last letter having been written on the greasy side of the kitchen table at our "Hotel," and I am now availing myself of the kindness of Mr. Hutchinson,²¹ who visited us in New Haven last winter, and using his "fixings" in his law office.

There are of course many objects of interest here. Yesterday, (Sunday morning,) Mr. Branson, the man of whose *rescue* from the Missouri Sheriff we have all heard, was pointed out to me passing along the street with his Sharp's Rifle in hand, feeling as he

21. John Hutchinson, a lawyer in Lawrence and prominent in Free-State affairs, had been sent by the executive committee of Kansas to the New England states and Washington during the winter of 1855-1856 for the purpose of advocating the admission of Kansas into the Union. He was elected to the first territorial legislature, March 30, 1855, and again elected to the first state legislature under the Topeka constitution. He served as secretary of Dakota territory under President Lincoln and was appointed United States consul at Leghorn, Italy, shortly before Lincoln died. John Hutchinson died December 12, 1887, in Chicago, where he had a law practice.—"John Hutchinson—in Memoriam," by Henry B. Whipple, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7 (1901-1902), pp. 500, 501.

still does, unsafe without it, as he lives some distance from the city.²² A few moments after one of the rescuers was introduced to us. The war has created quite a little revolutionary history for the place which will be treasured up and related for years to come with great interest by those familiar with the facts, and especially the few who participated in them. We spent our Sabbath yesterday with great satisfaction in company with the Church of Rev. Mr. Lum, the Congregational clergyman who was among the first settlers of the place, but the details of our first Sabbath in "Kanzas" must be reserved for another occasion. Our company are beginning to arrive in fine spirits, and camping out in the vicinity, and we hope very soon to drive our stakes and plant our standard upon a permanent locality. With us as yet, all is well. May a kind Providence grant that our friends and loved ones at home may be prosperous and happy.—L.²³

CENTROPOLIS, K. T., April 16, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—The place from which this letter is written, is what they call out here, a "one horse town,"—that is, a section of land surveyed and laid out into city lots, parks, &c., with a design of making it in the future a place of importance. This locality is situated about eighteen miles south of Lawrence, and is fifty miles from "Kanzas City." It is in the midst of a delightful country, is very well wooded, and the water as good as we have at home. There are now but two or three cabins, a rustic blacksmith shop, and a store. About twenty persons are interested in the city speculation, and underlying the whole enterprise is a purpose to make the city the State Capital. The principal parties engaged in the scheme are influential members of the Legislature, who, it is supposed, intend to make fortunes out of the movement. We are informed that such plans are quite common in the West. It appears, also, that members of the "bogus" Territorial Legislature have laid out another site,²⁴ within two miles of this, and they are bound to

22. Jacob Branson, Charles Dow and Franklin Coleman lived at Hickory Point, ten miles south of Lawrence. Dow, who lived with the Bransons, was killed by Coleman in a claim dispute on November 21, 1855. Branson's efforts to avenge his friend's death led to his arrest by a Proslavery party on November 26. A few miles from his home he was rescued by a group of Free-State men. This incident was the beginning of the Wakarusa war.—Allen Crafton, *Free State Fortress, the First Ten Years of the History of Lawrence, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1954), p. 58.

23. *New Haven Daily Palladium*, April 26, 1856.

24. On February 10, 1858, the legislature, sitting at Lawrence, passed a bill making Minneola, one mile east of Centropolis, the territorial capital. The bill was vetoed by Governor Denver but an appeal was taken to the attorney general of the United States. The city was projected by prominent Free-State citizens as a means of removing the seat of government from the Proslavery town of Leocompton. Its development was rapid. Several buildings, including a governor's mansion, were erected and promotional maps of the period make the town appear as a great railroad center. Minneola had a population of several hundred people by November 20, 1858, when the attorney general decided the bill was in violation of the organic act, and therefore void.—"Some of the Lost Towns of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12 (1911-1912), pp. 433, 434.

have the Capital go there. It is quite apparent that there is altogether too much of this scheming for great speculations, on the part of the leading men of "Kansas," and it would not be strange if "the people" should interpose and upset some of their deep-laid plans.

I am writing in the store. It is very well stocked with some kinds of goods, especially such as are called for by the Indians. The store is situated only half a mile from three important Indian tribes,—the Sacs and Foxes, Ottowas and Chippewas,—from whom they derive their principal trade, amounting to not less than \$15,000 per annum. The store has been filled with them to-day. Among the number, we noticed one fine looking young Chief, decked with all sorts of gewgaws and brass ornaments. There is something sad in moving among these remnants of the powerful tribes of other days, and witnessing their despondency as the *pale faces* are gradually crowding them from place to place, and so circumscribing their privileges and hemming them within narrow boundaries as to crush out the free spirit of their nature, and make them feel that between the deprivations of those natural rights which gave to their fathers the whole scope of the continent, and the impracticability of effecting a satisfactory "fusion" with their white masters, there is nothing left for them but to waste away and die.

We came here upon an exploring tour, seeking a location for our company. We have two other parties in other sections, and to-morrow we meet in Lawrence to decide where to plant our standard and make our homes. On our ride to this place, we passed through an exceedingly fertile and attractive country, chiefly prairie, on which there is unoccupied land enough for thousands of settlers, but it is being taken up very rapidly.

By my side, at this moment, one of the proprietors of the store is reading. He informs me that "Dow," one of the Free State men, was his neighbor, and from another source I learn that this gentleman offered \$300 for the body of his murderer, "Coleman," *dead* or alive. He is evidently a very quiet, orderly citizen; but the deeds of murder, insult and oppression, that were perpetrated during the "border war," took deep hold of the feelings and the hearts of most of the actual settlers here. You would be surprised to see how universally the people of both sexes sympathize with the Free State men who are *actual* settlers; but those from the West are jealous of those who come in from the East, until they are satisfied they come purely in good faith and on their *own hook*.

We have just been entertained in one of the log cabins, with an excellent supper. The room is about fourteen feet square, contains a large bed, a bureau, and a cupboard. We had upon the table, ham, broiled and boiled—(we get very little fresh meat in the Territory)—biscuit and butter, pie, two kinds of cakes, stewed peaches, and some excellent tarts; but *no milk*. Cows are not generally kept by the new settlers. The lady who served us, is a model for such a place, or for *any* place. She does not keep a boarding house, and yet has fed ten men, to-day, before we arrived. The repast was well enjoyed and relished by us. A supper at the Tontine, got up in Scranton's best style, (and that is saying as much as we can say,) could not be enjoyed by you, as this was here, by us. On our way to this place, we started three fine deer; but we had but *one* rifle with us, and were too much surprised by them to get a deliberate shot before they had bounded over the prairie, beyond our reach. We also saw wolves, pluffers and prairie hens, and beautiful flowers very much resembling our verbenas, both in their habits of growth and the appearance of the flower, now in full bloom.

But my tallow candle, held on a block of wood by three nails, is just expiring, and therefore this letter is necessarily finished. Our company are all together, in Lawrence, to-day, except one family, who stop a little below. All well, and in fine spirits. We are still ignorant of the result of your election.

Thursday Morning, 17th—We were last evening invited to an adjoining log cabin to lodge. It was a very common cabin, and yet we enjoyed a fine night's rest. There was but one room, and one bed on a bedstead, which was occupied by the man of the house, and his lady, while four of our company were accommodated on the oak slab floor, with what they call beds spread upon it. There was no particular apprehension of suffering from "confined air," as the door had openings in it sufficient for a good sized boy to thrust his head through, to say nothing of the roof and log sides. The size of the room was 12x14. Our host was a regular Western pro-slavery squatter. He has kept a store in the vicinity; had numerous difficulties with the Indians, who in the practice of one of their vocations were in the habit of stealing from his stock of goods whenever an opportunity offered. He caught one in the act, and shot him, and had since been pounced upon by numbers of them, and still feels it necessary to keep a sharp lookout. He keeps a savage dog at the door, who is sure to tear any man to pieces who comes within the reach of his chain. He is a recent settler, though long a trader from Missouri, and, although pro-slavery in sentiment,

condemns strongly the conduct of the Missourians. He informed us that *he was offered* day wages to come over and *vote* last Fall, but refused. We have not yet met the first man in all our travels who has a face to justify the Missouri invasion. The pro-slavery men generally express a wish to have the past "rubbed out," and reorganize with a sufficient force to protect the polls,—reference of course is not made to such men as Atchison & Co., but to the fair minded friends of a slave State, who are *bona fide* residents of the Territory. After we had "made our toilet" this morning, our host offered us each a glass of whiskey, and looked somewhat surprised when *we all* declined. We then repaired to the other cabin for our breakfast, which was waiting for us.

We paid our bill, 80 cts. each, for supper and breakfast, making, at such prices, as we thought, a paying business, and in a few moments we shall be on our way back to Lawrence.

The morning is clear and pleasant, like most of the mornings in this country. It is rarely necessary to put in as a condition, of fulfilling an appointment at some future day—"if it is pleasant"—as a day very rarely passes without some portion of it being pleasant. The storms are rapid; and more commonly occur in the night, hence arrangements for business or pleasure are made without any reservation on account of the weather.—L.²⁵

LAWRENCE, K. T., April 18, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We are still in Lawrence, not having yet fixed upon a location. Several sections have been examined, and the company meet this afternoon to decide between them. We are *all* here, with the exception of one family who have located, temporarily, below, one man who still remains in "Kansas City," and one other remaining with the family. We are all well, and in as good spirits as circumstances will admit. Our unavoidable delay has caused unexpected expense, and, of course, some disappointment; but a few days more will fix our destiny, so far as our homes in Kansas are concerned.

I am now writing in the office of the "Herald of Freedom,"—a room of very good accommodations. The building is new, constructed of what they call here, concrete,—a sort of throwing together of stones and mortar. It makes a very solid wall, and is being used for all their best buildings. Mr. Brown,²⁶ the principal editor, is absent, but his place is well filled by his assistant, Mr. Green. The paper is issued weekly, and is fast acquiring a position of de-

25. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, April 29, 1856.

26. George Washington Brown.

cided influence in the Territory. The people of Lawrence gave us a reception, at a public meeting, on Tuesday evening.

In the absence of the leading men of the place, Mr. Hutchinson made a speech, welcoming the company to the Territory. He was followed by Rev. Mr. Lum, and others, and they were feelingly responded to by Dr. Root, and several other members of our company. After which, "The Stubbs," a company of young men who were the first military organization for the defense of Lawrence, were called out to sing a song for the occasion, very much in the style of the old "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," of 1840. It made quite a sensation. The meeting was a jam, and went off well. There were several ladies present, among them, the wife of Gov. Robinson, an exceedingly agreeable young woman, very unpretending, plainly dressed, and quite pretty, apparently not over eighteen years of age. She is a daughter of the late Myron Lawrence, Esq., of Belcherstown, Mass. The proceedings of this meeting, as I am informed, have been reported for the New York Times; and unless they are more correct than a report published by them of one of our New Haven meetings, it will not be of much value as a transcript of the *real* doings upon the occasion, and ought not to be relied upon as such. The report published by the "Herald of Freedom," of this place, is, probably, nearer correct; and by a vote of the meeting, is to be forwarded to the New Haven papers for publication.

Gov. Reeder arrived here last evening, in company with Messrs. Sherman and Howard, of the Investigating Committee,²⁷ and their retinue of clerks, reporters, &c. Reeder is a bold, energetic looking man, the features of his face resembling, somewhat, that of our old friend, Hon. I. S. Rice; but in person, less portly and taller. Mr. Sherman is a young man, and informed me that he was a grandson of Taylor Sherman, formerly a lawyer in Norwalk, Ct., and that *he* was a son of David Sherman, who was associated with Roger Sherman, as members of the "Committee of Safety," in the days of the revolution.

Emigrants are arriving every day, and by far, the larger part

27. The investigating committee was appointed by the U. S. House of Representatives on March 19, 1856, to inquire into affairs in the territory of Kansas. It was composed of John Sherman, Ohio, William Howard, Michigan, and Mordecai Oliver, Missouri. The committee arrived at Leocompton on April 18, 1856, and spent the next four months collecting evidence and taking depositions at Leocompton, Lawrence, Tecumseh, Leavenworth, Westport, and other Kansas towns. Later they published their reports. The majority report was bitterly condemned in the South and had the effect of making the border ruffians more vigorous than ever in the territory.—J. N. Holloway's *History of Kansas: From the First Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, to Its Admission Into the Union* (Lafayette, Ind., 1868), pp. 296-300.

of them from free States. One hundred and forty come in this morning from Ohio, and more are coming.

But we find there is a great work to be done for Kansas besides making her a free State. Morals are in a very low condition here; but very few of the leading free State men, even, are found earnestly contending for temperance, sabbath-keeping, purity and truth,—yet probably the *cause* may in part be looked for, in the *inevitable* fruits of a state of war, and a better time anticipated when the affairs of the State are settled.

Gov. Robinson arrived to-day. He resembles, in some respects, our late Senator, Hon. F. Gillette; is affable, firm, and evidently possessed of peculiar talents for his present position. A meeting was held in the evening, in the dining hall of the Free State Hotel, at which interesting addresses were made by Gov. Reeder, Robinson, and others.

We leave here this morning, having, as we suppose, fixed upon a location, after considerable trouble and delay; and it is gratifying to be able to say that, so far, there is no backing out. It is also proper and just to bear testimony to the uniform civility and good feeling of the people of Lawrence. When we remember *how recently* (less than two years) the first movement in the way of civilization began, it is marvelous that they are able to do so well. I wish, also, *especially* to add, that my further experience as a boarder at the "Cincinnati House," has fully convinced me that in view of the inconveniences and difficulties that *underlie, overhang and surround*, the business of boardinghouse-keeping, here, it is a highly creditable establishment, and but few *women* could anywhere be found to do as well as its present proprietress, Mrs. Hale. The new hotel will, undoubtedly, be opened soon, and as soon be filled.

The great want of the Territory is CAPITAL.—Above this point, there is nothing to be bought. All kinds of provisions are monstrously high, *because* of the great scarcity; and yet there is plenty at Kansas City and Leavenworth. For example, at the latter places, potatoes can be bought for \$1.25, and shell corn at 50¢; while at Fort Riley, corn is worth \$2.50, and potatoes from \$5 to \$10. In these matters, everything is out of joint, and \$100,000 brought in now from the East, could be so used as to bring a splendid return to the capitalists, and do very much to settle and organize the affairs of the Territory. But our teams are about starting, and I must close.—L.²⁸

ON THE PLAINS OF KANZAS, 70 miles west of Kansas City

April 26 [20], 1856

MESSRS. EDITORS:—As you will see, we are now out upon the prairie ocean of this far off country. We were detained at Lawrence until Saturday morning, waiting the return of our pioneers, and left at that time, bound West. We encamped for the Sabbath at this point near a log cabin; and as most of us walked from sixteen to twenty miles during the day, a hard bed upon the grass was a luxury. A few only could be accommodated in the cabin, as it contained but one room 12 by 13 feet, no window, and was occupied by a man with his wife and eight children, from a young lady of 17, down to a *native*,—and yet four of our company were provided with lodgings among them, and five others in an adjoining cabin, built for a storehouse, and without a floor; the remainder slept under tents and out upon the open prairie, snugly buried in a buffalo robe. One gentleman from Hartford, the most of an invalid of any in our company when he left home, slept in the latter style, and informed me in the morning that his rest was sweet, and better than any he had enjoyed on the way. He continues to sleep in the same way.

Our fare at this place consisted of coffee without sugar, bacon, bread and pickles. Six sat down together, and were furnished with three spoons and other fixings to match. Part of the company cooked for themselves, and enjoyed it very much. They make tea and coffee, broil ham, make hasty pudding and eat it with molasses,—making their spoons of sticks, and using the knives from their pockets. Some of the good marksmen occasionally have stewed plover, prairie chicken, and other game.

On our way, we stopped at Judge Wakefield's²⁹ and Col. Walker's for refreshments, and passed the spot where Barber was shot.³⁰ Judge Wakefield has a very good farm, about eight miles from Lawrence. You will remember that he was a candidate for Congress against Whitfield, and that the votes of one District given for him were transferred to the latter gentleman, or thrown out, because there was no such man as Wakefield in the Territory. Col. Samuel Walker is a member of the Free State Legislature, and came here among the first, in a company of about forty. They intended to

29. Judge John A. Wakefield settled near the California road in Douglas county on June 8, 1854. He was president of the Actual Settlers Association, organized in 1854 for the purpose of protecting the rights of the settlers. Its members generally favored the abolition of slavery.—Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Parties of 1854," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 12 (May, 1943), p. 123.

30. Thomas W. Barber settled near the site of Bloomington, west of Lawrence, in 1855. He was murdered by a Proslavery party, under the command of George W. Clarke, Pottawatomie Indian agent, on December 6, 1855.—George W. Martin, "The First Two Years of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), p. 135.

have reached the Territory in season to vote at the first Territorial election, but on arriving at Boonville, on the Missouri river, they were put on shore by the captain of the boat, although they had *paid their fare to Kansas*,—for the pretended reason that the boat was overloaded. The captain, however, retained their freight, and left the men and their families behind. These men thus wronged and outraged, sought in vain for redress. They were also entirely unsuccessful in their efforts to procure teams, until two weeks had elapsed and the election passed. In the meantime, they witnessed hundreds of the citizens of Boonville, openly leaving for Kansas to vote, and return. They saw one thousand dollars distributed among the hireling voters, to pay their expenses, and two dollars per day for their time. This company were subjected to all sorts of embarrassment and trials, and when Mr. Walker arrived upon his claim with his wife and children, he was reduced to ten dollars, and one of his children with a broken leg.

He immediately became an active participant in the great struggle for freedom, and sustained by his heroic wife, has forced his way to a condition of comparative competence and comfort. His cabin is a large one, all in one room, and is patronized extensively by travelers, from whom he derives a handsome income. They gave us a very good dinner for 25 cents each. The beds are arranged like the berths in a vessel, one above another. On one side of the room a platform is built, about 3 feet wide and 20 inches high, on which barrels and cupboards are arranged, and under which we noticed a hen setting, about four feet from the stove, where our cooking was done. This is made necessary in order to protect the young chickens from the various wild animals that are not yet driven off.

Mrs. Walker, like all the farmers' wives we have seen, who have been in the Territory a year, says she could not be coaxed, hired or driven away from Kansas. There are many who come out, remain a few days, and return disappointed, but of those who hold on a few months or a year, very few return; on the contrary, they become enthusiastic in their love for Kansas, and their deep interest in her welfare.

We spent our Sabbath very pleasantly, having religious service in the forenoon in the cabin of Mr. Shields,³¹ where we took our meals, and upon slabs fitted up for the purpose, outside and adjoining. In the afternoon we held a prayer meeting at the same place, and such meetings we have not often enjoyed at home. The settlers

31. This was Hiram Shields who lived on the California road south of Tecumseh. Luther H. Root, a member of the colony, liked this location so well that he settled here.

from a few adjoining cabins came in, and it was truly affecting to witness the gratitude to God manifested by them, that men of prayer had come to the Territory. . . .

We have not, as yet, seen anything to disappoint our expectations, excepting the want of a boat upon the Kansas River, and it is still uncertain whether this stream will be to any considerable extent navigable, but there can be little doubt that a railroad will be constructed along its banks before many years, passing through thriving villages and towns, as busy and prosperous as any in the West.—L.³²

MISSION CREEK,³³ K. T., April 22, '56.

MESSRS. EDS.: The point from which this letter is written is about ten miles south of the Kansas River, between Topeka and Union Town. A committee were sent here to examine the locality for our company. We find in this region, streams of living water, a good supply of wood, and plenty of unoccupied prairie, and we could readily recommend this as a good place to settle, except that it is off from the general traveled route, and of course too far removed from the principal settlements. Yet it is possible we may decide to come here.

There is less objection in this country to a few miles travel to and from market than there would be in yours, because of the facility for making good wagon roads. We have traveled many miles with our teams over the "California Road,"³⁴ running up this valley, and with the exception of some bad places in crossing the ravines and fording the streams, they are *first rate*. The soil seems adapted to make them good, and after a little Yankee enterprise has been bestowed upon them, in the way of filling up and bridging, it must be a delightful country to travel over. Now everything is new, but if we can judge from what we have seen, richness of soil and salubrity of climate are not to be the only attractions in this country. There are also unpleasant things here. Among them, the winds, *at this season*, are occasionally very high, dry and uncomfortable; but we are informed that March and April are the months especially

32. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, May 10, 1856.

33. At Mission creek the company camped near the home of a Colonel Henry who has not been identified. He made every effort to induce them to settle near him. The main group camped at his place for several days while waiting for the committee to return from Wabauunsee. When they left Colonel Henry looked "on with profound surprise and disgust" and prophesied that half of them would be back within three weeks.—"Minutes," April 25, 1856.

34. The California road or the California-Oregon trail followed the same routes through eastern Kansas. Leaving Douglas county a main route passed south of Tecumseh and Topeka. About six or seven miles west of Topeka one of the branches of the trail turned northwest, passed through Uniontown, a half-mile east of present Willard, and crossed the Kansas river near present Silver Lake. The Connecticut Kansas colony probably turned off the California road below Uniontown and followed one of the roads through the Pottawatomie reserve to Wabauunsee.

devoted to high winds, which in the summer the severe heat is very much alleviated by gentle breezes, that rarely rise to a gale and seldom give place to a calm.

We were accommodated last evening by a half breed Indian, who, with his wife and two children, occupy an unfinished cabin, the logs merely laid up, and the winds blowing through the apertures in every direction. Our supper consisted of very good ham, bread, and fried onion tops, the latter growing here in great abundance, wild.—There are but few settlers in this vicinity, and they express great anxiety to do so. While at this point we noticed several shrubs, trees, &c., part of which had attracted our attention before, and which afford some indication of the adaptation of the soil and climate to various productions.

The woods in every direction are rendered beautiful by the gay attire of a shrub, the name of which is forgotten, but which may be seen in the door yard of Prof. Salisbury, covered in early Spring with a rich pink blossom, before any appearance of the green leaves.³⁵ Some of them are twenty feet high, and now in full bloom. Plum trees are also in flower and very abundant. Grape vines, gooseberries, blackberries, mulberries, strawberries, raspberries, &c., are scattered in profusion in many places; hops also grow abundantly, wild.—At one of our stopping places, yesterday, we were shown a fine lot of peach trees, three years from the pit; they had been killed by the past winter, which has been severe beyond any precedent, and the owner informed us that he had never lost any before—he sold his fruit (from a small garden spot) last year for \$150, and frequently had them weighing one pound each; the trees were very beautiful and thrifty, measuring five inches thro'. Every kind of vegetation in this country grows. A very intelligent Indian pointed to a prairie swell, where he assured us a man on horseback was completely covered in the grass, last summer; he remarked, however, that it was not usually so high, but that last season the rains were abundant in the latter part of Summer.

The wet season in this country ordinarily begins the last of April and continues through May and June, and sometimes into July, during which time it rains frequently and copiously, but as yet we have seen no signs of a shower, and we are informed there has been none; yet the grass is green and the trees are putting forth their leaves rapidly, and the soil, from its peculiar nature, is moist. No indications of drouth appear.

35. This was undoubtedly the redbud tree.

The prairies abound in horses, and in some sections droves of cattle may be seen. We were shown yesterday some very good looking horses that had never tasted grain of any kind and had lived on the prairie over winter. Their owners have a way of keeping them from straying by giving them occasionally a dose of salt. We saw yesterday an evidence of the effect of this practice—a man appeared at a distance riding toward a flock of horses, and as soon as he was seen they all galloped off to meet him and crowded around him like a flock of chickens about their mother. This we were informed was the salting operation.

We were near being lost, last evening, in seeking this place, the roads being merely wagon tracks and Indian trails. We missed our way upon the prairie and were as much confused as you would be in a skiff on Long Island Sound, out of sight of land. We had concluded that we must sleep on the prairie with nothing but the earth beneath and Heavens over us, but just as we were arranging our thoughts to submit to our fate and take the consequences, a light from one of the cabins we were in pursuit of, was discovered glimmering through the woods. We of course were very essentially relieved. We are now just leaving to report the results of our observations to the company, who are encamped ten miles distant, on the road leading up the Kansas Valley. We have not as yet heard one word from home, except a rumor before referred to, that the election had resulted favorably. Yours, &c.,—L.³⁶

WAUBONSA,³⁷ April 26, 1856.

MESSRS. EDS.:—Our Company have at last selected their location at this place, on the "Kansas River," at a point sixty-five miles above Lawrence and twelve below Manhattan. There are scattered about this region some thirty or forty settlers, chiefly on the line of the creeks and streams where the timber is found. There is no town, church, school house, store, blacksmith shop, or anything else except a few rude cabins to mark the spot as the home of civilized man. We have given a very thorough examination of the eastern portion of the Territory, and find scattered settlements everywhere, and no

36. *New Haven Daily Palladium*, May 17, 1856.

37. According to J. M. Bisbey, in his article "Pioneering in Wabaunsee County: Early Day Transportation," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11 (1909-1910), p. 595, Dr. Johnston Lykins, superintendent of the Baptist Mission School for Pottawatomie Indians, suggested the name Wabaunsee, a Pottawatomie word meaning "Dawn of Day," for the settlement in 1855. Wabaunsee county was established as Richardson county and attached to Shawnee county for judicial and revenue purposes by the legislature of 1855. It was organized as a separate county in 1859 and the name changed to Wabaunsee. The town of Wabaunsee was the county seat from 1859 to 1866 when it was moved to Alma because of its more central location in the county.

desirable locality for a town without them. There are plenty of good claims in various quarters, where a few persons can locate together, but there is but little opportunity for large companies to make satisfactory settlements in the same vicinity. The Mission Creek region, before referred to, presents several strong attractions for a company, but is too far from the line of travel, and in a locality not likely to be reached by railroad communication for a long time to come.

The committee therefore after examining this section, on returning to the company at "Mission Creek," found the company prepared to respond to our recommendation very heartily. After listening to the report and a statement of the various advantages of this locality, the question was submitted, and decided by an aye that made the welkin ring, and the vote was followed by three hearty cheers for our chosen home. Whereupon the oxen were gathered in from the valley, where they were grazing, the camp broke up, the wagons repacked and with high hopes and glad hearts, our company, with all the imposing aspect of a caravan, was soon moving over the prairie, toward our new home. The train consisted of nine wagons, thirty-one yoke of cattle and about sixty men.

Up to the time of our departure from Mission Creek, five only of our company withdrew from us. Mr. Pease and Crane of Hartford, Mr. Crossman of Derby, and Mr. Parmelee of New Haven, left, as we supposed, with a view of returning home. Dr. Penfield, his brother and family have located themselves for the present at Topeka, but will most likely unite with us hereafter; two others have gone back but intend to return, and three behind are coming on. We have admitted two members³⁸ while on our way, and had applications from many others, but we prefer not to increase our number any farther until we are established, especially as by so doing we do not add to the population of the Territory. We are constantly told that our company *cannot* be kept together for the reason that no other has been, and therefore we must be scattered, but as yet we see no reason for despondency upon that point. There has been no time since our departure that our men seemed more determined to adhere to each other than when they left the camp ground on Friday last, and it was truly gratifying to hear squads of

38. John H. Gould was one of the new members and the other may have been a Mr. Hull. The "Minutes," April 7, 1856, read as follows: "Mr. Lines made a statement in regard to Mr. Hull. It was voted, that unless objections should appear, the Secretary should be authorized to record his name on our arrival at our destination."

them, as they trudged over the rolling swells of that fine country, singing as they journeyed,

"As when the weary traveler gains
The height of some o'er looking hill,
His heart revives if on the plains,
He sees his home though distant still."

A few of our number came on in advance of the main body to make the necessary arrangements for them on their arrival here. We left them in the "Potawattomie Reserve,"³⁹ crossing the mill creek, since which time we have been visited by a copious rain storm, extending through most of the day, Saturday, and we fear subjecting our friends to serious inconvenience. The storm was quite unusual for the season, and although of great value in softening the sod for the action of our plows, and starting the grass for the benefit of the cattle, came in a very bad time for the comfort of the company. We feel anxious to hear from them, especially as two of our number are down with the measles; we have therefore dispatched a wagon with a good supply of cooked provisions, and hope to see them soon, as the storm is now over.

At the crossing where we left them the government have a mill for grinding corn for the Indians. It is kept by a half breed Indian by the name of Jude W. Boussa,⁴⁰ a very intelligent man of good character. He is employed by the government on a salary, and his house is made available by travelers as a stopping place, and is the best we have seen in the Territory. It has been my good fortune to be "entertained" by him on three different occasions. His wife, a French Canadian, is evidently a good housekeeper. He has eight children, among them two young ladies, highly educated, decidedly pretty in appearance and prepossessing in their manner. The only piano we have seen in the Territory is at this place. While Mr. Boussa is very attentive to his guests and liberal in his charges, he will furnish *no whiskey* under any circumstances. He complains that the policy of the government toward the Indian tribes is very bad, calculated to prevent any progress among them, and to promote only indolence, pauperism and crime.

39. The Pottawattomie reserve was established in 1846 and embraced a tract of land 30 miles square, located in the present counties of Shawnee, Wabaunsee, Jackson and Pottawattomie.—William E. Connelley, "The Prairie Band of Pottawattomie Indians," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 14 (1915-1918), p. 491.

40. Jude W. Bourassa had come to the territory in 1846 or 1847 when the Pottawattomie tribe was moved from Indiana. Apparently he was an important member of the tribe. As early as 1852 and probably before that time he was operating a mill on the Pottawattomie reserve. He is described in the "Executive Minutes of Governor John W. Geary," as "an enterprising Indian, having a good mill, and cultivating a rich farm."—*Ibid.*, v. 4 (1886-1890), p. 623.

As things are a large section of the best part of the country is "reserved" for the use of a tribe, and every Indian has a right *in common* to the whole, but no one has an *absolute* right to a rod. The land still *belongs* to the government, the *use* of it to the tribe; hence if an enterprising man among them desires to raise stock, to cultivate a farm, to plant an orchard or make any permanent improvement, he is sure before hand that others of the indolent and unprincipled class will avail themselves of the fruits of his toil, in which case he has no redress—hence these wide extended plains are as the Lord left them at the creation, and will remain so until a wiser policy toward the Indian is adopted or the land brought within the reach of the white man's grasp. Under the influence of his industry and skill, some of the tribes have already effected an arrangement by means of which at some future day each family is to receive a liberal grant of land *absolutely*, and the balance of the Reserve be thrown open to preemption. . . .—L.⁴¹

WAUBONSA, April 28, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—The name of this locality adopted by the few settlers we find here, will, no doubt, soon give place to a new one more in accordance with our Connecticut notions, and congenial to our tastes; especially is this probable, as the pioneers themselves are desirous of a change. We have a post master, but no office, yet letters for the present may be safely directed to Waubonsa, K. T.,—and if they do not find their way to our locomotive Post Office, they will be found by us at the nearest one, which is at Uniontown, on the Reserve, about twenty-five miles east.

In order to give your readers some idea of the condition of things here, and the trials of new settlers, it may be well to state a few facts. We are sojourning under the roof of one of the pioneers,⁴² and I suppose we have as good accommodations as the County affords. The cabin is built of hewn logs, the crevices between them being partially filled in with blocks of wood, leaving any quantity of ventilators, through which the wind whistles most freely. It is partially covered on the outside and roof with oak shingles, slit out with an axe, and with the exception of the doors and windows, there is not the slightest evidence that a plane, or any other tool, except a broad axe and saw, was used in its construction. Our floor is the ground, our carpet, hay.

The size of the cabin is about 14 by 24. It contains a stove, bureau, table, four chairs, and two cupboards. Two of the bed-

41. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, May 19, 1856.

42. This was the home of James M. Bisbey.

steads are made as follows: four sticks of hickory sawed off about sixteen inches long, same as for fire-wood, and four rails about three inches through, roughly hewn, and driven into holes dug out of the posts, the cord stretched across in both directions by drawing it over the rails. It does not appear that any tool, except such as was used in building the cabin, was employed upon the bedsteads. Sheets are hung up to hide the beds occupied by men from the view of others in the room. Last night, two ladies were lodged on one of the beds, four men in the other two, and four children with four men upon the ground, with a fresh bed of hay spread over it, and in the morning all seemed to feel well. We were not dull from having breathed heated or impure air over night. We had not been alarmed by the cry of fire, nor were we frowned upon by the lady of the house for spitting upon the carpet. In this matter we had our choice, to make the spread hay our spittoon, or spit out doors through the crevices between the timbers.

We have here plenty of good milk, butter and bread, together with pork and fresh fish. The lady informs me that they arrived here in November, 1854, and until Christmas, or for about six weeks, she cooked out doors by the side of a tree, and that the family, six in number, slept under a tent just large enough to accommodate them, if they all lay straight. About New Year's they united with another family, and took up their winter quarters in a small cabin,—so small, that those whose beds were made at one end of the room, were under the necessity of retiring first, otherwise, the last to bed were obliged to walk over the others; but, notwithstanding these inconveniences, our friend informed me that she enjoyed herself very much while living out doors and sleeping in a crowd. They were all well, cheerful and happy. Their food was of the most common kind,—and yet their children, formerly very dainty, were glad to get hold of a dish of raw meal and molasses.—Their cabin now is in a bad location, too near the stream, and last Fall most of them were visited with "the shakes;" but with the exception of those who live in the woods, for the sake of securing the timber, this troublesome complaint in all new countries was not any more prevalent than is usual under similar circumstances.

Last evening, about bed-time, a young man called and desired Mrs. B[isbey] to go up and assist in laying out his mother, who had just breathed her last. The distance was $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles,—but the wagon was got up, and the melancholy service performed. The scene, from the description given us by one of our company who was present when the poor woman died, was sad indeed. The

husband is in common parlance, "a poor stick." The children, eight in number, living in abject poverty, saw their mother die on a buffalo robe spread upon the floor. The first difficulty after her death, was to provide a coffin. There were men who could make it, but no boards could be found. At last, one person offered to use part of the bottom of his wagon; another furnished the balance, and after great difficulty, a box was put together and made to answer the purpose. How changed the scene to one who has been accustomed to witness these last sad rites of respect for the dead performed in a very different style. The effect of being transferred in a few weeks from a community where a choice is given between a variety of habiliments for the dead, from a neat plain coffin to one of costly mahogany, rosewood, or metal, to one where the only alternative is between a coarse box and blanket, is on many accounts hard to be endured,—and the transition in many other respects is equally striking and painful; but the more these things are manifest, the greater the need appears for toil and sacrifice in order to plant here those institutions and influences which will speedily change the aspect of affairs, and cause this wilderness, covered as it is with a moral waste, to blossom as a rose.

Whatever may be said of the vices of our large cities at the East,—and there is little danger that they will be over-estimated,—we can already see the effect here of an absence of Christian institutions. We passed the Sabbath, yesterday, in our log cabin, without hearing the sound of a church-going bell, or seeing the children and their parents, dressed in their neat Sabbath attire, winding their way to the Sabbath School and to the church of God. We could read the Bible, sing and pray together, as we did; but, after all, the genial influence of a New England Sabbath is wanting,—and until a church is erected, schools established, and the services of a stated pastor enjoyed, we shall see but little reverence for God's word, or for His holy day. Neither shall we experience the many creature comforts that are found only in Christian communities and under the influence of Christian institutions.

It just occurs to me that personal cleanliness will be very much less regarded and practiced where the Sabbath is like all other days, and "Sunday clothes" are out of date and out of use. But it is useless to attempt a specification of the loss we suffer where God is not honored and habitually worshipped; but with the aid of our Christian friends at the East, we hope, ere long, to see a church edifice erected and hear the voice of the living preacher.

We find many good people here, scattered abroad, who feel deeply the wants referred to, and rejoice in the prospect of a better state of things. The past two days, Saturday and Sunday, have been severely trying to our company; the former by the severe rain storm, and the latter by the violent winds, which amount to a regular gale. They have not yet arrived, but we are looking for them every hour. These winds seem to us hard to be endured, but the gentleman with whom we are stopping, says they are no worse than they have in Western New York, and notwithstanding they appear to us so formidable, it is nevertheless quite possible, that the weather, as a whole, will be more agreeable than at the East.

In my next, I hope to inform you of the safe arrival and satisfactory beginning of our company in their Western home.—L.⁴³

WABONSA, May 2d, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—This letter is being written at our camp, under a tent, with plenty of thunder rolling over our heads, lightning flashing in the distance, and occasional showers pattering upon our cloth roof. If it were pleasant I should be otherwise employed, and you of course would be minus this "copy" for an unoccupied column of the *PALLADIUM*. We are incommoded by the rain, and yet it is so useful in softening the sod and starting the grass, that we feel quite resigned. Our men have generally staked out their claims. The surveyors are at work finding the boundaries, and the appraisers fixing their relative value, and we hope in a very few days to complete the arrangement and see every man singly located upon his farm. Two have left us since my last letter; one to locate in Lawrence, the other to return. A few others, who find it so difficult to be contented away from their wives, will very likely go home, and still others may do likewise, because of the "difficulties by the way," and the deprivations they did not anticipate, and yet there will no doubt remain a good company of not less than fifty, who will persevere in their efforts to build up a new town and organize a thriving community in "Kanzas."

We have had dry weather until within the past week, and the rains coming unexpectedly, found many of the company poorly prepared with shelters. At the close of the first rainy day a number were thoroughly wet and obliged to locate for the night as best they could. The tents we had were crowded to their utmost capacity, while the few cabins within our reach were also resorted to.

43. *New Haven Daily Palladium*, May 21, 1856.

The occupants afforded us all the accommodation in their power. The nearest one, but a few rods from our camp, is not over eight feet by ten, in the clear, and has barely room for a bedstead, table, stove and barrel, and yet the kind-hearted owners, a man and his wife, relinquished the bed to two of our men sick with the measles, for part of the time, and fixed a tolerable sleeping place for them *under* the bed for the balance of the night. One or two others were also sheltered in the room. Upon the same occasion six of us found an unoccupied cabin belonging to a gentleman from Maine, who when at home was Secretary of the Board of Education, and had been a member of the Legislature of the State. It was situated upon the bank of one of the creeks in the midst of woods and underbrush. Its size, thirteen feet by eleven, and without a floor. We found it very damp from the two fold cause of its location, and the dripping of the rain through the apertures in the roof and the openings between the logs.

We kindled a fire, groped our way through the wood to the creek for water, and prepared a "hasty" meal by cooking a little ham and warming over our mush; having finished supper and devoted a little time in a social way, we prepared to *retire*. One of the company having with him a hammock, suspended it from the roof and thus provided himself with a very comfortable lodgement. Another found two oak "*shakes*," or shingles, as we should call them, about three feet long and six inches wide, which he laid upon the ground, gathering up three straws, as he said, and laying upon the shingles, wrapped himself in his blanket and "turned in" among the spiders and other vermin that are usually found in a deserted human dwelling.

The bedstead belonging to the cabin was still in reserve for the accommodation of the remaining four of the company. It was constructed after the ordinary style of the country, no tool, except an axe, saw and auger, having been used upon it. Its dimensions, six feet long and three feet wide, and the bed, a brown bag with a little hay stuffing—but it was *too small* for four, and we therefore placed the table, three feet square, by the side of it, as one end, which gave an average of four feet and six inches in length by eighteen inches in breadth to each person. The table looked very much like the frame commonly used to scrape hogs on after they are killed, and consisted of a frame made from four round sticks, connected by two being driven into auger holes in the other two, and four legs attached by the same means—one of which was

constantly dropping out—with three of the “oak shakes” laid loosely across for the top; but as the table was somewhat higher than the bed, the projecting ends of the long sticks came in contact with the backs of those lying next them. Still after fixing them the best way we could, the Doctor preempted one outside claim, the President the other, at right angles, and the Deacon and a young man who came out with us, *for his health*, (and who, by the way, is decidedly improved,) fitted themselves upon the inner sides, with their legs necessarily hanging over toward the floor and our heads being together.

The Doctor, to prevent his young friend from pushing him off upon the lodger on the ground, was obliged to prop himself by means of a pole, braced against the side of the cabin. Thus arranged, after sundry expostulations for crowding, and complaints on account of sticks pressing the backs of the young man and the Deacon, we found repose for our exhausted bodies and dreamed of the loved ones we had left behind. Notwithstanding these rough and rustic scenes, these *hard* beds and *hardships*, we were all in good spirits, and in view of the object before us were no doubt happier than many of the denizens of ceiled houses in our old cities, who sleep upon spring mattresses, in chambers, carpeted and curtained after the latest style. Hope is a powerful stimulus in all our migrations and trials in this world, and we feel its blessed influence *here*. We are content, though absent from those we dearly love, because

“We still are joined in heart
And *hope* to meet again.”

And we rejoice notwithstanding our deprivations, because *we hope* “there is a good time coming,” and we are willing to “wait a little longer.” It is more and more wonderful to us every succeeding day to notice how pioneers live, and yet how content they seem.

Among the variety of *dwellings* found here, I noticed one to-day occupied by a very respectable man, which consisted of a box in which he brought fruit trees into the territory—seven feet long, three feet wide and three deep—with a slight roof fixed over it, leaving one side entirely open. In this box is his bed, across the end of it his chest—with a frying pan and testament lying upon the top, and yet he pursues his daily toil, is cheerful and looks forward to better times, being, like most of those who come to any of these new settlements *without means*, obliged to pass through severe trials before reaching a position of competence and comfort; but

even when after a few years of success they acquire the means of living in good style, they are slow to improve their condition, having from the mere force of habit become content with moderate and simple accommodations.

The farmer with whom I have boarded more or less since arriving here, and who has a fine farm and is evidently improving his condition rapidly, seems quite content to yield his lodging place by the side of his wife in favor of a lady of our company, and bunk down upon his *free soil* carpet for weeks together. Whether he is governed by a desire of gain, or a spirit of accommodation, does not fully appear; but under similar circumstances it is hardly probable that many of us would find motive enough in the former consideration to follow his example, however much we might be affected by the latter. Since lodging in this man's cabin I have twice been aroused from a morning slumber by the good lady selecting a piece of pork for our breakfast, from the barrel, which stands at the foot of our bed.

In traversing the prairies yesterday, for the purpose of appraising the claims taken by the members of our company, we discovered a variety of beautiful flowers, and among them the "sweet pea" in full bloom, much more beautiful than we have them in our flower gardens at the East, and of a delightful spicy odor. It would have given us very great pleasure could we have sent to our friends at home a bouquet, *by telegraph*, made up of these various native products of "Kansas." We also noticed strawberries in full bloom, raspberries leaved out and budded, grapes in leaf, and wild hops in great profusion. We are every day more impressed with the great agricultural resources of this country, and when it becomes subdued and under genial cultivation, and the arts and privileges of a Christian civilization are established here, we can see no reason why it may not be a delightful land, filled with abundance and variety for the sustenance and happiness of man.

Your readers may wonder why no more is said about the *political* affairs of Kansas, the prospect of her State government, &c. The truth is we have nothing to say. In the region where we dwell everything is as quiet in these respects as they are in Hamden. We are busy in preparing to break up the land and provide our habitations, and hear nothing said by any one of a political character. We know of only two pro-slavery men in our vicinity, and have but little fear of any difficulty on that subject. Lawrence is the center if not the circumference of agitation, excitement and confusion upon this subject.

We have heard within a few days of a new outbreak in that community, involving in all probability the death of the bogus Sheriff.⁴⁴ But as our mails from there come but once a week, we are without any definite information on that subject. We nevertheless fear that our friends in Lawrence may be on the eve of more trouble, but we must wait for the particulars. The Territory generally is quiet and persons wishing to emigrate hither need not be deterred by any statement they hear of a warlike character. We may witness a different state of things when the time for voting returns again; but we intend to push on our improvements, attend to our legitimate associations and be in readiness for whatever events may hereafter transpire. Of one thing be assured, KANZAS WILL BE FREE, unless the mistakes and imprudences of her friends prevent it, which is not probable. May we all have wisdom according to our necessities, be patient under trials and truly desire to make the worst of our lives for the good of mankind and the glory of God.—L.⁴⁵

WAUBONSA, K. T., May 8th, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Since my last communication we have made some progress toward a settlement of our company in this beautiful locality.—The more we reconnoiter the country the better it appears, and as the season advances the natural beauty and extraordinary fertility of the earth is more and more apparent. The deep black soil just turned up to the sun for the first time, shining in all its luxuriance, cannot fail to impress the beholder with its capacity for extraordinary production.

The grass roots in this primeval turf are so firm and penetrate to so great a depth, that a team of three stout yoke of oxen is required to break it up and the ploughing of *one* acre is a good day's work but as to its cap[a]city it would almost seem capable of yielding ten penny nails, jack plains or sledge hammers. As yet the principle product is corn, planted in the newly turned turf with *an* axe, and then left with no further labour until harvest.—The roots of grass, if the first ploughing is well done, will decay during the summer and the following spring. *Cross* plowing will bring the soil into a mellow condition, suitable for any kind of culture. It is supposed that the "ague" is caused chiefly by this decaying vegetation, and of course, that after the land is generally broken up, the cause being removed, the malady will disappear. My own

44. The bogus sheriff who is mentioned frequently in these letters was Samuel J. Jones. He was postmaster of Westport, Mo., but had been appointed sheriff of Douglas county, K. T., by the so-called "bogus legislature."

45. *New Haven Daily Palladium*, May 24, 1856.

impression, however, is that the want of good shelter and suitable food is the principle source of the disease; but that all these causes are of short continuance, and necessarily advert to the settlement of all new countries.

But as before indicated we are continually charmed with the new *beauties* of the country, as developed by the progress of the season. On our arrival a large portion of the surface in every direction was covered with the long brown grass of last year's growth, presenting at a distance very much the appearance of the sand plains and banks so frequently seen in Connecticut—but the scene now is changed, and the process by which the change was in part effected, has not been without interest. The "prairie fires," which may be seen in the early spring, every evening, sometimes exceedingly beautiful, are the natural and efficient agents of this very necessary work. We are told they are much more magnificent in the fall, but it has been my privilege to gaze upon some of these western fireworks with great pleasure. Upon one occasion while on our way, in rear of a cabin where we remained over the Sabbath, we witnessed the finest exhibition of this sort. The grass was very long, the surface undulating, and the distance from our point of observation about half a mile. A slight breeze served to give increased activity to the element, and a gentle waving to and fro of the flame—the effect was truly sublime; it seemed like a battalion of soldiers formed of fire—now as the flames passed a level plain in line, and anon as they descended the ravines and rolled upon the swells—counter-marching, moving in echelon, and forming columns of attack, until finally as the wind increased, a rapid retreat was apparent, and it was not difficult to imagine that the noise of the crackling underwood was caused by the tread of an army, as the fires disappeared over the summit of a distant bluff.

These fires leaving the surface black and smooth are now being succeeded by occasional showers, the influence of which is seen in the rapidity with which nature is spreading her green carpet over these broad prairies, and starting into life and beauty the ten thousand flowers that greet us in every direction. The denizens of an old city know but little how the mind is affected in walking out over these field[s] in the early morn, gazing upon nature in her *natural* dress, listening to the singing birds as they warble their early praises, and hailing the rising sun as it comes up from the distant east in no way intercepted by any of the works of man; or by a similar promenade in the evening twilight, when all

nature is sinking to rest,—and when from some elevated point of observation you see an unbroken horizon in every direction. The sky in the west gilded with the mellow rays of the “glorious orb of day,” just departed; the moon with its “borrowed light,” and the stars, differing in glory, now becoming the companions of your solitude. The *impression* of these scenes as they bring the mind in direct contact with God in his works cannot be realized in a crowded city, and there is an *unbounded extent* apparent to the mind here that cannot be realized with you, even in the country. I have never found such a *closet* for the contemplation of the greatness and glory of God as is afforded by an evening walk over these silent prairies. . . .

We have within the past few days completed our arrangement for the distribution of “claims,”—(A “claim” in this country means a quarter section of land subject to preemption)—and within the past two days they have been sold at auction to the highest bidder. Our plan provided that on our arrival here, each man should at once “*squat*” upon his claim and hold it subject to the final distribution; after which a general survey and appraisement was made and the choice sold precisely according to the plans usually pursued by religious societies in renting or selling pews. The appraisement amounted in all to \$450, and the bonuses for a choice to nearly \$600. By agreement the \$450 appraisement is to be distributed among those who take outside claims, not considered worth the average, while the bonus goes into the treasury for company expenses. About fifty have taken claims and are beginning to work upon them. Our plan was carried out to the letter and the harmony of the company preserved entire; every man appears entirely satisfied with the result of the sale.

It is remarkable that a company of men, most of whom were entire strangers to each other, should be able to travel the distance, encounter the privations, and be subject to the disappointments necessary in reaching our present locality, without having any root of bitterness spring up among them; but the fact is so. Almost every vote passed by the company has been unanimous, and I am not aware that any two individuals have been made unhappy by means of disagreement or controversy. A few have left from various causes—chiefly from becoming *homesick*; but I am sorry to say that in one or two instances individuals after leaving have spoken disparagingly of our location and prospects,—while the company are highly pleased and entirely satisfied with *both*. That

we are severely *tried* in consequence of absence from friends, poor accommodations, and undesirable food, *is true*—and that some of us are still more troubled with the loss of all kind of literary and religious privileges, is also true; but that we have made an unwise selection for a town, *is not true*,—nor that our prospects for the future are unpromising.

Several of our men have already commenced ploughing, and some have planted corn and potatoes. Our blacksmith shop will soon be in operation, but we very much need a shoe-maker, and a good stone mason. Our company are very well, considering the circumstances, and although we miss many comforts, our great aspiration will be relieved when our families are with us, and the sound of a church-going bell is heard in our midst.—L.⁴⁶

- WAUBONSA, K. T., May 13, '56.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—By the arrival of a lady connected with our company, who remained behind at Lawrence, we learn some particulars in regard to the state of things in that troubled city. It appears that the difficulties originated in the attempts of bogus Sheriff Jones to arrest certain persons connected with the State Government: these attempts were resisted, and in every instance where an individual was taken he was immediately rescued by the people. No violence was done to the Sheriff in all these proceedings—he was *held* back and in various ways prevented from accomplishing his purpose. These scenes were witnessed by our informant on the Sabbath, while returning from church, which circumstances will serve to illustrate to some extent the power of moral restraints in this country, or in other words the influences of the Bible and religious institutions over the masses of the people.

The character of the Sheriff is not alone the cause of this desecration, as it will be obvious that no man, however base, would attempt to make arrests in New Haven on the Sabbath, under circumstances certain to excite the populace, when from the nature of the case a postponement could be made without at all jeopardizing the ends of justice.—The truth is therefore that the people of Lawrence and to a great extent, I am sorry to say, of Kansas are not generally in the habit of respecting the Sabbath, but great allowance is no doubt to be made on account of the circumstances of the country, and the trials and agitations to which the people have been subjected, while we throw over the mantle of charity inscribed “there are no Sabbaths in revolutionary times.” There are very many good

46. Date of publication unknown.

people in Kansas, and whenever the Govt. becomes settled we shall no doubt see and feel their influences in establishing here those institutions we so highly prize in our New England homes.

The Sheriff having entirely failed in his attempts to make arrests by the power of his own authority, returned on the following Monday from Lecompton with twelve pro-slavery men to assist him, but it was no go. The people would not permit him to effect a single arrest, by his authority, for they do not and will not acknowledge him as a legitimate officer, but on the following day he appeared backed by a small number of U. S. troops, when all resistance immediately ceased, the people saying that any show of authority from the government of the United States they should always respect, and by the venal power of these allies—for their number was too insignificant to excite alarm—the Sheriff effected the arrest of six persons,⁴⁷ charged with various offenses, took them to Lecompton, where after a few days detention they gave bonds and were discharged.

On the night of these arrests Jones being in his tent in the suburbs of the city, and near where the U. S. troops were encamped, was shot by some unknown person. This circumstance of course produced great excitement, as it was supposed his wounds were mortal. He was immediately removed under an escort of troops, to an adjoining village, after having been kindly attended by one of the Free State physicians of Lawrence whom he had the day previous arrested. The Doctor was at once discharged in return of his kindness.—The following day Gov. Robinson called a public meeting, at which the attempted murder of Jones was strongly condemned and a reward of \$500 offered for the arrest of the murderer. The Sheriff is now considered out of danger.

During these movements a Sheriff's Deputy entered a house and inquired of the lady for her husband. She denied his authority and ordered him to leave the house, and upon his refusal dashed a kettle of scalding dish-water in his face, saying that as long as stoves and hot water were under her control no pretended creature of the bogus Legislature should ransack her house "by authority." There were several other instances where ladies treated these "territorial officers" with most decided contempt. In all cases, however, where the officers were accompanied by "troops" the soldiers were re-

47. G. W. Smith, G. W. Deitzler, and Gaius Jenkins were arrested at this time for high treason. The marshal had warrants for the arrest of several other individuals, including Governor Reeder and James H. Lane but could not find them. George W. Brown was already in custody under the same indictment and Charles Robinson, also a prisoner, faced an indictment for usurpation of office.—"Correspondence of Governor Geary," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4 (1886-1890), pp. 415, 417.

spected and no attempts at resistance to them was made. A few days subsequent to these events a U. S. Marshal⁴⁸ appeared with several warrants for the arrest of persons for "high treason." He called upon Gov. Reeder and requested him to follow, but the Governor declined on the ground first, that he was Senator of the United States and therefore not liable to arrest, and further that he was in the service of the Committee of Congressmen in session at Lawrence, and they were unwilling he should leave, as his services were very important to them in the progress of their investigations. He acknowledged the authority of the Marshal, but denied his right to arrest him under the circumstances.

It is said that Gov. Reeder is piling in the testimony in such overwhelming heaps of unanswerable facts, that the proslavery men feel there is no escape for them, except disposing of him, and it is feared this state of things may lead to difficulty, and force another resort to arms, even while the Committee of Congress are on the ground pursuing their investigation. We hope, however, that our friends will not be unnecessarily alarmed upon our account. We are so far removed from the seat of war, that in the event of an outbreak in that direction our services will hardly be available. We hope there will not be any serious affray and cannot believe there will, certainly while the Committee of Congress are in session there, but if our company are called upon and the circumstances are such as to justify a response, they will undoubtedly be ready. Still we have no serious apprehensions at present. The real cause of all the trouble at the present time is no doubt to be found in the facts alluded to, that the proslavery party are alarmed at the progress of the investigation before the Committee, but they will not I think dare to raise a fight upon such an issue. Yet it would be no more inconsiderate than many of the steps already taken by them. Let them rave, however,—give them all the rope they desire and the common result in such cases will follow—"suicide by hanging."

A new and deeply interesting event transpired in our little community to-day. I allude to the butchering of an ox, by means of which we have been put in possession of fresh meat for the first time since our arrival, and it is highly relished as you may readily believe. We hope to be more regularly supplied hereafter, as several of our men have decided, after planting, to go upon a buffalo hunt and bring back a supply for the season—while others will kill deer sufficient to supply our wants. In the interim we

48. Deputy United States Marshal William P. Fain was the officer who attempted to arrest Governor Reeder at this time. Fain was a Southerner.

have now two cows and in a few days will be supplied with one or two more, for purpose of milk and butter. We find growing wild a fine vegetable called "Osage plums," which grow somewhat like cranberries and look almost precisely like our common gooseberry. When boiled they taste very much like green peas, and are eaten freely by us. They are found in considerable quantities without difficulty upon the open prairie.

The season is now rapidly advancing. Our cattle find ample pasture without expense to us, upon these broad fields as they work and grow fat.—Vegetation is coming forward finely, and if we are not disturbed by "civil commotions" there can be nothing to hinder our making a good beginning this season. We regret to find that some of the persons who have "gone out from us," are giving most unmistakable evidence that "they were not of us," by the false representation made by them in regard to our company.

We wish therefore to caution the public against any stories they may hear upon the subject, and to say that we are finely located in a good section of the country—that we are united, there being more than sixty of our company with us—all of whom are well pleased, and that the reports circulated by some who have left us are slanders, unworthy the men who utter them, and undeserved by us. While it is probable you may hear little of these things at home, we hear and feel their influence with us, as we know of numerous instances where individuals on their way to join us, have been influenced in another direction by them. The facts in the case will appear in due time, while we hope to be gaining strength in our position, so that in the end all these things will work together for our good.—L.⁴⁹

WAUBONSA, K. T., May 17th, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We have experienced within the last two days some symptoms of war, and yet we trust nothing serious will result. Some ten days since we dispatched five teams to Kansas [City] to bring up our groceries and provisions. On their way back one of the teamsters left the road to do an errand at Topeka, and while there he was called up in the night and requested to proceed forthwith to our camp and request our men to be in readiness to march at a moments warning to the defense of Lawrence. He arrived here during the night of Monday, having walked that day forty miles, and communicated the information that the officers of the militia residing in Topeka had been

49. *New Haven Daily Palladium*, May 31, 1856.

sent for, to repair to Lawrence and consult upon some means of defense; the messengers stating that Gov. Robinson had been arrested, that the Committee of Congress were in danger, and the city liable to be destroyed any moment.

We did not regard the story as very probable, and took no action in relation to it, except that some of our young men employed themselves in brushing up their rifles, running bullets and making cartridges. On Tuesday evening another messenger appeared, also from Topeka, stating that an express had arrived from Lawrence with the information that the officers who left Topeka had been arrested, that fifteen hundred Missourians were approaching the city, from the neighborhood of Leavenworth, burning houses, &c. The President of the Company was called upon after having retired, and requested to convene a meeting of the company at midnight; this, however, was found impracticable, and a meeting was warned at 6 o'clock next morning.

In consequence of the distance at which some of the members are located from the camp, the meeting was attended by only about thirty. The business being stated, a motion was made by one of the younger members to dispatch twenty-five armed men immediately to Topeka, there to await further orders. This proposition was firmly resisted, on the ground that our information was altogether too indefinite to justify a decisive movement upon our part. The question now assumed a serious importance, the younger men generally favoring *a march*, the older counselling delay. The question being taken the proposition was negatived by a very close vote, and a resolution adopted appointing a committee of three⁵⁰ to proceed towards Lawrence for the purpose of ascertaining the facts in the case, and report the result as early as possible. The committee are now absent and we are waiting their return with much anxiety. In the meantime we have organized a rifle company, to be called "The Prairie Guard," with about forty members, and elected the following officers:

Captain—WILLIAM MITCHEL,⁵¹ of Middletown.

50. This committee was composed of William Mitchell, Jr., Dr. Joseph P. Root and J. H. Nesbitt, an early settler of Wabauensee who had been admitted into the colony. Nesbitt went only as far as Topeka, then returned home.—"Minutes," May 14, 19.

51. William Mitchell, Jr., was born June 24, 1826, in Kilmarnock, Scotland. While an infant his parents came to the United States and settled at Middletown, Conn. In 1849 he went to California by boat, thence to Australia and home by way of Great Britain. After coming to Kansas with the Connecticut Kansas colony, he was active in Free-State affairs. His home served as a station on the Underground railroad. Two or three years after the settlement of the colony, his father, William Mitchell, Sr., and his maiden sister, Agnes, joined him. He was one of the first county commissioners of Wabauensee county and held other public offices in the county. He served in the Kansas legislature of 1868. On March 31, 1868, William Mitchell was married to Mary N. Chamberlain, a childhood friend in Middletown, Conn. They had four children, Alex, Raymond, William I., and Maude.

1st *Lieut.*—WILLIAM BURGESS, of New Haven.

2d *Lieut.*—GEORGE WELLS, of Hartford.

Sergeants—1st, E. C. Lines, of New Haven; 2d, Wm. Hartley, of New Haven; 3d, J. H. Pillsbury of Waubonsa; 4th, S. M. Thomas, of New Haven.⁵²

No Corporals were deemed necessary. The company were drilled thoroughly in the afternoon and will parade again to-morrow at 5 p. m. My own impression is very decided that there will be no occasion for our interference, and my hope is that prudent councils will prevail with us, and our company be preserved from unnecessarily involving themselves in trouble. Yet if the call is to protect the innocent and defend the right, there will be no voice raised to deter our men from going to the rescue. On the contrary all will feel disposed to participate in the struggle and abide the issue. I think we are in no special danger of moving rashly. We suppose no friend at home would wish us to refuse to act if prudent councils shall clearly point out our duty in that direction.

We are now getting our affairs into a more comfortable shape, having completed a large tent fifteen feet by thirty, and received our stock of provisions, which are safely landed in the tent, and are now being distributed among the members as they are wanted. Our friend, George Coe, Esq., is entitled to the honor of being the first person in the Company to establish a regular business among us. He has opened an eating house upon the "European plan" under his tent. The dimensions of the apartment are about fourteen feet by ten. He furnishes meals at all hours, or as some of our men say meals without the s. Certain it is that his variety is not large. The conveniences of the establishment consist of a tent that cost \$15, stove \$10, sundry tin plates, pots and pans \$5—*no tables nor chairs*—trunks serving in place of the latter, and a box for the former; five knives and forks and two water pails, and yet with his diligence and obliging manner there can be no doubt of his ultimate success. His prices are 50 cts. per day or \$3 per week, without butter or milk except occasionally. He sometimes

Mitchell died March 31, 1903, at Wabaunsee. His daughter, Maude, is at present living in the old Mitchell home, three miles east of Wabaunsee. In 1953, the son, William I. Mitchell, gave a 30-acre tract of hill pasture, known as Mount Mitchell, to the Kansas State Historical Society. In accordance with the terms of the bequest a historical marker or monument will be designed and placed on the summit of the hill in 1956 as a tribute to the Connecticut Kansas Colony.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), p. 275; *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21 (Winter, 1954), p. 301.

52. The Prairie Guards were enrolled as Company H of the Free Kansas militia. The officers received their commissions from C. W. Topliff, adjutant general.—"Minutes," May 14, 1856.

accommodates thirteen with lodgings. Of course [he] is bound to make money, having now twelve regular boarders and as many more waiting for the completion of his new tent, which is making. He has a lady connected with the Company to assist him.

Mr. Isbel, from Guilford, is getting ready to start his blacksmith shop. Several of the Company are already constructing their cabins and ploughing up the prairie. I had my first lesson in the latter employment to-day and like the work very much, although I do not expect to find many opportunities to engage in it after the present month. We require three yoke of oxen to break prairie, and our practice is to join teams and plough for each other. We hope that some of us will be able to "put in" ten acres of corn. I have already started some grape-vines, strawberries, currants, blackberries, raspberries, and a few pear trees, brought from my own garden in New Haven, and from present appearances they do well. I intend to-morrow to plant melons, tomatoes, potatoes, and all the ordinary garden vegetables, if we are not summoned to shoulder our rifles and engage in a different kind of ploughing and planting.

One of our New Haven delegation, Mr. Church, left us a few days since, on his return home. He was pleased with the country and with our location, and we were much pleased with him and sorry to see him turn his back upon us, but we suppose he had reasons of a domestic character to influence his movement, that could not easily be controlled. We wish him well and have no fears that he will treat us with the unfairness that we have experienced at the hands of some others who have left us.

J. D. Farren is no longer one of our number, having as we understand, located in Lawrence, where he thinks his services in "the great cause of freedom" will be more needed than with us.—Another who left us last week has returned, so that our number is now fifty-seven. The day is rainy and we are in our cabins and tents, occupying our time as best we can. In our domicil at one of the best cabins in the place we have 8 members of the Company. Mr. and Mrs. P[ond], of our city, are reading; Dr. R[ead] of Milford is writing; Mr. T[uttle], of Bloomfield, is at present an invalid, but recovering; Mr. W[ells?], of Hartford, is reading and drying his clothes, which were wet in our ploughing experiment, this morning; Mr. S[elden], of Haddam, is an invalid, but doing well and enjoying himself very much; Deacon H[all], of our city, is just now running bullets to kill buffalo with, as he is bound to

go on a hunt during the season. But our landlady summons us to tea, and as we have a pie on the table, the first of any kind I have seen since our arrival, made from *sorrel* and sweetened with molasses, I must wind up, only adding that as soon as any further intelligence is received from the seat of war I will write you.—L.

P. S.—Since writing the above we have been visited with more rumors in regard to the state of things at Lawrence. During the day a military company of about twenty-five men from the region of Manhattan passed through our village, and made strenuous efforts to induce us to join them, but we preferred to wait the return of our committee, knowing that sufficient time had transpired to give them opportunity to communicate with us from Topeka, if in their judgment it was expedient for us to move. I think our company are *decided* not to mix themselves up with any fighting operations merely at the call of military officers. They intend to *know* for what purpose they are wanted, when the evidence is clear and duty points to the cannon's mouth, they will not be found wanting.—L.⁵³

WAUBONSA, K. T., May 22, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—When I last wrote you, it was stated that in consequence of several dispatches which had been received within a few days, we had thought best to send a committee to inquire after the safety of our teams, then past due, and possibly detained by some of the guerrilla parties of Missourians upon the road between here and Kansas City, and also to ascertain, as far as practicable, the real motive of the difficulties reported as existing in Lawrence. The committee left here on Wednesday, the 14th inst., and the facts in regard to their progress, are as follows: They proceeded from here to Topeka, having passed our teams a short distance from here, all right. At Topeka, they were informed that the Lawrence people did not wish any reinforcements. Feeling a desire, however, to learn all the circumstances in regard to the matter, they proceeded to Lawrence, arriving there on Friday, the 16th inst. After completing their inquiries, they left the city in the evening, in company with two other men from another part of the Territory, who were on the same errand. We were informed, before they left, of a camp of Georgians, who had pitched their tents on the public road about seven miles west of Lawrence, but some of our men, with their teams, had stopped among them, and found no disposition to be quarrelsome.

53. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, June 14, 1856.

It now appears that this encampment had, at this time, assumed a different character, purporting now to be "*a posse comitatus*," collected by the U. S. Marshal, ostensibly to aid him in making certain contemplated arrests in Lawrence. From all we can learn, they are a desperate set of men, entirely lawless, and while waiting the orders of the Marshal, the U. S. are in no way to be held responsible for their acts.

As we suppose, the moment they are interfered with, the Marshal will assume the command and claim their protection as forces under him. A deputation from Lawrence visited the camp a few days since, for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the Marshal,⁵⁴ when he informed them that *he* intended to come into the city, make such arrests as he chose and require the citizens to give up their arms. The committee signified their willingness that he should proceed without any hindrance, with a reasonable force, to arrest all persons for whom he had warrants, but protested against the introduction of a thousand armed men into their community, to be set at liberty among them, for the purpose of murdering and plundering their citizens. Nothing was accomplished, and they returned. That community are now waiting for the action of the Marshal. It will be perceived that this plan of subjugating the people of Lawrence is peculiar and difficult to meet, because ostensibly the invaders are acting under the authority of the United States. How far they will go in arresting unoffending citizens, and taking from the people their arms, in open defiance of an express provision of the Constitution of the U. S., remains to be seen.

Two only of our committee proceeded to Lawrence,—the other one remaining at Topeka until Sunday morning, when he left, arriving here in the night. He brought the very unwelcome intelligence that two men arrived at Topeka on Saturday, stating that they had been sent from another part of the Territory to investigate the state of things at Lawrence, and that they had left there on Friday evening in company with our committee, and when passing the camp referred to, were hailed and ordered to stop, but that they put the spurs to their horses and escaped, while our men, as they suppose, were detained. At all events we have heard nothing from them direct, since then, and as several guns were fired at the time, we of course feel anxious for the result. We do not yet believe they were harmed, but we have no evidence that

54. Israel B. Donaldson, appointed United States marshal for Kansas territory in 1854. He served through the administrations of four territorial governors.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7 (1901-1902), p. 332.

they were not, and no doubt as to the fact that they were stopped as represented.

We have held several meetings of our company since. We have sent two committees as far as Topeka, to inquire, but as yet get no information, and are thus placed in very trying circumstances.—Some of the company are anxious to proceed in a body to rescue our friends, or die in the attempt. That probably will not be done, as we are sure that we should be under the necessity of contending with more than a thousand men, and, after all, the plea may be set up that our men are only detained as a part of the Marshal's force, or some other equally plausible pretext. In the meantime, we are to-day applied to from Topeka to furnish a few men, and as many rifles as possible, to aid in organizing a company of mounted men to take the place of a governing power so far as to protect persons and property on the highway, and punish, if need be, those who are found guilty of violating the rights of travelers, or in any way practicing their atrocities upon unoffending people. We are to hold a meeting this afternoon to act upon the application.

One of our men in charge of the last teams that arrived, stopped at the camp referred to, but it was then the "Georgia Camp," so called. He had conversation with many of the men, and saw no disposition among them to quarrel. They informed him that they had been misled in leaving their homes upon this enterprise,—that a number of their men had returned, and more were intending to do so. One man, who was a sort of a leader of a portion of the company, told him that it was all a bad speculation, that he was intending to return and should do what he could to prevent others from coming.—These are the men who came out under Co. Buford,⁵⁵ to make Kansas a slave state. It is a remarkable fact, that most of those who come from the South, come *with the avowed purpose of accomplishing that object*. They do not, therefore, generally locate,—neither do they work. On the contrary, the great body of those who come from the free States, come to settle, bringing their ploughs and cattle with them.

55. Maj. Jefferson Buford, a lawyer of Eufaula, Ala., organized a party of men to come to Kansas for the purpose of strengthening the cause of the South. Many of the men expected to settle in Kansas. The company, consisting of men from Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama, left Montgomery, Ala., on March 31, 1856. The men were unarmed but each carried a Bible. This was intended as a rebuke to Henry Ward Beecher.

Upon reaching Kansas the men scattered to find claims but were soon summoned to Lecompton. Here they were enrolled and armed by Governor Shannon as territorial militia. After the hostilities of the summer of 1856 had died down many of the men returned home, others enlisted in the United States troops in Kansas, while a few went over to the other side and became Free-State partisans.—See W. L. Fleming's "The Buford Expedition to Kansas," in *The American Historical Review*, v. 6 (1900-1901), pp. 38-48.

Yet *we* are those to be disarmed, and in various ways molested, while the others are all right. Was ever such a monstrosity practiced before under the forms of free government? Take the case of our two men. By what constitutional right are they detained? Why are they abridged of their liberty? What evil have they or we done? We came here in an orderly and quiet way, and have commenced breaking up the land and erecting our cabins. We sent out a committee on perfectly legitimate business. By what right are they arrested and detained? Is no protection to be furnished, or are we thus to live at the mercy of a mob? Two men have been murdered within the past week upon the road, because they would not give up their money, arms and horses. Who are to be held responsible for these abominations? We have all been disappointed that during the sojourn of the Committee of Congress in the Territory, these things should be enacted,—but some suppose that one of the objects is to prevent that Committee from a successful fulfillment of their duties. They have spent some time at Lawrence, and are now at Leavenworth. It is reported that testimony has been given before them, directly convicting Oliver, one of the Committee, of voting in Kansas. This is given only as a report,—it may or may not be true.

With the exception of these embarrassments, all things are going well with us, and in a few months we should be ready for our families, and prepared to lay the foundations of a future prosperous community and populous town,—but where these troubles are to end, it is impossible to say. The difficulties are multifarious. Yet it is not easy to see exactly how the very large majority of free State men in the Territory are to be overcome, if they stand firm.

The facts in regard to the character of the Territorial government, the nature and absurdity of their laws, causing very properly an utter disregard of their exactions from the people, are a great source of trouble, but the position of the U. S. government, and the character of President Pierce's officials here, is, after all, perhaps the greatest embarrassment. We cannot contend with them, and do not feel disposed to. We doubt whether we shall be permitted to pursue the peaceable avocations in which we are engaged, without being constantly annoyed by those *whose purposes may be defeated by the accumulation in the Territory of quiet citizens in favor of a free government.*

There probably will be no permanent peace until after the Presidential election, *and not then if the pro-slavery democracy*

are successful. It is quite clear that we are to have slavery established here if it is in the power of Missouri, aided by government officials, to accomplish the object. Whether in the Providence of God this result is to be permitted, He who controls all events, alone knows. To him we must commit our case, with confiding trust. This is our only safe reliance—our only ray of hope.

The meeting has decided to take no action in reference to the application from Topeka, except to send a messenger communicating the result of our deliberations. I wish, in conclusion, to say that our weekly mail leaves to-morrow morning, and we hope our friends will be free from alarm until they hear something from us that can be relied upon.—L.⁵⁶

56. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, June 16, 1856.

[*To Be Concluded in the Summer, 1956, Issue.*]

The Annual Meeting

THE 80th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 18, 1955.

The meeting of the directors was called to order by President Francis D. Farrell at 10 A. M. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary:

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 18, 1955

At the conclusion of last year's meeting the newly elected president, Dr. F. D. Farrell, appointed Will T. Beck and reappointed John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee. The members holding over were Charles M. Correll and Frank Haucke.

During the past year four members of the Society's board of directors died: Mrs. Carrie A. Hall, Leavenworth; Gus S. Norton, Kalvesta; Charles M. Harger, Abilene; and Prof. Robert Taft, Lawrence. Mrs. Hall became a member of the Society in 1914. Three years later she gave a collection of 945 books and other materials on Presidents Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt which she had been gathering since 1909, and at intervals during the next 30 years she made 24 additions to her gift. Technically the collection was on loan during Mrs. Hall's lifetime, with the provision that upon her death it was to become the permanent property of the Society. Mr. Norton was an organizer and first president of the Finney County Historical Society which was established in 1948. Mr. Harger and Professor Taft were long-time members of the Society. Both served for many years on the board of directors and both were presidents of the Society, Mr. Harger in 1930-1931 and Professor Taft in 1952-1953. The death of these friends and benefactors is recorded with sincere regret.

APPROPRIATIONS AND BUDGET REQUESTS

This year, for the first time, the Society is operating on a system of annual rather than biennial appropriations. In 1954 a constitutional amendment provided for "budget sessions" of the legislature in the even-numbered years, in addition to the regular sessions in the odd years, and the first such budget session will convene next January. For the Society—and all other state agencies—the annual preparation of budget requests will entail more work but it should also be advantageous in that requests can be made more frequently and more realistically, since it will not be necessary to anticipate requirements and costs so far in advance.

The 1955 session of the legislature, in addition to the usual appropriations for salaries and normal operating expenses, made several important special appropriations. Last year's request for \$44,000 for air conditioning was denied, but a grant of \$6,600, added to a transfer of \$6,147 from another fund, was sufficient to install 27½ tons of air conditioning equipment in the museum, including a circulating water tower, pumps, and the necessary plumbing and wiring. This will cool approximately half of the museum. The legislature also appropriated \$6,000 for the purchase of 20 new display cases for the museum, a major step in the rebuilding and modernization program

which is now in progress in that department. Other appropriations were made for painting, plumbing and elevator repairs, partial replacement of electric wiring, and insulation of steam lines.

For operation of the historical properties administered by the Society the following special appropriations were made: First Territorial Capitol, \$1,500 for a new roof; Pike-Pawnee Village, \$1,000 for repair and painting of the fence and flagpole, repairs to the monument, and for routine maintenance; Shawnee Methodist Mission, \$3,500 for tuckpointing and waterproofing the West and North buildings, \$1,500 for reinforcing the floor of the West building, and \$700 for plastering, painting, and wallpapering. No special appropriations were received for the Kaw Mission at Council Grove.

The acceptance of a new property, five miles north of Iola, to be called the Funston Memorial State Park, was provided for by the legislature. It is officially to come under the Society's management today. An appropriation of \$2,600 has been allowed for the care of this property.

Budget requests for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, were filed with the state budget director last month. In addition to appropriations for salaries and operating expenses \$35,000 has been asked for completion of the air conditioning, \$10,000 to continue the replacement of electrical wiring, \$26,000 for steel floors in the main stack area, \$10,200 for replacement of exterior doors, \$1,300 for purchase and installation of two outrigger flagpoles, and \$5,000 for installing asphalt tile in the museum. At the Kaw Indian Mission, \$7,575 has again been requested for conversion of the garage into living quarters for the caretaker, and for building a new frame garage, toolhouse and storage area. The caretaker's cottage at the First Territorial Capitol needs painting, and for this work \$600 has been asked. At Shawnee Mission \$6,000 has been requested for a large brick addition to the garage, needed for a workshop and storage area, \$3,500 for a chain-link fence, \$3,000 for deepening the basement of the West building and laying a concrete floor, and \$3,500 for painting and papering.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Several special projects which would be particularly appropriate for this centennial period were suggested in last year's report. One was a booklet-length illustrated history of Kansas which should have wide appeal. Others, which would provide valuable reference tools, were the publication of a "List of Dead Towns" and a listing of state officials during the past 100 years.

Another major project already underway is a cumulative index to all the Society's publications—the *Collections*, *Quarterlies*, *Biennial Reports*, and special *Publications*. Although this work was interrupted for the preparation of an index to the first volume of the new *Annals of Kansas*, it is again in progress. Entries covering the first eight volumes of the *Collections* have been completed. An estimated 17,000 listings have been made for 3,027 pages of text, the index slips have been interfiled, and a master index to those first eight volumes, in card form, is now available. In style and coverage, this master index is similar to that in the *Quarterly*.

The series of news releases, taken from territorial newspapers and other papers of a century ago, is still being sent each month to the Kansas press. The releases continue to be well received and illustrate once again that Kansans are interested in their historical background whenever it is brought to their attention.

A special project, authorized by the 1955 legislature, is a survey of historic sites and buildings in Kansas. The intent of the act is that the survey shall continue until all important sites have been examined, for the secretary is required to "make a report and recommendations to the governor and to the 1957 regular session of the legislature, and to each regular session thereafter." The project's purpose is to determine what sites and structures are worthy of preservation and maintenance, to stimulate in communities and organizations an interest in their own local history, and to encourage them in their efforts to salvage and rebuild historic sites which otherwise will deteriorate and disappear. For this work an appropriation of \$750 was made, to provide for necessary travel and for printing the report.

LIBRARY

On June 30 Helen M. McFarland retired after 43 years as a member of the Society's library staff, the last 32 of which she served as head librarian. Through the years Miss McFarland has been a conscientious and devoted employee of the state. The present high standards of the library and the quality and availability of its materials are owing in part to her excellent guidance. Alberta Pantle, the senior cataloguer, is now serving as acting librarian.

The record number of researchers reported last year has been exceeded in the past 12 months, during which 3,937 patrons used the Society's library collection. This continued interest in research may be due, in part, to the need for material for centennial celebrations of towns founded in 1855, but it also undoubtedly indicates a wider knowledge and greater appreciation of the research facilities of the Society and a growing interest in both state and local history. Of the total number of patrons, 1,455 worked on subjects of Kansas interest, 978 on general subjects, and 1,504 on genealogy. Numerous queries by telephone and letter were also answered through the year, and 169 packages were sent out from the loan file.

In the clipping department 2,769 single issues of miscellaneous newspapers were searched in addition to the seven daily newspapers which are regularly read, clipped, and mounted. Five anniversary editions of newspapers, as well as centennial issues from Atchison, Perry, Marysville, Manhattan, Junction City, Iola, and Holton were prepared for the clipping volumes to facilitate reference work on these communities. During the year 7,469 clippings were mounted, and 700 pages of two early clipping volumes were remounted.

The number of states represented in our collection of microfilm copies of the Federal census of 1850 was increased to 11 through the gift of the Tennessee census from the Kansas Society, Sons of the American Revolution, and the purchase of the Pennsylvania census, made possible by gifts for that purpose from the Kansas Society, Daughters of the American Colonists; the Margaret Dunning and John Pound chapters of the Daughters of the American Colonists; Kansas chapter, Daughters of 1812; and Mrs. H. B. Gilkeson, Wichita.

A number of family histories were donated by individuals. Lineage books, yearbooks, and typed records have been given by various patriotic societies in Kansas who have always been generous in contributing materials for the Society's genealogical collection.

Interesting and useful collections of books and other materials for the Kansas section of the library include: 68 magazine articles by the late Charles

M. Harger, from his daughter, Mrs. R. I. Parker, Hinsdale, Ill.; 93 volumes of early Kansas items and state publications from the Morrill Free Public Library at Hiawatha; and 12 volumes of scrapbooks and one volume of addresses and letters relating to the candidacy and term of office of former Gov. Walter A. Huxman.

Two recent county histories are especially deserving of mention: volume 2 of the *History of Finney County, Kansas*, compiled by the Finney County Historical Society, and *Ness Western County Kansas*, by Mrs. Minnie Dubbs Millbrook. The unusual quality of the latter is attested by the fact that it was awarded a certificate of merit by the American Association for State and Local History at its annual meeting in Williamsburg, Va., September 26.

Centennial historical booklets were received during the year from Manhattan and Oskaloosa.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year 494 photographs, two sets of slides, and five reels of motion picture film have been added to the picture collection. The movie film came from Gov. Fred Hall, who used it for television programs during the 1954 gubernatorial campaign. The slides, given by the Citizens' Commission on Assessment Equalization, were used to illustrate studies made in 1953 and 1954. Mrs. Hall, wife of the governor, gave 17 color photographs of the interior of the executive mansion. Several photographs used in the booklets published by the Topeka Centennial Commission and the Jefferson County Centennial Corporation were given and many other pictures were lent to the Society for copying.

Use of the collection by authors and publishers in search of pictures illustrative of Kansas and the West has increased during the year. Local business firms have consulted the collection for the preparation of anniversary displays, and one of the Topeka newspapers is currently publishing a pictorial feature using photographs from the Society's files.

The search for pictures for use in the forthcoming volume of the *Annals of Kansas* has already brought forth promises of donations which will substantially enlarge the collection, and the completion of an excellently equipped darkroom permits the Society to make its own pictures, prints, and enlargements, with much improved service to the public.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

Public records from the following state departments have been transferred during the year to the archives division:

Source	Title	Dates	Quantity
Agriculture, Board of . . .	Statistical Rolls of Counties,	1948	1,657 vols.
	Population Schedules of Cities and Townships . .	1954	3,988 vols.
Auditor's Office	Fiscal Records: State Peni-		
	tentiary	1881, 1882	1 vol.
	Correspondence: Board of		
	Equalization	1893, 1894, 1896, 1897	3 vols.
	Correspondence and Papers:		
	Surveyor General for		
	Kansas and Nebraska . .	1827-1876	1 transfer case

Citizens' Commission on Assessment Equaliza- tion	Agenda, Minutes, Rules, etc	1953, 1954	3 folders
	Clippings and County An- alysis Report Cards....	1953, 1954	1 reel
Governor's Office	Correspondence Files.....	1953, 1954	10 transfer cases
	Extradition, Pardon and Parole Files; Notaries Public, Justice of the Peace and Miscella- neous Appointments and Resignations	1890-1955	36 transfer cases, 24 file drawers
Industrial Farm for Women			
	Correspondence Files	1921, 1928- 1932	1 box

Annual reports were received from the Banking Department, the Board of Engineering Examiners, the Corporation Commission, the Labor Department, the State Printer, and the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955. In addition, annual reports for earlier years which had been missing from the division's files were received from the Auditor's Office, Fort Hays State College, Grain Inspection Department, Insurance Commissioner, Kansas State College, Labor Department, and State Office Building Commission.

Several large volumes of records of the Livestock Sanitary Commissioner, 1884-1934, were microfilmed and the originals destroyed during the past year. These volumes, which were difficult to store and handle because of their size, were reproduced on six reels of microfilm and include minutes of the commission, registers of letters received, and livestock inspection and shipment records.

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

The largest single gift received during the year was a collection of papers from the estate of John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior under Lincoln, and later general solicitor for the Union Pacific railroad. The papers were given by Mrs. Lucy Usher Shelton of Pomona, a granddaughter, in the name of Mrs. Linton J. Usher, daughter-in-law of Usher. There are 666 letters and documents in the collection, nearly all of them pertaining to personal and family affairs.

Military records of the 11th regiment, Kansas cavalry, from the papers of Preston B. Plumb, were given by Mabel H. Edwards, Emporia. Plumb served as a lieutenant colonel of the regiment. The collection contains muster rolls, rosters, reports of casualties, special orders, and two items of particular interest: a book of plans of military posts and stations in the District of the Plains; and a table of distances between Fort Kearney, Nebraska territory, and Junction Station, Colorado territory.

Papers of William Elmer Blackburn were given by his son, W. A. Black-

burn, Herington. Blackburn was a widely-known Kansas editor associated with newspapers at Anthony and Herington. Of special interest in the collection is a group of letters concerning Dr. A. L. Shelton, who became a medical missionary to China after his boyhood on a Kansas farm, and who was killed by bandits on a Tibetan journey.

Positive photostats of the minutes of the Lawrence Common Council, September 22-October 23, 1854, were received from the University of Kansas library.

Minutes of the Ministerial Union of Topeka, 1884-1902, were given through William B. Culbertson.

A valuable addition to the Robert Simerwell papers was received from Bessie E. Moore, Wakarusa. The 123 manuscripts are mainly letters by members of the Simerwell family to each other, and fall within the period 1829-1867. There are references to the missionary work of Robert Simerwell and his wife, Fannie Goodridge Simerwell.

Two volumes of records kept by Dr. Milton Cain, McLouth, 1907-1922, were received from C. R. Van Druff, McLouth.

Mrs. Cecile P. McCann, Oklahoma City, and Dr. C. F. Swingle, Sturgeon Bay, Wis., grandchildren of Charles Frederic William Leonhardt, presented a collection of his papers. Leonhardt was in Kansas during the territorial troubles and the collection contains articles on the underground railroad and the Danites, a Free-State secret society.

Typewritten transcripts totaling 253 pages relating to Octave Chanute's activities in the building of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston railroad, 1871-1873, were received from Pearl I. Young of Pottsville, Pa. Included are copies of letters by J. M. Walker and Octave Chanute, and documents from the Department of the Interior records in the National Archives.

Two groups of Turnverein records were added to the collections. Four volumes of records of the Topeka Turnverein, 1904-1922, were presented by Norbert J. Klinge, Topeka, in the name of his father, Fred Klinge, for many years financial secretary of the organization. Twenty-eight volumes of minutes, accounts, membership lists, and correspondence, comprise a collection of Atchison Turnverein records, also received during the year.

Other donors were: Mrs. Juanita Barnes, Mrs. Mary K. Burbank, C. M. Case, Charles H. Dick, Dickinson County Historical Society, Mrs. Medora Hays Flick, Mrs. Claude Hindman, Garnette Jones, Ralph Kersey, Mrs. Robert H. Kingman, Mrs. H. R. Landes, E. J. Longren, Ralph M. Martin, Dr. Karl A. Menninger, Max M. Morehouse, Nina Harrod Morris, W. W. Morrison, Postal Savings and Loan Association, Richard W. Robbins, Clyde K. Rodkey, J. C. Ruppenthal, Mrs. H. W. Seery, Mrs. Leonidas Shriver, Ida Gleason Stewart, Annie B. Sweet, B. E. Truesdell, Mrs. Matthew Weightman, Col. Edward N. Wentworth, Horace T. Wilkie, Carrie Wood, and Otis E. Young.

Microfilm copies of the following have been acquired:

Diary of Alfred Stafford, 1864. Stafford was a member of Company A, 85th regiment, Indiana volunteers. The original was lent by Mrs. Terry Stafford.

Records of the First Presbyterian Church, Lyndon: constitution, charter, minutes of the session, 1870-1954. Originals lent by Mrs. Hallam Smith, Lyndon.

Papers of the Elder family of Ottawa. The letters are addressed mainly to

Aldamar Phipps Elder. Originals lent by Mrs. George Shader, Ottawa.

Two manuscripts by Col. J. M. Chivington: "The Prospective" and a record of the First regiment of Colorado volunteers. The originals are held by the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

MICROFILM DIVISION

In the past 12 months the microfilm division has made more than 300,000 photographs, bringing its total in nine years of operation to approximately 3,800,000. This year, newspapers accounted for 270,000 exposures, archives for 26,000, and library and manuscript materials for the remainder.

The most extensive single project was the filming of the Great Bend *Daily Tribune*, December 7, 1908-December 31, 1951, which consisted of more than 100,000 pages. In addition, the following Great Bend newspapers were microfilmed: *Inland Tribune*, August 12, 1876-April 28, 1887; *Weekly Tribune* (a continuation of the *Inland Tribune*), April 29, 1887-April 9, 1915; *Item*, August 4, 1900-August 22, 1908; *Rustler*, March 1, 1904-August 22, 1908; *Item-Rustler*, August 23-December 5, 1908; *Register*, May 11, 1876-July 30, 1908; *Evening News*, February 6, 1890-April 30, 1897; *Morning News*, January 30-September 28, 1910; *Barton County Democrat* (weekly), November 11, 1886-February 12, 1915; and the *Barton County Democrat* (daily), February 15, 1915-November 30, 1918.

Filming of the Chanute *Daily Tribune* was completed for the period June 22, 1892-November 1, 1915, and is continuing. Nearly 45,000 pages have been photographed as of September 30. Other large runs were the Topeka *Commonwealth*, May 1, 1869-October 31, 1888, and the Humboldt *Union*, July 13, 1867-December 30, 1954. Also microfilmed during the year were: *Atchison Squatter Sovereign*, February 3, 1855-December 5, 1857; *Lane County Journal*, Dighton, February 11, 1897-June 9, 1911; *Dighton Weekly Journal*, February 18, 1886-March 10, 1892; *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, October 21, 1854-December 17, 1859; *Solomon Valley Pioneer*, Lindsey, September 17, 1870-March 29, 1873; *Lyndon Leader*, August 25, 1881-January 11, 1883; *Lyndon Signal*, July 9, 1870-June 22, 1871; and *Wichita Tribune*, March 15-November 16, 1871.

Archival materials microfilmed were the Kansas state census of 1905, volumes 1-75, and records of the Livestock Sanitary Commission, 1884-1934. Many small items were filmed for the manuscript division and the library, including 11 volumes of the William Clark papers, copies of which are frequently requested.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

During the year, 5,712 persons visited the newspaper and census divisions, an increase of about 200 over last year. They made use of 5,550 single issues, 5,162 bound volumes, and 1,524 microfilm reels of newspapers. The number of census volumes searched jumped to 31,573 from about 23,000 the previous year.

Certified copies of census records are issued by the Society to the public without charge. The certificates provide proof of age and place of birth for delayed birth certificates, social security, railroad retirement, and other purposes. The number issued this year reached an all-time high of 15,107, nearly

50 percent more than during the preceding 12 months. Principal cause of the upswing is the inclusion of farmers in the social security program.

The Society regularly receives nearly all Kansas newspapers for filing. They include 55 dailies, one triweekly, 10 semiweeklies, and 293 regular weeklies. Included in the files as of January 1, 1955, were 56,651 bound volumes of original Kansas newspapers. In addition the collection includes over 12,000 volumes of out-of-state newspapers dating from 1767 to 1955. The Society acquired 420 reels of newspapers on microfilm this year, bringing the film collection to 5,247 reels.

Microfilm copies of current issues of their newspapers are being contributed regularly by the following publishers: Oscar Stauffer and Rex Woods, *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*; E. W. Johnson, *Chanute Tribune*; George W. Marble, *Fort Scott Tribune*; Angelo Scott, *Iola Register*; W. A. Bailey, *Kansas City Kansan*; Dolph Simons, Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*; Daniel R. Anthony, III, *Leavenworth Times*; and Henry Blake and Leland Schenck, *Topeka Daily Capital*.

Among the older newspapers received by the Society was the *Solomon Valley Pioneer*, Lindsey, October 18, 1870-March 22, 1873, donated by Mrs. E. E. Lindsey of Minneapolis. Theodore H. Scheffer, Puyallup, Wash., was instrumental in obtaining these valuable newspapers for the Society. Mr. Scheffer also obtained the issue of September 17, 1870 (Vol. 1, No. 2), for the Society to microfilm.

Other donors of miscellaneous older newspapers include: Fenn Ward, Highland; George J. Jelinek, Ellsworth; Warren P. Chaney, Gov. Fred Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Roy Stookey, and the City Library, Topeka.

MUSEUM

Stanley D. Sohl, formerly of Lincoln, Neb., joined the staff on November 1, 1954, as museum director. For four years he had been museum artist for the Nebraska State Historical Society, and was largely responsible for the preparation of displays in that society's new building in Lincoln. Many improvements have been made in the Kansas museum since Mr. Sohl took charge, and an ambitious program is underway.

Attendance for the year in the museum was 36,097. There were 110 accessions comprising 743 objects—more than double the number received last year and triple the number donated in 1953. The increased number of gifts is largely the result of the museum's expansion program and the excellent response of the Society's members and friends to requests for materials which have been made in our bimonthly newsletter, the *Mirror*.

During the past 12 months the museum has made more substantial progress than in any similar period in its history. One of the most extensive projects has been the construction of period rooms. Seven rooms and a special display area have been planned for the west gallery. Of these, a bedroom of the 1860's and a sod house of the 1880's have been completed, while two more rooms—a parlor of the 1920's and a farm kitchen of the 1890's—are under construction. These rooms are designed to show the changing interiors of Kansas homes from the time the state was settled.

While the west gallery will illustrate the domestic aspects of Kansas life, six more period installations devoted to other activities are planned for the east

gallery. These will include a general store and post office, blacksmith and harness shop, printing shop, doctor's office, and a dentist's office.

Plans have also been made for improving and modernizing the main gallery. Twenty new museum cases designed for three-dimensional displays will be delivered next month. The Society's budget for next year includes a request for 20 more cases, which, if allowed, should be sufficient to complete the work now planned in the main gallery.

New cases have been installed at the Kaw Mission in Council Grove and the First Territorial Capitol at Fort Riley. Displays for these cases were constructed by the museum staff this year. Those at the Kaw Mission are devoted to Kaw Indian history, the Santa Fe trail, Council Grove, and the mission itself. At the First Capitol the exhibits trace Kansas history from the Louisiana Purchase through the troubled political events of Gov. Andrew H. Reeder's administration.

Storage and working facilities in the museum have been greatly improved. Mothproof, cedar-lined cabinets have been built for storage of the costume, flag, and quilt collections. The workroom has been equipped with tools needed for the construction of displays and period rooms. A photographic darkroom has been built and furnished with everything necessary for the printing and enlarging of pictures from 35-millimeter size up to 4 x 5 foot photomurals.

Three television programs were presented during the summer months by the museum staff in co-operation with Gene McKinney of WIBW-TV. Subjects featured were Carry Nation, the sod house, and John Brown.

Accessions have been widely varied in character this year. Many large collections were received, most of them consisting of furniture and household items for the period rooms. Some of the most important were those given by Prof. and Mrs. Robert Kingman of Topeka (56 pieces), Helen D. Little and Eva L. Graham of La Crosse (27 pieces), Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Lommasson of Topeka (23 pieces), the Hattie Mack estate of Wilsey (43 pieces), Mrs. C. H. Reser of Hamilton (31 pieces), and Mrs. Alberta Thompson of Wichita (73 pieces).

George P. Hart gave the museum many fine items of equipment and merchandise from his general store at Overbrook, including a pot-bellied stove, a machine for attaching shoe buttons, cheese and tobacco cutters, and assorted dry goods and boxes. These will be used in the reproduction of a general store which is planned in the east gallery for early next year.

Mrs. F. E. Richmond of Stockton donated office equipment of her late husband, who practiced medicine in northcentral Kansas for more than half a century. These items will be the nucleus of the doctor's office planned for the museum.

Mrs. Fred Hall has assisted the museum's period room projects with gifts of a complete walnut mantel and a mosaic glass table lamp from the executive mansion.

The costume collection has been expanded by donations from Mrs. Margery Wheeler Bubb of Topeka and Mrs. Linton J. Usher of Pomona. Perhaps the most important item is a silk gown worn by Mrs. J. P. Usher at President Lincoln's second inaugural ball when her husband was Secretary of the Interior. Mr. and Mrs. Roy Stookey of Topeka gave a collection of Civil War items which belonged to George P. Washburn, and Horace J. Wilkie of Silver Lake

gave Spanish-American War uniforms worn by Brig. Gen. J. K. Hudson, a founder of the Topeka *Daily Capital*.

Last year Mrs. George W. Burpee and Mrs. Frank Smithies of Bronxville, N. Y., lent for use during the territorial centennial a collection of items which had belonged to their grandfather, Cyrus K. Holliday. They have recently given the collection permanently to the Society.

The city of Meriden, through its mayor, Eugene Crowley, donated a hand-drawn, two-wheel fire engine more than 50 years old. Another interesting accession is a scale model of a coal mine made by the late Anthony Paulich of Pleasanton. The model is operated electrically, and as soon as it can be put in working condition it will be motivated by push button to illustrate the complete mining process.

Other donors during the year were the H. C. Abbey family, Fulton; Adjutant General's Office, Topeka; George Anderson, Topeka; James Anderson, Kansas City, Mo.; Edward F. Arn, Wichita; William G. Barber, Topeka; Mrs. E. S. Bertram, Council Grove; Nannie Bingham, Sabetha; Perry Betz, Glen Elder; Forrest Blackburn, Topeka; W. A. Blackburn, Herington; Mrs. W. F. Bolan, Topeka; William J. Carpenter estate, Lawrence; Elsie M. Chapman, Topeka; Mrs. Jay Close, Topeka; Mrs. Arthur Coil, Burlingame; Lee Cornell, Wichita; Walter Dingle, Topeka; Wayne Replogle, Lawrence; Mrs. E. S. Elcock, Topeka; Dr. E. W. Eustace, Lebanon; Mr. and Mrs. B. Felible, Stockton; Mrs. Lucille Gardner, Lawrence; Byron Gourley, Topeka; Mrs. J. L. Grubaugh, Council Grove; Ray Hacker, Topeka; Mrs. Emma Harris, Topeka; Mrs. Frank Hauke, Council Grove; L. E. Hockett, McPherson; George Jelinek, Ellsworth; Mrs. Lillian Johnson, Topeka; Paul B. Johnsten, Peabody; the city of Leavenworth; Kenneth R. Lewis, Topeka; Mrs. Vernon McArthur, Hutchinson; Elizabeth McClenahan, Topeka; Helen McFarland, Topeka; Mrs. S. A. McLain, Kansas City; John Martin, South Hutchinson; Mrs. Edgar May, Topeka; Dr. Karl Menninger, Topeka; Eleanor Wheeler Meyer, Amarillo, Tex.; Laura Middaugh, Bonner Springs; Mrs. C. W. Middleton, Wichita; Mrs. Nelson Morgan, Hutchinson; Moser-Chubb Hardware Co., Topeka; Mrs. George Olson, Topeka; L. A. Ormsby, Emporia; Jennie S. Owen, Topeka; Fred E. Piper, Florence; Port Library, Beloit; Charles P. Remaley, Topeka; Mrs. I. F. Rudisill, Lansing; Schwanke Hardware Co., Overbrook; Mrs. Leonidas Shriver, Lyndon; Stanley D. Sohl, Topeka; the grandchildren of Mahlon Stubbs, Kansas City; Annie B. Sweet, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. Luther Tillotson, Topeka; Neil Toedman, Topeka; Mrs. Duane McQueen Ward, Peabody; Mrs. Louise Ward, Concordia; Mrs. Margaret Warlen, Topeka; Arthur L. Webb, Topeka; Mrs. Matthew Weightman, Topeka; Mrs. W. J. Wesley, Minneapolis; Floyd Willard, Topeka; Mrs. Hart Workman, Topeka; Mrs. Lucretia Yohe, Lincoln.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Subjects for extended research during the year included: Mark W. Delahay and his political association with Abraham Lincoln; early period of Southern Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian history; Supreme Court segregation case, May, 1954; history of Miltonvale; Kansas history, 1861-1865; Lecompton Constitution; Kansas tall tales; C. J. Jones, citizen adventurer; growth and development of commercial radio in Kansas; Arthur Capper; Tin Cup, Colo.; Octave Chanute and the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston railroad; the Society of Friends in Kansas; Capper farm publications; buffalo hunting; economic history of

south central Kansas; underground railroad in Kansas; Robert Simerwell and the Pottawatomie Baptist Mission; early cattle industry in western Kansas; Waconda Springs; Kansas Council of Defense; Kansas fiction; John Brown; and various topics for chapters of the state history now being written by Kansas historians under the editorship of Dr. John D. Bright of Washburn University.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1954, to September 30, 1955

Library:

Books	1,194
Pamphlets	1,635
Magazines (bound volumes)	111
Reels of microfilm	39

Archives:

Manuscripts (cubic feet)	157
Manuscript volumes	5,649
Manuscript maps	7
Reels of microfilm	7

Private Manuscripts:

Separate manuscripts	2,314
Volumes	56
Reels of microfilm	4

Printed maps, atlases and charts

189

Newspapers:

Bound volumes	592
Reels of microfilm	420

Pictures

492

Museum objects

743

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1955

Books, pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines (bound and microfilm reels)	463,881
Archive manuscripts (cubic feet)	15,044
Manuscript volumes (archives)	76,337
Manuscript maps (archives)	590
Microfilm reels (archives)	814
Printed maps, atlases, and charts	10,471
Pictures	27,363
Museum objects	34,615

PUBLICATIONS

The *Quarterly*.—Volume 21 of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, consisting of the 1954 and 1955 numbers, will be available after the first of the year. It was hoped that sufficient funds would be provided by the 1955 legislature to restore the magazine to its former number of pages, but the printing appropriation only permitted it to continue in 1955 at its present reduced size.

One of the most interesting articles—to our members—which appeared during the year was concerned with the establishment of historical societies in Kansas, including the founding of this Society in 1875. The story was a part of Dr. James C. Malin's series, "Notes on the Writing of General

Histories of Kansas," which began in the Autumn, 1954, number. Another article of particular interest which appeared in the Summer, 1955, issue was "Marriage Notices From Kansas Territorial Newspapers, 1854-1861," compiled by Alberta Pantle. "Letters of the Rev. and Mrs. Olof Olsson, 1869-1873, Pioneer Founders of Lindsborg," edited by Dr. Emory Lindquist, and a bibliography of Kansas town and county histories, atlases and directories, compiled by Lorene Anderson and Alan W. Farley, will be featured in the Autumn number.

Annals of Kansas.—Work has continued through the year on the second volume of the *Annals of Kansas*, volume I of which was formally presented at last year's meeting. Part of the copy is already in the hands of the printer and the search for pictures to illustrate the text is underway. Indexing of the first volume is complete, and the second volume will be started as soon as page proofs are available.

The *Mirror*.—Last January the first number of the Society's bimonthly newsletter, the *Mirror*, was published. It is designed to be an informal report to the membership on work in progress, plans for the future, interesting accessions received by the various departments, and special activities and events in which the Society participates. Members and friends are also afforded an opportunity to help in building a better and stronger Society by contributing materials which are needed and which are mentioned from time to time in the columns of the *Mirror*. Comments and suggestions for making it more useful and interesting are always welcome.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

During the year visitors representing 29 states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Spain, Denmark, Canada, Scotland, Germany and England called at Old Shawnee Mission located in the Kansas City suburbs. Most sections of Kansas and Missouri were well represented, and there was an unusually large number of school and scout groups, most of them from rapidly-growing Johnson county.

The annual pilgrimage of the Kansas department, Daughters of the American Revolution, was held at the Mission on Constitution Day, September 17. Approximately 115 members from over the state attended the meeting and picnic. Distinguished guests included Mrs. William Shores Harris, Centreville, Va., a descendant of the Rev. Thomas Johnson, founder and first superintendent of Shawnee Mission; Mrs. J. N. Clifton, Amarillo, Tex., granddaughter of the Rev. William Johnson, brother of Thomas; Mrs. Elda Shaffer, Stillwater, Okla., a granddaughter of Shawnee Chief Charles Bluejacket; Mrs. Tissenere Meeks, a Shoshone Indian; and Marie Parks Langums, Los Angeles, Cal., a Shawnee-Cherokee princess.

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

THE KAW MISSION

All states except five—Delaware, North Dakota, Utah, Nevada, and South Carolina—were represented among visitors to the Kaw Mission at Council Grove during the year. Of the out-of-state visitors, more came from Missouri

than from any other state, and California ranked second. Six foreign countries were represented—Canada, England, Australia, Germany, Sweden, and Pakistan—as well as two United States territories, Alaska and Hawaii. Total visitors registered was 4,650.

Five new museum cases were purchased and the new displays installed by the Society's museum staff have attracted much favorable attention. The exhibits deal with the Kaw Indians, the Mission itself, the town of Council Grove, and the Santa Fe trail.

Donors during the year included Mrs. E. S. Bertram, James Brown, Louise Brown, Ethel Dent, Mrs. Lafe Edwards, Mrs. J. L. Grubauch, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Haucke, Mrs. John Jacobs, Mrs. Clyde Johnson, John Nordeen, the Revere heirs, Mrs. Ila Stewart, Charles Wendt, and Larry White.

THE FIRST CAPITOL

The new displays mentioned in last year's report for the First Territorial Capitol on the Fort Riley reservation are now practically completed. Five displays have already been installed and the sixth and last is being assembled. Subjects treated are the Louisiana Purchase, which included most of present Kansas; the Kaw Indians; Andrew H. Reeder, first governor of Kansas territory; the first legislature, which met at the old townsite of Pawnee on the reservation July 2-6, 1855; the town itself; and territorial politics.

A four-page leaflet entitled "The First Capitol of Kansas" was printed during the summer for distribution to visitors. It relates the history of the building, describes the meeting of the legislature, and reviews the story of the restoration and the means by which the property came into possession of the state.

There were 4,579 visitors at the Capitol during the year, a decrease of about 300 from last year's registration. The opening of a new U. S. 40 highway which runs due west from Topeka to Junction City, by-passing Fort Riley, undoubtedly was the reason for the smaller number of visitors.

THE FUNSTON HOME

Five miles north of Iola, on U. S. highway 59-169, is a small frame farmhouse, the home of Edward H. Funston, congressman from the second district from 1884 to 1894, and the boyhood home of a son, Frederick, who became famous in the military annals of the United States. Fred Funston served as colonel of the 20th Kansas in the Spanish-American war and was the captor of Aguinaldo in the Philippine Insurrection which followed. The Funston family has given to the state the tract of land on which the house stands, and the Historical Society will operate it as a museum. This afternoon Mr. Frank F. Eckdall of Emporia, a nephew of General Funston, will speak briefly on the general and his career, and will formally present the Funston property to the state.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

Each year, at the close of this report, it has been customary to make special mention of the excellent work of the Society's staff. This year is no exception. The Society has three basic functions: to collect, preserve, and make available to the public the materials of history. Service to the Society's patrons is now, as it has always been, one of the triple cornerstones of our success as

an institution. My personal thanks are due to all members of the staff who have made this policy effective.

Last month the census division received a letter with this word of thanks: "I wish to compliment you again on the tremendously fine service you are rendering and for the immeasurable help you have given my husband and me." Another letter received last summer from a well-known writer spoke appreciatively of "the fine co-operation and assistance I had last week from you and all the members of your library staff. . . . Of all the libraries in which I've worked in the West and Southwest, I've found none in which the staff members are more alert and more helpful than in yours."

Although it is impossible here to name every individual on the staff, the work of each is deeply appreciated. I should like to mention particularly Ed Langsdorf, assistant secretary, and the heads of the departments: Mrs. Lela Barnes of the manuscript division, who is also treasurer of the Society; Helen McFarland who retired as librarian July 1, and Alberta Pantle, acting librarian; Robert W. Richmond, archivist; Forrest R. Blackburn of the newspaper division; Stanley D. Sohl, museum director; and Jennie S. Owen, annalist.

Recognition is also due the custodians of the historic sites administered by the Society: Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Hardy at Shawnee Mission, Mr. and Mrs. Elwood Jones at Kaw Mission, and John Scott at the First Capitol.

Respectfully submitted,
 NYLE H. MILLER, *Secretary*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, James Malone moved that it be approved. Motion was seconded by Karl Miller and the report was accepted.

President Farrell then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Based on the post-audit by the state division of auditing and accounting for the period August 1, 1954, to August 4, 1955.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 1, 1954:

Cash (including \$1,023.69 of the Elizabeth Reader bequest)	\$5,867.69
U. S. bonds, Series G	3,500.00

\$9,367.69

Receipts:

Membership fees	\$1,509.00
Gifts and donations	56.00
Bond interest	242.50

1,807.50

\$11,175.19

Disbursements:		\$1,278.83
Balance, August 4, 1955:		
Cash (including \$1,153.69 of the Elizabeth Reader bequest)	\$6,396.36	
U. S. bonds, Series G	3,500.00	
		<u>9,896.36</u>
		<u>\$11,175.19</u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 1, 1954:		
Cash	\$64.91	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>\$1,014.91</u>
Receipts:		
Bond interest	\$27.31	
Savings account interest	2.31	
		<u>29.62</u>
		<u>\$1,044.53</u>
Disbursements, books		\$26.51
Balance, August 4, 1955:		
Cash	\$68.02	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>1,018.02</u>
		<u>\$1,044.53</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 1, 1954:		
Cash	\$127.34	
U. S. treasury bonds	500.00	
		<u>\$627.34</u>
Receipts:		
Bond interest	\$14.40	
Savings account interest	1.16	
		<u>15.56</u>
		<u>\$642.90</u>

Balance, August 4, 1955:

Cash	\$142.90	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		<u>\$642.90</u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

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

ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Balance, August 1, 1954:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund).....	\$1,023.69	
U. S. bonds, Series G.....	5,200.00	
		<u>\$6,223.69</u>

Receipts:

Interest (deposited in membership fee fund).....	130.00	
		<u>\$6,353.69</u>

Balance, August 4, 1955:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund).....	\$1,153.69	
U. S. bonds, Series G.....	5,200.00	
		<u>\$6,353.69</u>

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. Appropriations made by the legislature for the maintenance of the Society are disbursed through the state department of administration. For the year ending June 30, 1955, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$145,488; Memorial Building, \$4,500; Old Shawnee Mission, \$7,680; Kaw Mission, \$4,296; First Capitol of Kansas, \$3,342.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. LELA BARNES, *Treasurer.*

On motion by Lea Maranville, seconded by Will T. Beck, the report of the treasurer was accepted.

President Farrell next called for the report of the executive committee on the post-audit of the Society's funds by the state division of auditing and accounting. The report was read by Charles M. Correll:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 14, 1955.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state department of post-audit has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the Old Shawnee Mission, the First Capitol of Kansas and the Kaw Mission from August 1, 1954, to August 4, 1955, and that they are hereby approved.

T. M. LILLARD, *Chairman*,
WILL T. BECK,
FRANK HAUCKE,
C. M. CORRELL,
JOHN S. DAWSON.

On motion by Charles M. Correll, seconded by James E. Taylor, the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by Charles M. Correll:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

October 14, 1955.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

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

For a one-year term: Wilford Riegler, Emporia, president; Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, first vice-president; Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Nyle H. Miller, Topeka, secretary.

Respectfully submitted,

T. M. LILLARD, *Chairman*.

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

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society was called to order at 2 P. M. The address by president F. D. Farrell follows:

Address of the President

DR. LINDLEY'S CHRISTMAS PRESENT

F. D. FARRELL

IN this paper an attempt is made to describe briefly a series of events involving the government of the five state schools of Kansas and to indicate how a sort of Christmas present given to the head of one of the five schools led to a beneficial reorganization of that

government. The subject is important because it has to do with state-supported higher education, which, in turn, is important to the well-being of Kansas people.

ENTHUSIASM FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Kansas interest in higher education probably derives in part from the Pilgrim Fathers. Sixteen years after the Mayflower passengers landed at Plymouth Rock the settlers of the Massachusetts wilderness established Harvard College. More than two centuries later, in the wilderness of Kansas, small groups of settlers who "crossed the prairies as of old the Pilgrims crossed the sea" expressed a comparable enthusiasm for higher education. Within five years after Kansas gained territorial status, little groups of spiritual descendants of the Pilgrims established three colleges here: Baker University at Baldwin, Highland College at Highland, and Bluemont Central College at Manhattan.

Deep interest in higher education has continued among Kansas people. Colleges and junior colleges numbering more than forty, established during the past century, are still flourishing. The people of the state appear to regard higher education as indispensable to the social and economic well-being of the state. This fact doubtless helps to explain the high rank of Kansas among the states in the educational status of her citizens.

GOVERNMENT OF FIVE STATE SCHOOLS

Within ten years after Kansas gained statehood, she established three state institutions of higher education—at Lawrence, Emporia, and Manhattan. At about the turn of the century she established two more—at Hays and Pittsburg. Together the institutions came to be known as the five state schools.

State school governing bodies in the 48 states vary widely in name, duties, and size. The name of the governing body may be board of trustees, board of regents, board of administration, board of directors, board of supervisors, board of curators, board of control. In some states, the board governs one institution; in other states it governs several. Size of governing board ranges from three members to one hundred members. Terms of office of board members range from two years to sixteen years. There are many other variations.

Since 1863, when Kansas established her first state-supported institution of higher education, now Kansas State College, the state has tried several forms of government for the state schools. For

purposes of the present discussion we shall begin with a law enacted in 1917.

That law (ch. 297, *Session Laws* of 1917) placed the five state schools and all other state institutions, save one to be mentioned later, under the jurisdiction of a state board of administration. In addition to the five schools, the board had charge of the penitentiary, the mental hospitals—a total of about 20 institutions.

The board of administration was composed of the governor, as *ex officio* chairman, and three members appointed by him. The term of an appointed member was four years, but the law provided “that the governor may remove any member of said board when in his judgment the public service demands it.” Appointed members served full time and were paid salaries. The board had charge of “all educational, benevolent and penal institutions of the state.” The legislature was careful to except one state institution by means of this proviso: “*Provided, however, that this act shall not be construed as including the state house or state house grounds.*”

With reference to the chancellor of the University of Kansas, one section of law (*Revised Statutes*, 1923, 76-304) provided that “the said chancellor shall hold his place at the pleasure of the board.”

CONTROL BY POLITICIANS

These and some other provisions of the law clearly opened the door for at least some degree of partisan political control of the five state schools. This fact raised the question of the desirability of such control.

The case against partisan political control of education was stated forcefully and succinctly in 1937 by Chester H. Rowell, then the distinguished editor of the San Francisco (Cal.) *Chronicle* and serving his 25th year on the board of regents of the University of California. Mr. Rowell concluded a speech about educational ills with the following statement: “To my mind there is one sufficient remedy for such ills. That is to leave them to educators. Educators aren’t perfect. In an imperfect world you will never have a perfect university or a perfect school system run by perfect men, and if it is left to educators they will make plenty of blunders. But if left to politicians, they will be wrong all the time, even when by accident they happen to be right.”¹ The closing sentence recalls a cynical remark by an English statesman, John Bright, I believe but am not sure: “Parliament sometimes does a good thing, but never because it’s a good thing.”

1. *The Educational Record*, Washington, July, 1937.

Oftener than not, members of the Kansas board of administration were politicians. Frequently, perhaps usually, they applied politics as defined by Webster as "the science and art of government." Sometimes, unfortunately, they applied another kind of politics defined, also by Webster, as "political management, conduct, or scheming to secure the success of political candidates or parties." Most of them certainly were not evil men. But usually they were politicians who from time to time applied, or sought to apply, to the state schools political procedures that are common to both our major political parties. They sought to use, in part, a system of control that is unfitted for the government of scientific and educational institutions.

SURVEY OF FIVE STATE SCHOOLS

Public dissatisfaction with the board, with the law under which it operated, and with the five state schools, soon developed, perhaps inevitably. On September 20, 1921, when the law was only four years old, the board of administration, under the chairmanship of Gov. Henry J. Allen, requested the United States Commissioner of Education to select a group to make a survey of the situation. The commissioner selected Pres. Lotus D. Coffman of the University of Minnesota, Dean A. R. Mann of Cornell University, and Dr. George F. Zook of the U. S. Bureau of Education. The survey was conducted in 1922 and the findings and recommendations were published in 1923 as Bureau of Education *Bulletin* 40.

The surveyors reported, among many other things, that Kansas stood fifth from the top among the 48 states, in percentage of population of high school age enrolled in high school and tied for fourth in percentage of population attending college. They were emphatic in their opposition to the form of control of the state schools as provided by the 1917 law. On this point they recommended that the five state schools be placed under the control of an unpaid board of seven to nine regents to be appointed by the governor for terms of seven to nine years.

In the November election in 1922 Jonathan Davis was elected governor. Soon after his inauguration in January, 1923, he appointed a new board of administration. Then state school difficulties began to become acute.

LINDLEY RESISTS POLITICAL CONTROL

The years 1923 and 1924 were an unhappy period for the five state schools. The governor and his appointees on the board of administration had frequent disagreements with the heads of the

schools. Some individual members of the board conducted inquiries among faculty members without the knowledge of the heads of the schools concerned. This created unrest and suspicion among both administrators and faculty members. The governor and some of the board members interfered in technical matters of which they knew, and could know, little or nothing. As often happens, lack of understanding gave rise to suspicion. There were pressures to force appointment of the governor's or the board members' political friends to faculty positions. There was frequent interference in petty details of school administration. This sort of activity by the governor and his appointees on the board created acute unhappiness at the five state schools and led to marked instability of school policies and procedures.

Perhaps the most determined and outspoken opponent of the situation just referred to was Dr. E. H. Lindley, chancellor of the University of Kansas. Dr. Lindley was an educational product of Indiana University and Clark University. He came to Kansas in 1920 from the presidency of the University of Idaho. His Quaker background, his educational experience in Indiana, in Massachusetts, and in the wide open spaces of Idaho all combined to make him militant and uncompromising on the subject of educational freedom. Throughout the years 1923 and 1924 Dr. Lindley almost continuously did battle with the board of administration and particularly with its chairman, Governor Davis.

In December, 1924, the situation obviously was approaching a showdown. On December 19, the Topeka *Daily Capital* headlined, "Davis and Board Start Out to Get K. U. Chancellor." The article listed several "counts" alleged against the chancellor. They involved the suspension of four students for drinking, making certain purchases without consent of the board, expenditures for faculty personnel in the school of business, and, particularly, "insubordination." An article published in the *Capital* for December 21, quoted the governor as saying, "I intend to find out whether the state runs the university, or whether the university runs the state." These few examples are sufficient to suggest that relations between Dr. Lindley and the board, particularly its chairman, were somewhat less than amicable.

THE CHRISTMAS PRESENT

On Saturday, December 27, 1924, the board removed Dr. Lindley from the chancellorship. That was Dr. Lindley's Christmas present. It came to him two days late. It often happens in the

Christmas rush that a present reaches the recipient a few days after Christmas. No doubt delay in delivery was without effect on the spirit of the giver. That spirit was suggested in a three-column headline on page one of the *Capital* for Sunday, December 28: "Governor Fires Dr. Lindley after Farcical Investigation."

Then things really began to happen. Following are a few of the events of the next three weeks.

1. Dr. Lindley obtained from the district court of Douglas county a temporary injunction against the carrying out of the ouster order.

2. After a hearing, the district court dissolved the injunction and ruled that the board acted within its authority in dismissing Dr. Lindley, since the law provided that heads of state institutions served "at the pleasure of the board."

3. The district court granted a stay of execution to facilitate an appeal to the State Supreme Court.

4. The case was appealed to the State Supreme Court, which, with a vigorous dissent by Dawson, J., our own Judge John S. Dawson, upheld the decision of the district court.

5. A new governor, Ben S. Paulen, was inaugurated, January 12, 1925.

6. A petition asking reinstatement of Dr. Lindley and signed by 3,000 K. U. students was presented to Governor Paulen.

7. The new governor appointed a new board of administration.

8. The new board reinstated Dr. Lindley as chancellor of the university. (Dr. Lindley continued to serve until his retirement 14 years later.)

9. The Kansas legislature convened in regular session.

10. The state press and numerous individuals and organizations called for repeal of the 1917 law.

These are only a few of the events connected in one way or another with Dr. Lindley's Christmas present.

PUBLIC INDIGNATION

Announcement of the Christmas present gave rise to what often is called a storm of public indignation. Editorials in many Kansas newspapers denounced the ouster of the chancellor. Denunciation was expressed in some editorials in out-of-state newspapers, including the *Indianapolis News*. The president of the Kansas University Alumni Association denounced the ouster as "a disgrace to the state." After a mass meeting at Lawrence, K. U. students sent a "flood of letters" to the new governor asking for the reinstatement of Dr. Lindley. The Emporia Chamber of Com-

merce adopted a resolution condemning the ouster. A Hoosier who had served for 25 years as a trustee of Indiana University denounced the ouster and praised Dr. Lindley. These are only a few examples.

There was very little expression of approval of the ouster. One Kansas woman sent the governor a statement of her approval. Apparently ignoring Edmund Burke's statement about the difficulty of indicting a whole people, she said that the students, presumably all the students, at the University of Kansas "show lawlessness, laziness, and degeneracy, and come out of the schools undesirable citizens." Hers was pretty much a lone voice.

Dr. Lindley declared, "If you do not have freedom, you do not have a university." Possibly on the rather Spartan theory that "anything that does not kill us is good for us," he expressed the hope that "good will come from the present situation." His hope was abundantly fulfilled within the next few weeks. Dr. Lindley's Christmas present was transformed into a present to the state, a present of inestimable value to Kansas people.

EXTRAORDINARY PRESSURE GROUP

At the height of the excitement there came into existence an extraordinary informal organization: a small but powerful group of some of the state's leading business and professional men, who teamed up to lobby for a change in the law governing the five state schools. The group was extraordinary in that it was a pressure group with no personal ax to grind. It sought only to serve the public interest. Unfortunately it left no written record, so far as I have been able to ascertain, and contemporary newspapers apparently made no mention of it. I knew of it at the time of its activity, and I had the pleasure of attending its last meeting, at the Topeka Country Club, a few weeks after the adjournment of the 1925 legislature, which had met the wishes of the group by enacting the board of regents law.

Leader of the group was Carroll B. Merriam, a Topeka banker. A native of Vermont, Mr. Merriam had the New England instinct for freedom, particularly in education. The eastern boundary of Vermont is but a few hundred yards from Hanover, N. H., site of Dartmouth College. More than a century ago, in 1819, Daniel Webster successfully defended the college in the famous Dartmouth College case before the Supreme Court of the United States. In arguing for the freedom of Dartmouth from certain forms of political interference, Webster made the now well-known declaration regarding Dartmouth: "She is a small college, but there are those

that love her." This attitude regarding higher education may have been a component of the attitude brought to Kansas from Vermont by Mr. Merriam. Certainly the group he led during the legislative session of 1925 lobbied vigorously, unselfishly, and successfully, for better government for the five state schools.

BOARD OF REGENTS LAW

House Bill 310, providing for a board of regents, was introduced in the house February 6, 1925, by the house committee on education. It encountered but little opposition. House and senate committees on education voted unanimously to recommend the bill for passage. The bill was approved March 7, 1925, and became effective July 1 of that year.

The board of regents law of 1925 is a model of brevity and clarity. It covers less than two printed pages of the 1925 *Session Laws*. It provides for a board of nine regents appointed by the governor for four-year staggered terms. The board has jurisdiction of the five state schools. Members serve without pay. On recommendation of school heads, the board appoints all personnel of the five schools. The law empowers the regents to remove any state school personnel "at the discretion of the board." This gives the board great power, but, significantly, the word used is "discretion" rather than "pleasure," as in the 1917 law. Since 1939, the law has required that not more than five regents may be members of the same political party. Also since 1939, the board has had a full-time secretary. Hubert Brighton has served as secretary since May 4, 1939, and has given invaluable service to the board, the state schools, and the public.

Since July 1, 1925, 41 persons—four women and 37 men—have served as regents. They have come from various important fields: homemaking, law, banking, agriculture, newspaper publishing, commerce, manufacturing, education. Their tenures as regents have ranged from about one year to 24 years, the latter being the tenure of Drew McLaughlin, Paola newspaper publisher. Average tenure is about seven years.

FIRST BOARD OF REGENTS

The first board of regents under the 1925 law was composed of the following: W. Y. Morgan, Hutchinson newspaper publisher, chairman; B. C. Culp, Beloit farmer and sheepman; Earle W. Evans, Wichita lawyer; Charles M. Harger, Abilene newspaper publisher who was president of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1930-1931; George H. Hodges, Olathe businessman; C. B. Merriam, To-

peka banker; Mrs. James S. Patrick, Satanta homemaker; C. W. Spencer, Sedan lawyer; and, last but not least, W. J. Tod, Maple Hill cattle rancher. This first board largely determined the tone of the board of regents for at least the first 30 years. That tone was statesmanlike, nonpartisan, constructive.

Every member of the first board was an interesting character. One of the most interesting was W. J. Tod, a canny Scot who had come to America to manage the affairs here of a large Scottish cattle company and who stayed here the remainder of his life. He was a great Hereford man and an enthusiastic student of Shakespeare's plays, from which he often quoted. Also he was a rich source of Scottish stories, many of them "on" himself.

His wife, Margaret, told me that one day, before the Tod's became motorized, Mr. Tod came home from Maple Hill and joyously announced a drop of one cent a gallon in the price of gasoline. "But what difference does it make to you, Willie?" asked Mrs. Tod, "You've no motor car." "Ah!" replied Mr. Tod, "but, Margaret, I've a cigarette lighter."

Once I remarked to Mr. Tod that I knew of no other family of that name that spelled it with one *d* and asked him why his family used only one. "Weel," he replied, "there are two reasons. First, it saves ink. Second, if one *d* is enough for God it's enough for Tod."

A specially notable later board member was the late Fred M. Harris, Ottawa lawyer. First appointed to the board in 1930, he served 19 years, much of the time as chairman. A distinguished alumnus of the University of Kansas, Mr. Harris was able, devoted, scrupulously fair, statesmanlike. He was particularly effective in protecting the five schools against partisan political or other special-interest meddling and in supporting the institutions in the legislature, in which he was widely experienced as a member of the state senate.

SOME RESULTS OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS LAW

Thirty years have passed since Dr. Lindley's Christmas present became a Christmas present to the state in the form of the board of regents law. What are some of the results? Has the present proved to be a form of irony, as it was when it came to Dr. Lindley, or a real benefaction to the state schools and so to the state?

In answering these questions, one who had some familiarity with the government of the state schools, both before and after Christmas, 1924, and who is strongly biased in favor of the "after"

treatment, needs to be careful to avoid seeming to try to attach a halo to the board of regents. Any such attempt would, of course, be resisted by members of the board, past and present. Following are a few examples of the many improvements sponsored or provided by the board of regents during its first 30 years.

1. A basic policy combining authority with responsibility. The regents determine the general policies within which each state school is to function, select a man to head each school, give him full authority to manage the institution within the regents' policy, and hold him responsible for such management. The regents never act upon details except through the head of the institution concerned.

2. A policy of sabbatical leave at part pay, enabling hundreds of faculty members to improve their competence and value through advanced study, travel, or professional experience in various parts of the world. As a faculty member on sabbatical leave is paid not more than the difference between his regular salary and the salary of his substitute, the policy entails no increase of expense to the state.

3. A policy of faculty tenure that enhances employment security for competent faculty personnel and makes for institutional stability. A few figures applying to occupants of full professorships will illustrate. In 1924-1925 there was only one professor at Lawrence and only one at Manhattan who had served long enough to gain the status of professor emeritus. In 1954-1955 there were 37 emeritus professors at Lawrence and 32 at Manhattan. In 1924-1925 average tenure of full professors at Lawrence was 14 years, and at Manhattan only 11 years. Thirty years later, notwithstanding many new professorial appointments necessitated by increased student enrollments, average tenure at Lawrence was 19 years, and at Manhattan 23 years.

4. A faculty retirement system including moderate financial features involving pre-retirement contributions by faculty members and post-retirement contributions by state and federal governments, and providing admirable arrangements for gradual and useful transition from full-time employment to complete retirement and for preventing, or at least minimizing accumulation of "dead wood," not only in administrative positions but also in teaching and research positions.

5. Legislation providing funds for improved faculty salary scales, increased and improved facilities and financial support for re-

search, and improved physical plant maintenance and services.

6. A special tax levy to raise funds to provide enlarged and improved physical plants at the state schools to serve the rapidly increasing numbers of students and to meet the increasing public demand for research. Adopted in 1941, and subsequently increased in size, this educational building fund tax levy now produces about \$4 million a year.

7. Legislation authorizing procedures to make possible construction and operation of union buildings and student housing at the state schools without the use of tax revenues.

8. Academic freedom combined with academic responsibility, providing at each state school an atmosphere conducive to high scientific and educational productivity and long faculty tenure.

9. Generally effective encouragement for the five state schools to work together for common ends and in the public interest so that desirable and constructive rivalry displaces what otherwise might degenerate into destructive antagonism.

10. Last but not least, protection of the state schools against unwarranted interference by special interests—political, commercial, agricultural, ecclesiastical, personal—at the same time requiring the state schools to serve the public interest.

Whether the board of regents law will continue to operate beneficially in the public interest, as it certainly has operated during its first 30 years, only time will tell. Board personnel doubtless will be the chief determinant. No board of regents can be perfect, for, as H. H. Powers says, "There are no perfect organizations because there are no perfect people to organize."² But regardless of what may happen in the future, nothing can deprive the state of the first 30 years of the board of regents law. Representing substantial achievement in the advancement of public well-being, those years are also a hopeful prediction of still better things.

In his essay on self-reliance, Mr. Emerson declares that "an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man." The past 30 years of good government of our five state schools might well be regarded as, in large part, the lengthened shadow of Dr. E. H. Lindley, whose courageous, outspoken, and persistent opposition to partisan political control of higher education led to his dismissal. His dismissal dramatized the situation against which he had fought. Dramatization roused the public, which induced the legislature to provide a satisfactory form of government for the five state schools.

2. From *A Florentine Revery* (New York, 1922).

At the conclusion of his address, President Farrell introduced Frank F. Eckdall of Emporia, nephew of Gen. Frederick Funston, who spoke of the famous Kansas general as follows:

"FIGHTING" FRED FUNSTON OF KANSAS

FRANK F. ECKDALL

The world is too much with us; late and soon,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers:
Little we see in Nature that is ours;
We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon!

THUS wrote William Wordsworth in one of his exquisite sonnets. And so it is pleasure unalloyed to appear at this annual meeting attended by that elite corps who are the guardians of the past, the caretakers of the present, and the trustees of the future—and who have not given all their hearts away in the present, but have saved a little for the past, and have found much in nature and in human nature and made it all their very own.

We, the members of the Society and citizens of the state, salute the officers of the past year for work well done and remind them that as Emerson said: "The reward of a thing well done, is to have done it."

Numbered among the achievements of the year is the legislative act which, in consideration of the gift of the Funston home in Allen county, accepted it on behalf of the state and appropriated sufficient funds to preserve and maintain it for posterity.

It is true as Lord Byron said: "Brave men were living before Agamemnon," Agamemnon being the leader of the Greeks in the Trojan war. The deeds of brave men not only live after them but those exploits never fail to fascinate, to fire the imagination, the envy, of all men and women. Nothing appeals to a man so much as cool courage in the face of peril and danger.

Frederick Funston, always called Freddy by his parents, was small of stature, being five feet four and no more. He would have reached exactly to my lips.

His father, Edward H. Funston, not unknown to some fame himself, was six feet and two inches in height. The father was prominent in Kansas history, being a former speaker of the house, president *pro tem* of the senate, all before becoming a colleague and contemporary of the master orator and writer, John J. Ingalls, in the congress of the United States. The father represented Kansas City, Lawrence, Ottawa, Olathe, Paola, Iola, Fort Scott—the old 2d district—for many years, and was a close friend of President McKinley.

Fred Funston, as he was usually known, came to Kansas in the late 1860's at the age of two, sitting on his mother's knees while she traveled by train and stage coach, coming from Ohio to join her husband who had made ready a part of the home now to be given to the state.

From the day of his arrival to the day of his death, 49 years later, there was never to be a doubt about his Kansas citizenship, and whenever the exigency of the military situation and the law permitted it he voted the Republican ticket. He voted in Hawaii en route to the Philippine Islands where he was to make history itself. His untimely death at the pinnacle of his career ended a life of romance and adventure experienced by few men. It is fitting to recall that the people of Kansas tendered to him here in Topeka a hero's welcome not since equaled and presented him with a handsome sword encrusted with precious jewels.

Some men are born great, others have it thrust upon them, but Fred Funston achieved it by his boundless courage, his inspired leadership, his firm convictions in right and justice. In fame's eternal camp he can exchange stories with his comrades of the ages that are equal to theirs in all respects. He could have been a governor, a senator. In fact in common with all great heroes he was approached about much higher office. By choice his political activities consisted of voting every time he could manage to do so.

It is fitting and proper for me to mention a few events of the busy life lived to the hilt. Fred Funston while of diminutive stature had a giant's memory. He delighted in poetry. He could, and often did, recite from memory the entire first canto of "The Lady of the Lake." Grandfather had the finest library in the county, stocked with the classics of the day (Carlyle's *French Revolution*, the Federalist papers, Chitty's Blackstone, Macauley's *Essays*, Plutarch's *Lives*, complete poems of Shelley, Burns, Cowper, Campbell, and Moore; and of course a set of Waverley novels and Dickens). Fred read all of them and borrowed others. Of the latter, the stories of the voyages of Capt. James Cook, the great English navigator, no doubt kindled his imagination and quickened his love of adventure and achievement.

A mere chronology of Fred Funston's life would require more time than we have today. Almost any event taken at random would have entitled him to political preferment had he wished, to settle into the cool sequestered vale of an interesting life—

but such was not the lot or desire of Fred Funston, the tiny Titan of American history.

While he liked especially to hear of his father's Civil War experiences, he never entertained any serious ideas of a military career for himself. After attending a one-room country school he finished the Iola High School, making a round trip of ten miles by horseback daily. When he returned home he helped with the chores, went to bed early and got up at four in the morning to study. After high school he taught one year at Stoney Lonesome, south of Iola. There are stories, mostly true, as entertaining as any of the Hoosier School Master, and they included a successful encounter with a school bully, twice his size, who came to school armed with a loaded revolver.

His life at the University of Kansas followed the pattern of the day. His grades while not always the highest were above average. He joined the Phi Delta fraternity with a group of men who were later to distinguish themselves in several fields. One was W. A. White; another Vernon Kellogg; a third was his chum Ed Franklin, later a famed chemist, who told me he loved Fred Funston like a brother and remarked on his fun-loving disposition, his passion for flowers, and his love of life in general. My mother's earliest memories of her eldest brother were his tutoring and teaching about the subject of flowers.

Funston's interest in botany led him to Death Valley, California, in 1891 as a commissioner of the Department of Agriculture. Here he recorded a temperature of 146° F and lived to tell the tale. In 1892 he began a two-year botanical odyssey in Alaska. A good part of the time he was alone. He made his own trail through the Klondike country, traveling north of the Arctic circle across the snow-covered tundra region to the Arctic Ocean by dog sled, thereby penetrating the farthest north of any white man up to that time. He then returned to the Yukon and traveled alone the 1,500 miles down the river to the Bering Sea. The temperature was often 70° below zero.

Returning from Alaska Funston wrote "Botany of Yakutat Bay, Alaska," and other professional papers. He later lectured throughout Kansas on his experiences. The late Sen. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York, told me that Fred Funston was always his hero, and that one of his greatest moments was seeing Funston in Cuba marching at the head of a body of troops. According to Senator Wadsworth, Funston recorded both the lowest and highest temperatures officially taken by an American up to that time.

In the Yukon river there is the dread Miles canyon and the White Horse rapids. Let's hear from young Funston in one of his accounts:

. . . the river whose normal width is 300 feet is suddenly contracted to 1/10th that distance and rushes with terrific speed down a "chute" with absolute perpendicular walls for ¾ths a mile, here it spreads out into a series of Rapids known as White Horse Rapids. The volume of the river being enclosed in so narrow a space, the water gushes thru with such velocity that it is forced upon the walls of the canyon; while down the middle is a long windrow of white combers several feet high.

To make a short incident short, most miners (and there were prospectors even then) took four days to portage around the canyon. Funston with two men went through the canyon and rapids in just two minutes in their boat. He wrote: "It was a great ride. The boat jumped up and down like a bucking bronco and the black walls seemed to fly past us." Madcap? Perhaps, but only a brave man would have done it. I hope one day to see the canyon and rapids but shall not attempt to duplicate his feat of daring.

Later Funston went to Central America hoping to make a fortune in coffee. He would have succeeded in this but his principal financial backer died suddenly and plans were postponed and later dropped.

In 1895 he had a job given him through Charles Gleed, well-known lawyer of this city and state, as assistant controller of the Santa Fe railroad. This was the year of the Santa Fe bankruptcy and reorganization. One of his jobs in Wall Street was to sign the millions of dollars in bonds issued and outstanding today.

It was while in New York at this time that he passed Madison Square Garden one night and heard Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, our former ambassador to Spain, pleading the cause of independence for Cuba. That decided it. He offered his services to help liberate Cuba from her Spanish masters, fully realizing the perils ahead. Funston served with great distinction under Gen. Maximo Gomez, the chief general, and under Gen. Calixto Garcia and others, and was promoted in the field to lieutenant colonel and was made chief of artillery. In Cuba for 18 months, he was wounded three times, lost 17 horses—some shot from under him—was once captured, sentenced to death as an insurgent, but escaped death by a fictitious account of himself and the swallowing of his passport.

In Cuba he contracted malaria and suffered all the privations of a Cuban soldier who often had to forage for his own food. He was

exposed to danger times without number. His account in his book *Memories of Two Wars* of the cruising of the good ship *Dauntless* which carried him and others from a secret rendezvous in Georgia to a lonely Cuban shore at night fills one with longing for the "light that never was" and the "days that never were."

After the Cuban War, Funston was invalided back to the United States. Governor Leedy of Kansas had heard of him. Leedy had little use for the national guard or the regular army of his day. He offered Funston command of the 20th Kansas regiment, one of three regiments which the federal government asked to be raised in this state. The 20th was to become not only the most famous of Kansas units but one of the country's most distinguished. Funston was reluctant but finally consented to take command.

Forced to spend months in camps drilling and waiting for equipment, Funston and his men feared the fighting would be over before their arrival in the Philippines. But the end of the Spanish-American War did not end the bloodletting in the Philippines which actually consist of several thousand islands. In fact the end of the war with Spain was virtually the beginning, for the Filipino insurgents under the shrewd and resourceful native Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo continued to inflict casualties almost at will.

On April 27, 1899, Funston personally crossed the Rio Grande in the island of Luzon using a raft, and established a rope ferry for his troops. It was done under heavy fire which included some artillery. Lt. Gen. Arthur MacArthur was an eye witness to the event and upon his recommendation Funston was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers and was awarded the highest honor a soldier can receive, the Congressional Medal of Honor, for conduct over and beyond the call of duty. He was 33 years of age.

Later the conflict settled down to guerrilla warfare. By this time Funston knew his Spanish well. He and he alone conceived a plan for the capture of General Aguinaldo himself—a plan that has been called by some military historians an exploit without parallel in history at any other time and place, and as fine a stratagem as the Trojan horse of ancient times.

Certain dispatches, all in code, fell into American hands. Funston, assisted by Capt. E. V. Smith and Lazaro Segovia, a Spaniard, worked without sleep until the code was broken and translated from Tagalog to Spanish to English. From them it was learned the probable whereabouts of Aguinaldo which had been a mystery for more than a year. Although it was still far from certain that the hideout had actually been located or that the man who was the genius of

the insurrectos was still there, Funston's plan was approved by the department commander, Gen. Loyd Wheaton, and the division commander, Gen. Arthur MacArthur, father of the famous Douglas MacArthur.

The dispatches revealed Aguinaldo was expecting re-enforcements. The stratagem was to reach him under false colors—as the native scouts were so effective and their line of communications so good that it was impossible for a known enemy to get within a seven-day march of the mountain fastness that was his headquarters. Also United States soldiers in any uniform would be easily recognizable. Therefore the plan was to use loyal Macabebes—loyal to Spain and now to the United States—and the American officers would pose as their prisoners. Letters were forged on stationery Funston had captured from Gen. Urbano Lacuna shortly before. Exactly 81 of the Macabebe scouts were selected for this perilous expedition. General MacArthur said: "Funston, this is a desperate undertaking. I fear that I shall never see you again."

The 81 Macabebe scouts, three Tagalos, one other Filipino, five American officers, and one Spaniard selected by Funston set out. A small naval vessel steamed out of Manila, past Bataan and the rock of Corregidor and the die was cast. In the blackest night they landed on the east coast of Luzon. In this masquerade any little slip would have meant the annihilation of the entire party. Every man knew that. For 110 miles they marched over tropical jungle terrain with rain by day and by night, food supplies soaked and running out. But morale was still high. There were escapes from detection that were miraculous, as their resourcefulness was equal to each new situation. Finally the village of Palanan was reached. The Palanan river, 100 yards wide and deep, still separated them from Palanan. But transportation was furnished for the Macabebe leaders.

The ruse was still working and Aguinaldo with seven insurgent officers was waiting to welcome the leaders of the supposed re-enforcements. Outside his headquarters 50 men, neatly uniformed and armed with Mausers, were guarding the headquarters building. There is not time for more detail. The Macabebe leaders played for time until all their men had crossed the river. The guard was fired upon and dispersed, only two being killed. The surprised Aguinaldo was informed he was a prisoner of the Americans. Then General Funston and the American "prisoners" took charge of the distinguished prisoner. They were met by the same naval vessel and returned to Manila. General MacArthur almost

in disbelief received General Aguinaldo and welcomed the returning heroes.

In a few days MacArthur sent for Funston and said: "Well, Funston, they do not seem to have thought much . . . of your performance. I'm afraid you have got into trouble." At the same time he handed Funston a cablegram announcing that Funston had been made a brigadier general in the regular army by a special act of congress.

The name of Funston had become a household word everywhere overnight. The young brigadier, the army's youngest by far, decided to remain in the service.

At 34 years, the youngest general in the army, the possessor of a Congressional Medal, was happily married. From a private citizen to brigadier general of volunteers in one year, age 33; to a brigadier general, regular army, in three years, age 35. Perhaps no general in the regular army in World War I or II was as young as he, excluding of course a handful of young air corps officers who during World War II enjoyed the temporary or reserve rank as generals.

The bloodshed in the Philippine Islands was virtually over. A Kansan had more to do with the ending of the war than any man then alive. No more blood was to be spilled here until the dark days of World War II.

The wheel of fortune spins again. Funston in 1906 became the toast of that day, the idol of millions more by his exceptional performance during the San Francisco fire, bringing law and order out of chaos, succor instead of sympathy to the thousands of sufferers. Using army troops, upon his own authority and without superior orders, he employed the military service for humanitarian purposes, thereby setting a precedent since followed. A fort, a street, a field house, a park, one of the two approaches to the Golden Gate bridge, a monument, all in and around San Francisco, perpetuate his memory there.

Since those days the federal government has named Camp Funston at Fort Riley for the general, built a troop transport, the only one launched as such, and named in his honor. Many cities in Kansas have streets named for him. Until the legislative act of this year his home state had done almost nothing to perpetuate his name and deeds. Missouri has done far, far more for its Pershing.

Another turn of the wheel of fortune. Funston was a college president, as commandant of Fort Leavenworth, then the army's

highest school of learning. Lt. George Marshall was a student. Here tragedy hit, the loss of Funston's first born, a little boy he had named Arthur MacArthur Funston and to whom he later dedicated his book *Memories of Two Wars*.

The wheel of fortune spun again. Funston became a major general by appointment of Pres. Woodrow Wilson.

The wheel turned once more. Funston is military governor of Vera Cruz, administering the affairs of that city in a firm and creditable manner. When some of the merchants complained that their places were off limits and said they were going to report him to his government, he replied that he was the United States government there.

The wheel of fortune turned again. Funston was sent to the Mexican border to command the Southern department. Under him were many men later to be heard from: Lt. Dwight Eisenhower, Lt. George Marshall, Capt. Douglas MacArthur, Lt. Leslie McNair, Lt. George Patton, Maj. John J. Pershing, Capt. Hugh A. Drum, Lt. Conrad Hilton of hotel fame.

A final spin of the wheel of fortune. Funston was being honored at a banquet in San Antonio. All of the V. I. P.'s, military and civilian, were there. The orchestra was playing a favorite of his: "The Blue Danube Waltz." He had a little child on his knee. He had just remarked how beautiful was the music. Poetry, flowers, and music were his eternal loves. He was dead. It was February, 1917. In April we were at war.

Many years later General McNair and Secretary of War Newton Baker told me that beyond a doubt Fred Funston would have been designated commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I had he lived. His body lies buried in the Presidio on a hill among the eucalyptus trees near San Francisco, under the flag he served so steadfastly. His heart rests somewhere here in Kansas which he loved so well and always called his home.

His life-long friend, who worshipped him, who lived with him briefly at the University of Kansas, vacationed with him, lived with him when both reported for the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal* wrote: "Of all the public men it has been my pleasure to know, Gen. Fred Funston was, without doubt, the most colorful and picturesque of them all."

Later he was to write again:

Only a breath of wind, the flutter of a heart kept him out of Pershing's place in World War I, one of the most colorful figures in American History from day of Washington down. We have a man as dashing as Sheridan, as unique and

picturesque as slow moving and taciturn Grant, as charming as Jackson, as witty as old Billy Sherman, as brave as Paul Jones.

Mr. Miller, I am greatly honored that you have asked me on behalf of my mother, the sister of General Funston, who is unable to be here, to make these remarks to the Society.

All is ephemeral—fame and the famous as well. The brightest blades grow dim with rust; the fairest meadows white with snow. I hope and believe that the Funston Memorial Park will keep ever fresh the memory of a great American, a great Kansan, a great man.

Here is the deed which you will find in order.

At the close of his talk, Mr. Eckdall presented to the state of Kansas, represented by Nyle Miller, secretary of the Society, the deed to the Funston homestead five miles north of Iola in Allen county. The property will be known as the Funston Memorial State Park and will be managed for the state by the Society.

Memorials to four recently deceased past presidents were read by Wilford Riegle. The tributes reviewed briefly the lives and activities of Jess C. Denious, Sr., Robert C. Rankin, Charles M. Harger, and Robert Taft, and were as follows:

JESS C. DENIOUS

Jess C. Denious, Sr., prominent in newspaper, civic and political circles, died at Dodge City on December 1, 1953. He had served on the board of directors of this Society since 1931, and as president in 1945-1946.

Jess Denious was born at Magadore, Ohio, July 14, 1879, and came to southeast Kansas with his parents about five years later. As a boy he lived near Parsons and in Erie, where his father was in business.

He was graduated from Baker University in 1905 and went to work for the *Ottawa Herald*, then owned by Henry J. Allen. He was part owner of the *Erie Record* from 1906 to 1909, and then moved to the *Wichita Beacon*. In October of 1910 he bought an interest in the *Dodge City Globe-Republican*, a weekly. The following year, Denious and W. E. Davis started the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, of which he later became sole owner. He published the *Daily Globe* until his death.

Active in the Republican party for many years, Denious served two terms in the state senate, 1933-1940, and was lieutenant governor, 1943-1947. He was a member of the first Legislative Council in 1933. In 1950, Gov. Frank Carlson asked him to head the Commission on State Administrative Organization, a job which brought him much praise.

Denious was president of the Kansas Press Association in 1924 and of the Southwest Press Association in 1931. He was also active in the state Associated Press organization. He had faith in the future of southwest Kansas and devoted much of his time and ability to campaigning for its development and improvement. He was one of the original supporters of the Western Kansas Development Association.

In addition to his newspaper, Denious had wide business and social interests. He was a director of the Victory Life Insurance Company and of the Western Light and Telephone Company. He was president of the Dodge City Broadcasting Company and owner of radio station KGNO. He was a member of Kappa Sigma fraternity and of the Masonic lodge and retained a strong interest in Baker University.

Denious had a friendly outlook on life and was praised for his integrity and efficiency in public office. He was a leader in many fields, proud of his state, and admired by all who knew him.

ROBERT C. RANKIN

The Society lost a valued member and friend when Robert C. Rankin of Lawrence died, September 25, 1954. He was an active member of the Society for many years, president in 1938-1939, and was serving on the executive committee at the time of his death.

Robert Rankin was born in Lawrence on March 29, 1866, and spent most of his life in that community. He served the city as mayor, 1927-1930, was active in business and civic affairs, and represented Douglas county in the state legislature for eight years, four in each house. He was a past president of the Lawrence Rotary club, the Chamber of Commerce, and the University Club.

Rankin was an alumnus of the University of Kansas and held a unique position in the school's athletic history. He was captain of the University's only rowing team, which trained one year on the Kaw river. He remained interested in the University through the years.

In 1886 he went to Indian territory to run a trading post owned by his father, Col. John K. Rankin. He also pioneered in New Mexico as an agent for Wells Fargo at Albuquerque and Las Vegas. During the Spanish-American War he organized a unit of Rough Riders for Theodore Roosevelt. Later, after serving as the treasurer for a new railroad in California, he returned to New Mexico in time to see it admitted as a state.

In 1912 Rankin returned to Lawrence and a year later assumed the management of the family ice and cold storage business which he carried on for nearly 35 years. He also managed the Bowersock Theater for a time.

Rankin was a quiet, kindly man, highly respected in Lawrence and throughout the state. He had grown up with his town and had played a considerable part in its development, but his death was also a loss to many people outside the boundaries of his native city.

CHARLES M. HARGER

One of Kansas' most brilliant and productive editorial careers came to an end on April 3, 1955, with the death of Charles M. Harger. Harger was an active member of this Society for many years, a member of the board of directors continuously since 1930, and was president in 1930-1931.

Charles Harger was born January 23, 1863, at Phelps, N. Y., and the family moved to Abilene when he was 16. He taught school at Enterprise and at Hope before joining the staff of the Abilene *Reflector* in 1888. He later became editor of the *Reflector* and served in that capacity until his death. In 1942 the *Reflector* was consolidated with the *Chronicle* and Harger served as president of the corporation which owned the combined newspapers.

In 1905 he began lecturing to a newspaper writing class at the University

of Kansas and was one of the founders and first teachers of the University's first department of journalism. He was a member of the State Board of Regents, 1925-1938; chairman of the State Board of Correction, 1915-1916; Kansas chairman of the Belgian relief fund following World War I; and founder and first president of the Eisenhower Foundation which operates the Eisenhower home and museum at Abilene. In addition, he was active in Rotary, the Masonic lodge, and was one of the original members of the Kansas Day Club. He was a frequent contributor to national magazines and was the author of the famous "Kansas Creed" which is still widely printed.

For many years Harger was one of the most frequently quoted editors in the Midwest. In 1954 he received from the University of Kansas the first William Allen White Foundation award for journalistic merit. More than fifty years before White had written, "Charley Harger is doing more to spread the good name of Kansas than any other man."

A friend of several U. S. presidents, Harger helped obtain a West Point appointment for the Abilene boy who is now the nation's chief executive, and they remained friends through the years. Harger served as assistant secretary for every Republican national convention since 1908.

Harger was a kindly man who was deeply interested in his community and his state. He was a champion of tolerance and an enemy of conceit. He once summed up his philosophy of a country editor in these words:

"The country editor leaves out certain good things and certain bad things for the very simple reason that the persons most interested are close at hand and can find the individual responsible for the statement. If the country editor printed all the scandal he knows or hears he would have his community in constant upheaval—and probably neighbors fighting neighbors.

"He finds there is no lasting regard in a sneer, no satisfaction in gratifying the impulse to say things that bring tears to women's eyes, nothing to gloat over in opening a wound in a man's heart. If he does not learn this as he grows older he is a poor country editor." Charles Harger was a good editor—and a good man.

ROBERT TAFT

The death of Prof. Robert Taft on September 22, 1955, was a shock to Kansans and to scientists and historians throughout the country. The prominent author and lecturer had long been interested in this Society and served as its president in 1952-1953.

Dr. Taft was born in Tokyo, Japan, of missionary parents, and came to the United States at the age of three. He received his A. B. degree in 1916 from Grand Island College in Nebraska and was a faculty member at that school. He taught at the University of Iowa and at Ottawa University before joining the University of Kansas faculty in 1922. He received his Ph. D. at Kansas in 1925, became a full professor of chemistry in 1937, and was serving in that capacity at the time of his death.

The chemist-historian probably was best known nationally for his book, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West*, published in 1953, parts of which had appeared earlier in issues of the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*. He previously had written *Photography and the American Scene* and both works received wide-spread praise and recognition. In 1941 he wrote a history of the University of Kansas, *Across the Years on Mount Oread*, a revised and enlarged edition of which was printed this year under the title, *The Years on Mount Oread*.

Professor Taft's initial venture into the writing of history came about through his interest in the chemistry of photographic processes. His work in that field led him to the history of photography and from that time on his hobby grew to scholarly proportions. The originality of his research and the clarity and conciseness of his writing brought him the acclaim of many important scholars and critics.

In addition to his books, Taft wrote many articles on science and history as editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* and as author of a series of historical features for the *Kansas Teacher* magazine. He was a past president of the Academy of Science.

Gov. Edward F. Arn appointed Dr. Taft chairman of the Kansas Territorial Centennial Committee which planned the observance of the centennial last year. Cataloging of the J. J. Pennell collection of 30,000 photographic negatives which depict life in Junction City and Fort Riley from 1890 to 1920 was done under Taft's supervision. The collection is now the property of the University of Kansas.

Robert Taft's passing at the height of his creative activity is a loss to Kansas and to the nation.

The report of the nominating committee was called for, and was presented by Charles M. Correll:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 14, 1955.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending in October, 1958:

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
 Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Pratt.
 Brock, R. F., Goodland.
 Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
 Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
 Hall, Standish, Wichita.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris,
 Garden City.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
 Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita.
 Maranville, Lea, Ness City.

Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
 Owen, Arthur K., Topeka.
 Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
 Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
 Richards, Walter M., Emporia.
 Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
 Robbins, Richard W., Pratt.
 Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
 Scott, Angelo, Iola.
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
 Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
 Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
 Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

Respectfully submitted,

T. M. LILLARD, *Chairman*
 WILL T. BECK,
 FRANK HAUCKE,
 C. M. CORRELL,
 JOHN S. DAWSON.

Charles M. Correll moved that the report be adopted. Joseph C. Shaw seconded the motion and the report was accepted. Members of the board for the term ending in October, 1958, were declared elected.

Reports of county and local societies were called for and the report of the Lyon county society was read by Mrs. Franklin L. Gilson of Emporia.

There being no further business, the annual meeting of the Society adjourned. Refreshments were served to members and visitors in the museum.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by President Farrell. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society which was read by Charles M. Correll. James E. Taylor moved that it be adopted. The motion was seconded by Karl Miller and the report was accepted. The following were elected:

For a one-year term: Wilford Riegle, Emporia, president; Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, first vice-president; and Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Nyle H. Miller, Topeka, secretary.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1955

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1956

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.
Beck, Will T., Holton.
Blake, Henry S., Topeka.
Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater.
Chandler, C. J., Wichita.
Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.
Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.
Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
Dawson, John S., Topeka.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
Lose, Harry F., Topeka.

Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
Topeka.
Menninger, Karl, Topeka.
Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Motz, Frank, Hays.
Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence.
Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Somers, John G., Newton.
Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1957

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
Beezley, George F., Girard.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
Brodrick, Lynn R., Wichita.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
Docking, George, Lawrence.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.
Hall, Fred, Dodge City.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
Hodges, Frank, Olathe.
Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.
Long, Richard M., Wichita.

McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E., Hutchinson.
McCain, James A., Manhattan.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
McGrew, Mrs. Wm. E., Kansas City.
Malone, James, Gem.
Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg.
Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
Murphy, Franklin D., Lawrence.
Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan.
Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Templar, George, Arkansas City.
Townsend, Will, Great Bend.
Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1958

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Pratt.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.
Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.
Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris,
Garden City.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita.
Maranville, Lea, Ness City.

Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Owen, Arthur K., Topeka.
Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Richards, Walter M., Emporia.
Riegler, Wilford, Emporia.
Robbins, Richard W., Pratt.
Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Scott, Angelo, Iola.
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Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Wark, George H., Caney.
Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

Bypaths of Kansas History

FIRST WEDDING IN WHITE CLOUD

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, September 10, 1857.

The first "*hochzeit*," as the Dutch would say, came off last Sunday, and was a rich affair. The wedding party started from the "Jug Tavern," or "Globe Hotel," in a two-horse wagon, in the morning, to proceed two miles below town, where the ceremony was to be performed. Upon their departure, they were saluted with yelling, screaming, and hammering on all manner of tin pans and buckets. In the night, a crowd proceeded to the house where they were roosting, after they had stowed themselves away for the night. They entered the house, seized the bride-groom, and dragged him out, amid the firing of guns and yelling of the crowd. They were taking him, *en chemise*, to a creek near by, to duck him, but were bought off, by the promise of a treat in the morning. Matrimony is no small undertaking, in White Cloud!

STERN JUSTICE IN LAWRENCE

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, January 11, 1873.

At the trial of a case in Lawrence recently, the judge is credited with rebuking a witness with: "Young man, if you speak that way again, the court will forget its dignity and punch you in the snoot."

NO CENSUS PADDING AT SENECA

From the *Seneca Weekly Courier*, March 13, 1874.

Census-taking has its pleasures no other business can afford. In his search for the residents of Seneca the other day, Johnny Cave "struck" one parent who had to take down the family Bible to recall the numerous progeny bearing his name. The old gentleman began the list, and read off some two dozen lengthy titles, which were duly registered on the census roll—when the thought struck the weary parent to inquire whether both dead and living were wanted. "Living only," exclaimed the irate Johnny; and devoted the next half hour to scratching from his roll those who had long since ceased to be residents of the city of Seneca, being dead and buried.

A WEATHER NOTE IN A DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPER

From the *Lenora Record*, December 6, 1888.

The weather is simply superb, Kansas can smile in a weatherly manner, that is child like and bland, and then she will face about and whirl a man's head off with one of those classic zephyrs. But we like Kansas, notwithstanding her fickleness and outrageous Republican majority.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "‘Dirtiest’ Phase of Civil War Was in Missouri-Kansas Border Strife," a review of Jay Monaghan’s *Civil War on the Western Border*, by W. W. Baker, July 28, 1955; "In Memory of Veteran Kansas Cattleman [James Francis Perkins] Days of the Long Trail Remain Vivid," by Myra Lockwood Brown, September 15; and a short article on the history of Troy, October 23. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Mount Oread Professor Adds Fourteen Years to His Notable History of K. U.," a review of Dr. Robert Taft’s *The Years on Mount Oread*, by Theodore M. O’Leary, July 26; and "Leadership of John P. St. John Recalled on 75th Anniversary of Kansas Dry Law," by Jonathan M. Dow, November 2.

Mrs. Ora Elliott, Reading, was the first white child born in the upper Marais des Cygnes valley, according to a biographical sketch in the *Journal-Free Press*, Osage City, August 3, 1955. She was born in 1869, a short time after her parents had left their home in Illinois and settled in Kansas.

The *Kinsley Mercury* reviewed its own history in the issue of August 4, 1955. The paper was started August 18, 1883, by George Flick.

A history of the Fort Dodge home for veterans, their dependents and survivors, was published by the *Kiowa News*, August 4, 1955. In 1889 an act of congress provided for turning part of the Fort Dodge reservation over to Kansas if the state would establish a soldiers’ home on it. The first admission was in 1890.

Atwood’s *Citizen-Patriot* published a 64-page diamond jubilee edition August 11, 1955. Articles in the edition included: "Saga of a Kansas Pioneer," an autobiographical sketch by Fred Robertson; "A History of Rawlins County," by I. W. Hayden, Jr.; "A History of the Newspapers of Atwood and Rawlins County"; "A History of Rawlins County Farm Bureau and Other Related Farm Organizations," by Mrs. Virgil F. Morton; "An Early Day History of Atwood," by Alfaretta Courtright; histories of the Atwood and Rawlins county churches; "A History of Lake Atwood"; "History of Schools in Rawlins County," by Mollie McBride; and "Tom Finley Recalls Frontier Range War, Other Incidents." The original townsite of Atwood was chosen in 1879 and called Kelso. In 1880 the town was moved to the present location and the name changed to Atwood.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Wyandotte County Historical Society has been granted permission to establish a museum in Memorial Hall, Kansas City. The county commissioners recently appointed a five-member historical commission, headed by Mrs. Clyde Glandon, to study the history of the area, check historic sites and objects in Kansas City, and make recommendations for preserving and marking historic sites, and celebrating important events. Other members of the commission are: Alan Farley, Don D. Ballou, Ed Ellis, and the Rev. L. D. Boatman. Mrs. Glandon was re-elected president of the society at the annual meeting in Kansas City, November 10, 1955. Other officers chosen include: Harry Hanson, vice-president; Mrs. Harry Trowbridge, secretary; Julia Hawkins, treasurer; Harry Trowbridge, historian; and Farley, Ralph Clark, Mrs. Hazel Zeller, Clyde E. Glandon, Mrs. S. W. Bell, and Mrs. George B. Smith, Jr., trustees.

The Allen County Centennial Commission, created in 1954 to stage the county's centennial celebration, became the Allen County Historical Society at a meeting of the commission in Iola, October 3, 1955. Directors elected at a meeting October 24, include: Mrs. Bess Baker, Stanley Harris, Mary Hankins, Angelo Scott, Mrs. R. H. Carpenter, Spencer Gard, W. C. Caldwell, Roy Cannon, and Mrs. Audrey McGrew. The directors met in Iola, November 29, and elected Scott, president; Mrs. McGrew, vice-president; Gard, secretary; and Miss Hankins, treasurer.

Three hundred old settlers of Kiowa county gathered at Greensburg, October 6, 1955, for their annual picnic. Officers re-elected at the business session were: H. P. Parkins, Greensburg, president; Bert Barnes, Mullinville, vice-president; Mrs. B. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary; and Mrs. L. U. Keller, Greensburg, treasurer.

Ceremonies were held in Osawatomie, October 6, 1955, dedicating a new shelter house in John Brown Memorial State Park to the pioneers of the community, and formally presenting it to the state. Nyle H. Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the guest speaker and accepted the shelter house for the state of Kansas. The building was erected with funds provided by descendants of pioneers of the Osawatomie community.

Raymond Tillotson was elected president of the Lane County Historical Society at a meeting in Dighton, October 10, 1955. Other officers chosen were: Mrs. Elmer Johnson, vice-president; Mrs. Arle

Boltz, secretary; Mrs. R. G. Mull, Sr., treasurer; and Frank Vycital, Walter Herndon, and Arle Boltz, directors. H. Preston Palmer of Scott City, was the featured speaker. Another meeting was held October 20 when Nyle H. Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, spoke to the group.

Organization of the Southwest Kansas Historical Society was completed at Dodge City, October 12, 1955. Officers elected were: Larry Yost, president; R. Roy Taylor, vice-president; Dr. Francis J. Manno, secretary-treasurer; and James A. Williams, Arthur Nevins, Victor Hull, and J. P. McCollum, directors.

Dedication ceremonies were held October 12, 1955, for a marker placed in Eureka at the site of old Fort Montgomery by the Daughters of the American Revolution, Lucretia Griswold Latimer chapter. Dr. Ross M. Taylor, University of Wichita, was the principal speaker.

Pawnee county pioneers of the 1870's and 1880's were guests of the Pawnee County Historical Society at the ninth annual reunion of the pioneers in Larned, October 20, 1955. Featured were histories of Garfield, Rozel, and Burdett, given by residents of these communities.

John Feller was re-elected president of the Leavenworth County Historical Society at a meeting in Leavenworth, October 20, 1955. Other officers chosen include: Mrs. May Alice Jones, first vice-president; Mrs. Walter Lambert, second vice-president; Lula Baum, secretary; Homer D. Cory, treasurer; and Bert Collard, D. R. Anthony, III, and Byron Schroeder, directors.

Recent activities at Fort Leavenworth include the completion of a study by the Fort Leavenworth historical committee, headed by Col. Louis Buttner, on the history of the Fort Leavenworth area and ways to bring the history to the attention of the public, and the Fort Leavenworth Historical Society's quarterly meeting, October 21. Papers on the history of the fort were given by Lt. Col. Henry S. Parker and Lt. Col. Edward W. McGregor. Col. Charles F. Russe is president of the society.

Nyle H. Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the speaker at a gathering sponsored by the Stevens County Historical Society and the Hugoton Woman's Club in Hugoton, October 21, 1955.

C. M. Cooper was elected president of the Crawford County Historical Society at a meeting in Pittsburg, October 26, 1955. Other

officers are: R. O. Carr, vice-president; Hugh Friel, secretary, and Mrs. Oscar Anderson, treasurer. Directors include: Grover Exley, Mrs. A. J. Jefferson, and Mrs. Cecil Gregg. Peter A. Kelly, Girard, the principal speaker, told of the Aerial Navigation Company which built airplanes and motors at Girard from 1908 to 1912.

B. H. Oesterreich, Woodbine, was re-elected president of the Dickinson County Historical Society at the annual meeting in Woodbine, October 27, 1955. Other officers elected were: Mrs. Viola Ehrsam, Enterprise, first vice-president; Mrs. Ray Livingston, Abilene, second vice-president; Mrs. Carl Peterson, Enterprise, secretary; Mrs. Walter Wilkins, Chapman, treasurer; and Marion See-lye, Abilene, historian. The history of the Woodbine area was the theme of the program.

Officers of the Russell County Historical Society include: John G. Deines, president; Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, first vice-president; Luther D. Landon, second vice-president; Merlin Morphy, secretary; and A. J. Olson, treasurer. Other directors include: Mrs. H. A. Opdycke, chairman, William H. Ochs, and Mrs. Dora H. Morrison. The directors voted at a recent meeting to place a marker at the site of the Kitts Fork Indian raid west of Russell; also to enlarge the display in the courthouse lobby and to increase the size of the historical exhibit at the county 4-H fair.

Mrs. Harry Meyer is president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, northeast Johnson county, for 1956. Other officers chosen include: Mrs. R. D. Grayson, first vice-president; Mrs. Yolande M. Smith, second vice-president; Mrs. James D. Wood, recording secretary; Mrs. John Blake, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Louis Rieke, treasurer; Mrs. Wm. Schreiber, historian; Mrs. Chas. Houlehan, curator; Mrs. James G. Bell, member-in-waiting; Lucile Larsen, chaplain; and Mrs. John Barkley, parliamentarian. Mrs. Arthur W. Wolf was the retiring president.

Organization of a Butler County Historical Society was begun at a meeting in El Dorado, November 29, 1955. On December 11, the following directors were elected: F. H. Cron, Mrs. Corah Mooney Bullock, Mrs. Ralph Wiley, Mrs. R. C. Loomis, Clarence King, Clifford W. Stone, and Charles E. Heilmann. Cron was elected president by the directors. Other officers chosen were: Heilmann, vice-president; Mrs. Loomis, secretary; and Stone, treasurer.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Summer 1956



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THE COVER

This church, built by Congregationalist members of the Connecticut Kansas colony at Wabaunsee, and still standing, was dedicated May 24, 1862. It is popularly known as the Beecher Bible and Rifle church. (*See p. 182.*)

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXII

Summer, 1956

Number 2

Romance at Old Cantonment Leavenworth

THE MARRIAGE OF 2D LT. PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE IN 1830

HAMILTON GARDNER

Fort Leavenworth . . . a "fort" by courtesy, or rather by order; . . . was in reality but a straggling cantonment, but on an admirable site. The Missouri, in an abrupt bend, rushes with wonderful swiftness against a rock-bound shore; from this the ground rises with a bold sweep to a hundred feet or more, then sloping gently into a shallow vale, it rises equally again, and thus are formed a number of hills, which are to the north connected by a surface but slightly bent, to which the vale insensibly ascends; every line of every surface is curved with symmetry and beauty. On these hill-tops, shaded by forest trees, stands Fort Leavenworth. On the one hand is to be seen the mighty river, winding in the distance through majestic forests and by massive bluffs, stretching away till mellowed to aerial blue; on the other, rolling prairies, dotted with groves, and bounded on the west by a bold grassy ridge; this, inclosing in an elliptical sweep a beautiful amphitheatre, terminates five miles southward in a knob, leaving between it and the river a view of the prairie lost in a dim and vague outline.

. . .¹

THUS young 2d Lt. Philip St. George Cooke² records his impressions of Cantonment Leavenworth when he first saw it May 15, 1829. Established only two years previously by Col. Henry Leavenworth,³ some time still elapsed before it attained the dignity of a fort. Cooke's future military career was destined

HAMILTON GARDNER, an attorney of Salt Lake City, was for 20 years a teacher in the University of Utah Law School. He served in both World Wars, and recently retired as colonel, Army of the United States. His hobby has been the writing of history and he has become well informed on Philip St. George Cooke, the subject of this sketch. His articles have appeared in several historical magazines in recent years.

1. Philip St. George Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army: or, Romance of Military Life* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 93.

2. For brief biographies of Cooke see my articles: "A Young West Pointer Reports for Duty at Jefferson Barracks in 1827," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 9 (January, 1953), pp. 124-138; and "The Command and Staff of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Salt Lake City, v. 20 (October, 1952), pp. 331-351; and even more recently: Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General Philip St. George Cooke," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 32 (Summer, 1954), pp. 195-213.

3. Col. Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth, 1827-1937*, 2d ed., Capt. Walter E. Lorence (Fort Leavenworth, 1937), pp. 13-18.

to be cast in major part in service connected with this historic post and at one time he commanded it.

Cooke was born near Leesburg, Va., June 13, 1809, and was appointed a cadet in the United States Military Academy when only 14 years old. After graduation in the class of 1827 he was assigned to the 6th infantry at Jefferson Barracks, Mo. His initial arrival at Leavenworth was as a subaltern with Brev. Maj. Bennet Riley's Companies A, B, F and H, 6th infantry. The mission of the expedition was to escort the traders' caravan on its annual trip from Independence, Mo., to Santa Fe, N. M. Departing from Cantonment Leavenworth June 3, the column proceeded as far as the Arkansas river, which was then the international boundary, and awaited the return of the merchants from Santa Fe. There Cooke participated in the first of his many engagements with the Indians. The battalion returned to its home station November 8.⁴ Cooke reports that it "took quiet possession of the miserable huts and sheds left by the 3d infantry the preceding May."⁵

I

Strength of the garrison at Cantonment Leavenworth during the winter of 1829-1830 continued pitifully small. Upon its return from the march along the Santa Fe trail the battalion numbered 12 officers and slightly fewer than 200 enlisted men. Facing the rigors of a winter season in the open prairies, almost completely isolated from civilization, it found questionable comfort and shelter in the existing "miserable huts and sheds." But such a situation could not be regarded as particularly unusual in the life of the frontier army posts of that period.

Normally it could hardly be expected that a lowly junior lieutenant such as Cooke would figure in the important functions of even so small a station as Leavenworth. Yet the incomplete surviving records of that first winter bring to light some of his official activities.

His first concern had to do with completing the daily "Journal" of the previous summer's march to the Arkansas and, under Major Riley's supervision, the final "Report" on it. The major had specifically assigned him to prepare these two documents, even though in normal procedure it would have been the duty of the expedition's

4. Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, pp. 40-93; Otis E. Young, *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829—From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke* (Glendale, Cal., 1952).

5. Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 93.

adjutant, 2d Lt. James F. Izard, to make the journal entries.⁶ Riley forwarded the "Report" through channels November 24.

CANTONMENT LEAVENWORTH
Nov. 24th 1829

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you for the Dept. a Report of my Campaign on the Santa Fe Trace on the Arkansas last summer as also the Journal kept by Lt. Cooke with the several documents connected therewith . . .

I have the honor to be
With Great Respect &
Esteem Your Most. Obt. St.
B RILEY
Major U. S. Army ⁷

To.

BRIGR GENL LEAVENWORTH
Comg. Right W. W. Dept

One of the critical events during the expedition arose from the conduct of Capt. Joseph Pentland in connection with an attack by the Comanche Indians on the Arkansas river August 11, 1829.⁸ After submitting the "Journal" Cooke, in a desire to be absolutely accurate, requested that a change be made in a pertinent entry. Originally he had referred to one of the units engaged as "light Co. B, then under the command of Lt. Dorr."

At this representation of Capt. Pentland I am convinced that this expression may have been the unintended cause of misapprehension. Capt P upon that occasion was offr. of the Day; during the time consumed in reaching the body of the guard, his company had left the camp to attack the enemy: nevertheless Capt. P. received instructions which body to command; in time to take charge of his company, I think, before it was engaged; at his command at its head during the whole of the skirmish. . . .⁹

On several occasions in his later career Cooke took what appeared to be rather determined action in asserting financial claims against

6. These two documents have never been published. I have microfilms of both from the National Archives. They are officially entitled: "Journal of the Expedition of a Detachment of Four Companies of the 6th Regiment of Infantry From Jefferson Barracks Mo. to the Crossing of the Arkansas River by the Santa Fe Trace (by Way of Cantonment Leavenworth)," and "Report of Four Companies of the 6th Regiment U. S. Infantry, Which Left Jefferson Barracks, on the 5th of May 1829 Under the Command of Bt. Major Riley, U. S. Army for the Protection of the Trade to Santa Fe." The report bears date of November 22, 1829.

Young, *op. cit.*, asserts, but does not present the proof available in original source records, that Cooke wrote both of these papers. In addition to the documents quoted and cited in this article, internal evidence discloses unmistakably that he was the author. Not only is his hand writing easily identifiable, but his rather unique literary style—evident in embryo even at this early date—place the matter beyond doubt.

7. National Archives and Records Service, War Records Branch, Office of the Chief Archivist, Washington, D. C.; cited herein as N. A. R. S. W. R. B.

8. From the meager surviving evidence it would appear that Captain Pentland was court-martialed for cowardice under enemy fire and dismissed from the service. The War Department records dealing with this affair are not complete and in some places have apparently been deleted. Cooke's concern for technical correctness in the "Journal" becomes clear under these circumstances.

9. N. A. R. S. W. R. B.—Cooke's letter bore date of January 3, 1830.

the War Department with respect to matters incidental to his service. The first such instance arose in connection with his work in keeping the "Journal."

CANTONMENT LEAVENWORTH

Feby. 9th 1830

SIR,

In obedience to your orders I kept a journal of the expedition of a Battalion of the 6th Regiment detached from Jefferson Barracks in May last to protect the Santa Fe trade. For this duty it is my object to obtain extra pay. I am aware there is no specific provision for this case; but I was certainly in the performance of extra duty. I have the honor to request you would transmit this application with any remarks that you may make, to the Secretary of War for his decision.

Very respectfully,

Yr. obt. Servt.

P. ST. G. COOKE

2d Lt. 6th Regt ¹⁰

To,

MAJOR

B. RILEY

Commg.

Major Riley approved Lieutenant Cooke's claim and forwarded it to the Secretary of War.

CANTONMENT LEAVENWORTH

8th Feby 1830

SIR

I have the honor herewith to enclose you a communication from Lt. Cook of the 6th Regt. Infy. asking for extra pay for keeping and Riting the journal of my Santefe Campaign; I have to state that I was ordered by the Comg Genl of Dept to have one Kept and I ordered Lt Cook to perform that Duty which he performed to my satisfaction and I am in hopes to yours; he also performed his Duty in his Company in the same manner as above stated and I hope that you will think as I do that he should have extra pay and will direct it to be [???] to him accordingly. I think it cannot be disputed that it was extra duty.

I have the honor to
be with great Respect

Your obt Sert

B RILEY

Capt 6th Regt Maj U. S. Army
Comg.¹¹

To

HONB J. H. EATON

Secretary at War

Surviving records do not disclose whether Cooke ever received the extra compensation he requested.

10. N. A. R. S. W. R. B.

11. *Ibid.*

From this favorable indorsement on Cooke's application it is not to be inferred that all remained sweetness and light between the subaltern and his superior. The garrison was so small during that winter, the isolated confinement so narrow, that those concerned would have been less than human if squabbles did not arise, however inconsequential. Only fragmentary data are available as to one such disagreement to which the lieutenant was a party. It appears that on one occasion Cooke dismissed a drill somewhat earlier than his commanding officer approved. Thereupon Major Riley himself continued the drill over an unusually lengthy period. Complaint of this excess reached Headquarters, Western Department, at St. Louis. The accusers are not identified, but they added the further allegation that Riley had acted under the influence of too free indulgence in that potent cup which was all too plentiful on the frontier. Finally the commanding general, Western Department, issued Orders No. 11, March 13, 1830, exonerating Major Riley on the drunkenness charge but reprimanding him for drilling the company too long. Such trifling incidents must surely have broken the monotony of the Cantonment's winter existence, to say nothing of adding to the supply of that commodity which almost seems to be "general issue" for soldiers—gossip, though usually referred to by other and less respectable names.¹²

But the picture must not become distorted. Monotony there was—and a degree of pettiness, frustration, bickering and the regimentation inevitable to military routine in a small isolated garrison. To offset these drawbacks were opportunities for professional education—drill, study, the handling of men, a broadening outlook on the developing frontier, an insight into the personalities pushing persistently towards the unknown West, contact with the Indian tribes and, above all, the sense of duty performed. All this had its permanent effect on the young officer, as witness his reminiscences a quarter century later—"the generous, the open-hearted, daring and adventurous—the frank and hospitable *far West*."¹³

II

Lieutenant Cooke attained his 21st birthday June 13, 1830. By all traditional standards, this event, coupled with the spring season, should have caused his "young man's fancy" to aim at a romantic target. Cantonment Leavenworth seemed to afford little possibility for a successful campaign in that direction. But Cupid

12. *Ibid.*

13. Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 19.

possesses an arsenal full of weapons to overcome such handicaps and secure both strategic and tactical victory. In the youthful Virginian's case it all came about in a manner which many another youngster fresh out of West Point experienced at frontier army posts.

One of the original figures to appear at Leavenworth was Maj. John Dougherty. Early in 1827 he had been appointed an agent in the Indian service. He reported at St. Louis to provide the bond required in his new office. There Colonel Leavenworth suggested that he make his headquarters at the recently located cantonment because of its accessibility to the Indians with whom he must work. Dougherty's superiors agreed. So he accompanied Companies B, D, E and H of the 3d infantry to the new post, arriving September 25, 1827.¹⁴

Major Dougherty had married Mary Hertzog of Philadelphia, a descendant of John Collins, who had settled in America in 1640.¹⁵ Early in the spring of 1830 Mrs. Dougherty invited her sister, Rachel, for an extended visit with her at the post. Picture the heightened interest, even excitement, especially among bachelor officers, occasioned by the presence of an attractive and eligible young lady, fresh from civilization. Always it had proved so in the army's far flung chain of early Western posts—Fort Snelling, Fort Crawford, Fort Leavenworth, Fort Gibson. That the gentle, refined Miss Hertzog achieved immediate popularity was but a foregone conclusion. In time, however, her interest centered on the tall, slender lieutenant from Virginia.

In delicate retrospection Cooke paints his courtship:

Blessed with an harmonious and congenial though small society, the days, the months, flew by. Our duties performed, and studious improvement not neglected, the pleasures of female society gave the greater zest to diversions and exercises. Often the whole of us, in a party, would canter for miles through prairie and grove, and spend the day on the shady banks of a pretty stream; there, where the world had never made its mark—forgetful of its very existence—we gave our whole hearts to sylvan sports, to feast and merriment, to happiness. A week seldom passed without dancing parties, to which rare beauty and fine music lent their attractions. Sentinels on a distant frontier, ever ready to throw ourselves in the face of savage enemies, though severed from the world with its selfish jarring interests, its contentions and tortuous intrigues, its eternal struggle for dollars, we continued, amid our books and social pleasures, with hunting and the chase, to pass happy years. . . .¹⁶

14. Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

15. William H. Collins, *The Collins Family* (Quincy, Illinois, 1897).

16. Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, pp. 93-95.

Far from the possibility of a fashionable church wedding, limited to the small circle of brother officers and their wives, unattended by members of either family except Mrs. Dougherty, the young couple pledged their vows October 28, 1830. It was one of Fort Leavenworth's very earliest military weddings. Almost three weeks later the nearest newspapers reported with regrettable brevity:

MARRIED

On Thursday evening, the 28th ultimo, by the Rev. Mr. Edwards, at the residence of Major Dougherty, Cantonment Leavenworth, Lieutenant PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE, U. S. A., to Miss RACHEL W[ILT] HERTZOG.¹⁷

One could wish for the thoroughness in detail so avidly displayed by the modern newspaper society editor. Were there bridesmaids, a matron of honor, a best man? Did the newly married couple follow army tradition and walk under the crossed sabres of 6th infantry officers? What festivities followed? Even the identity of the Rev. Edwards remains obscure. Certainly he was not an army chaplain, because that corps was not activated until 1837. Very likely he was either a visiting preacher or one of the missionaries who frequently worked with the government's Indian agents.

Unfortunately Lieutenant Cooke did not describe the quarters available for his bride and himself. At best they must have been of the most primitive kind. A visitor in 1833 pictures the buildings on the post:

About a dozen white-washed cottage-looking houses compose the barracks and the abodes of the officers. They were so arranged as to form the three sides of a hollow square; the fourth is open and looks out on a wide prairie.¹⁸

The accompanying sketch, dated in 1838, shows only six small buildings which were likely occupied by married officers. In one of these—or perhaps in half of it—Rachel Cooke bravely set up their first abode. What she accomplished as a homemaker tells the story of the cultural contribution of army wives on the early frontier.

As history has chronicled the exciting achievements of their soldier-husbands—fighting Indians, protecting pioneer settlers, laying out roads, building military posts—it has paid but inadequate tribute to the equally brave and far more patient wives. They, too, came from refined homes “back East.” They had exchanged the drawing rooms of their parents in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans for the wilderness. In a rude log hut, rough frame structure or even an adobe house could be found a piece of rare china, some in-

17. *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, November 16, 1830.

18. Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

herited old lace, a daguerreotype, a choice set of silver, a precious gown, a few cherished books. They brought to the frontier the highest traditions of American social culture and kept them alive under the most discouraging environment. When the scales are balanced and a measure of influence of American womanhood in the advance to the West is finally calculated, these army wives will receive the credit and appreciation they so richly deserve.

III

For the next two years—1830 to 1832—the newlyweds stayed at Cantonment Leavenworth. If the lieutenant obtained leave for a honeymoon, such is not of record. Garrison duty was interspersed with few outside contacts, although the first post office had been established May 29, 1829. "But we were not without our visitors from the world," relates Cooke, "who sufficiently refreshed our concepts of its existence and nature."¹⁹ He mentions the Indian agents, the fur trappers and hunters, the *bois voyageurs* on their way to and from the Rocky Mountains. Officers, newly assigned from the East, were solicited for the latest happenings.

In the "Old Army" Out West it was "standard operating procedure," when the troops took the field on any matter connected with the Indians, for the wives to sit fearfully at the post and hope for the best. But the first separation of the Cookes possessed no such hostile aspect, even though he went into Indian country. He "obtained leave of absence, in order to accompany an officer of the Indian Department on an official visit to the villages of the Otto and Omahaw Indians, and the Old Council Bluff in their vicinity."²⁰ This was in June, 1831. Cooke does not specifically identify his companion, but it was undoubtedly his brother-in-law, Major Dougherty. The route followed the western bank of the Missouri river as far north as the Platte.²¹ This was the first of his many unofficial excursions to the Indian tribes throughout the West. Although he later fought in numerous engagements against them and became known as one of the army's foremost Indian campaigners, he never lost his early admiration for their good qualities or his sympathy with their misfortunes.²²

19. Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 94.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-109.

22. A considerable portion of Cooke's *Scenes and Adventures in the Army* is devoted to his observations of the Redskins; see, for example, pp. 119-130, as to his views of the treatment given them by the whites. Some of the Indian country visited by Cooke in 1831 was later the subject of vivid description and illustration by George Catlin in his *North American Indians* (Edinburgh ed., 1926). Catlin called at Leavenworth in 1833.

Now occurred an incident in Cooke's life at Leavenworth which illustrates the absurd lengths to which the trivial and the inconsequential could become involved in official red tape in the "Old Army." The affair is not lacking in its humorous aspects, but it also forecasts a personal characteristic which appeared several times later. It might well be termed the "Battle of the Mustaches."

Cooke, now 22 years old and only four years out of West Point, decided his personal and professional dignity required that he grow a mustache. The commanding officer, Maj. William Davenport, 6th infantry, who had succeeded Major Riley for a matter of a year, decreed that his officers must forego such hirsute adornment. Cooke felt aggrieved and affronted. Were not his constitutional rights being impaired, his privilege of self-expression? He made an issue of it; the hair on his upper lip must grow and flourish unimpeded by ukase of his superior officer! The very top of the army hierarchy must decide this momentous question! So he wrote a letter to the general-in-chief himself, Maj. Gen. Alexander Macomb.

CANTONMENT LEAVENWORTH

Aug. 5. 1831

SIR,

As the proper protector of the rights of members of the army, I beg leave to address you in a case which, as I conceive, mine have been invaded: and one in which I know no mode of redress more eligible than the one taken. I request your opinion on an order which I have lately received, to cut off a pair of *Mustaches*; and given by Major W. Davenport the officer here in command.

The order derives the *most* of whatever importance it may have, from my sense of its oppressiveness.

Without dwelling at all on the opinion that has in all time been received, of the marshal effect of Mustaches, I would beg leave to suggest one or two of my ideas on the subject: and first that the mustaches were an inviolable part of my person: and secondly, that they were not more obnoxious to uniformity than whiskers, which are neither here nor elsewhere regulated by orders; and thirdly as to the particular case I told Major Davenport (what he did not deny) that my lip *with the mustaches* was not so darkly conspicuous (owing to their size) as are other officer's (mustaches) when freshly shaved.

I am not aware that any rule of correspondence denies this *direct* appeal to your decision on an abstract subject.

A favorable decision in this case, Sir, will be most thankfully received by your Most respectful

and obedient Servant

P. ST. G COOKE

2. Lt. 6th Reg. Infy.²³

MAJOR GENERAL

ALEXANDER MACOMB

Comdg. the Army

Washington City

Alas for such students as have indulged in research in the changing vagaries of fashion as it relates to the display of foliage on the male physiognomy, General Macomb's answer, if any, has not been preserved of record.

A sequel, however, did develop. Lieutenant Cooke preferred charges against Major Davenport. Whether the specifications set forth the edict against mustaches is not known. But on December 10, 1831, headquarters, Western Department, at Jefferson Barracks, accorded official recognition to the case. Lieutenant George A. McCall, "A. D. C.—act. ast. Adj Gen" wrote to Cooke to acknowledge receipt of his letter of November 25, inquiring as to the status of the charges, and continued:

. . . I have the honor to inform you, that the charges with the accompanying letter, were, on their receipt at this office, transmitted to Major Genl. Gaines, then on a tour of inspection in the south, from which he is not yet returned—nor have his views upon the subject been communicated to this office.²⁴

Whether the charges ever reached the stage of a military court of inquiry or a court-martial, the records do not disclose.

(Facetiously one may speculate whether Lieutenant Cooke's "hairy declaration of independence" might have set a precedent which "guard house lawyers" in the enlisted ranks later grasped as a measure of desperation. Old timers, especially in the mounted services, will doubtless recall instances of soldiers appearing at inspection without benefit of shaving. When questioned, they glibly affirmed it as their intention to raise a beard. However apparent this deception, the inspecting officer usually took it seriously and forthwith ordered the offending soldier to leave his beard untouched for a considerable period.)

Certainly the significance of this minor incident should not be overemphasized. Probably it could have happened only in a small outlying post where the personnel was thrown entirely too much upon itself. But it exemplified a trait which was to crop out occasionally in Cooke's subsequent career. That was his zealousness in insisting on his personal and official prerogatives. In this he acted with utmost fearlessness and sometimes he incurred the disfavor of his superiors. Throughout his long army service of almost half a century he remained a forthright individualist. While meticulously loyal and respectful to his commanding officers, he never lost sight of his personal rights. His colleagues of all ranks re-

24. *Ibid.*

garded him as scrupulously fair and just, even though a strict disciplinarian. He stood up for his command even more than for himself.²⁵

Lieutenant Cooke completed his first stay at Leavenworth in March, 1832, when he volunteered to proceed with two companies of the 6th infantry to join Brev. Brig. Gen. Henry Atkinson's forces in Illinois during the Black Hawk War. Upon its completion he returned to the post briefly and moved with his wife to Jefferson Barracks. There on September 7, 1832, he took up his new assignment as regimental adjutant of the 6th infantry. This was a signal recognition of his professional competence and merit, especially in view of his youth.

IV

Despite the numerous tours of duty by Cooke and his wife at Fort Leavenworth, it so happened that only one of their four children could claim it as a birthplace.

John Rogers Cooke was born at Jefferson Barracks June 9, 1833, and named after his uncle (a distinguished lawyer of Martinsburg, Va., with whom Philip St. George and his widowed mother, Catherine Esten Cooke, lived for several years before he became a cadet at the military academy in 1823). John Rogers accompanied his father, then captain, 1st dragoons, on the first of two round trips on the Santa Fe trail in 1843. He entered the Lawrence scientific school of Harvard University in September, 1851, and left in 1852 without taking a degree.²⁶ On June 30, 1855, without the help or even knowledge of his father he obtained a commission in the regular army and was assigned to the 8th infantry in Arizona. He was promoted to first lieutenant on January 28, 1861. Resigning May 30, 1861,²⁷ he accompanied Maj. James Longstreet to Virginia, where both entered the Confederate service. After the first battle of Bull Run he raised a company of light artillery and early in 1862 he was assigned as major and chief of artillery in the Department of North Carolina. In the following April he became colonel,

25. A typical event of this kind arose at Camp Floyd in Utah territory in the spring of 1858. Brev. Brig. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston was then department commander. Cooke felt that his 2d dragoons had been imposed upon by excessive details to guard the horses, mules, and cattle of the Utah expedition. When Johnston rebuffed his protest, he did not hesitate to carry the matter directly to the general-in-chief, Brev. Lt. Gen. Winfield Scott. He lost the appeal but won the unquestioned loyalty of his dragoons and the respect of his colleagues.—See Col. Theophilus F. Rodenbough, *From Everglade to Cañon With the Second Dragoons* (New York, 1875), pp. 529, 530.

26. Harvard University archives.

27. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, published at the Government Printing Office, "by authority of Congress" (Washington, 1903), v. 1, p. 324.

10th North Carolina infantry. He commanded this regiment in several battles and was promoted to brigadier general for gallantry at Antietam. In the battle of Fredericksburg he was severely wounded while in command of the famous stone wall at the foot of Marye's Heights. Altogether he suffered seven battle wounds. He married Nancy Gordon Patton of Fredericksburg, Va.²⁸ After the war he entered business in Richmond, Va., where his son, Philip St. George Cooke, still resides.

Flora, eldest of the three Cooke daughters, was likewise born at Jefferson Barracks on January 3, 1836. Like her sisters, she spent her childhood and young womanhood at various frontier army posts where her father was stationed. Thus in 1855 she met young Lt. James Ewell Brown Stuart, 1st cavalry, and they were married at Fort Riley November 14. Early in 1861, without hesitation, he resigned his federal commission and returned to his native Virginia. Flora soon followed. Stuart's meteoric rise as a cavalry commander for the Confederacy and his attainment of the rank of major general while still a very young man constitute one of the classic sagas of the War Between the States. Flora visited with her husband occasionally as the Virginia campaigns ebbed and flowed and his fame grew. But when he was wounded at Yellow Tavern and taken to the home of his brother-in-law, Dr. Charles Brewer, in Richmond, she was unable to reach his bedside before he died May 12, 1864. True to his memory, she remained and reared his family among his people in Virginia.

Fort Wayne was a cavalry post established for a few years in the northeastern part of the present state of Oklahoma on the Arkansas border. Captain Cooke served at the station in 1839-1840 with a small garrison of the 1st dragoons. There Maria Pendleton was born February 25, 1840. (Cooke's older brother, John Rogers, had married into the Pendleton family of Virginia.) She married Dr. Charles Brewer of Maryland, who had entered the U. S. army as assistant surgeon on August 29, 1856. Like his brother-in-law, "Jeb" Stuart, he declared for the South and resigned his Union commission May 7, 1861.²⁹ During the latter part of the war he served as surgeon on Gen. Robert E. Lee's staff in Richmond.

The youngest of the Cooke children was Julia Turner, the only

28. I acknowledge my indebtedness for much information concerning the Cooke family to the gracious courtesy of Philip St. George Cooke, Richmond, Va., and his son, Philip St. George Cooke, III, Grand Island, Neb.

29. Heitman, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 243.

one to be born at Fort Leavenworth, March 10, 1842. She became the wife of Jacob Sharpe of New York November 15, 1864. He had entered the Civil War as major, 56th New York infantry, in 1861 and the following year became lieutenant colonel, 156th New York infantry. Colonel Sharpe was brevetted brigadier general of volunteers March 13, 1865, for gallantry and meritorious service at the battle of Winchester, Va.³⁰ He died April 27, 1892.

These brief sketches disclose the tragic division of allegiance in the Cooke family during the Civil War. Faced with such a heart-breaking necessity, Colonel Cooke reached his own decision to continue service with the Union. He was one of the very few Virginia-born regular officers who did so, other notable exceptions being Winfield Scott and George H. Thomas.

V

After 1832 Cooke did not see Fort Leavenworth again for more than two years. In the meantime he had transferred to the cavalry, the newly activated arm in which he attained his greatest distinction. An officer-founder of the 1st dragoons at Jefferson Barracks in March, 1833 (the oldest permanent cavalry regiment in the army), he accompanied the fledgling outfit on its first overland march to Fort Gibson;³¹ spent a miserable winter there in tents; started with Col. Henry Dodge on the costly march to the "Pawnee" villages in 1834, but soon fell ill in the scourge of sickness which cost the lives of Brig. Gen. Henry Leavenworth and scores of dragoons;³² and returned with the regiment to Fort Leavenworth in the fall of 1834. Colonel Dodge resigned from command of the 1st dragoons July 4, 1836, and was succeeded by Col. Stephen Watts Kearny. From 1834 to the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846 headquarters of the regiment was maintained at Fort Leavenworth, but like other units on the frontier, its companies were scattered to various other posts. Under this practice Cooke's tenure at Leavenworth was interspersed with service at various periods at Fort Gibson, Nacgdoches, Tex., Fort Wayne, Carlisle Barracks, Pa., Fort Crawford, and assignments to recruiting duty.

In the significant contribution of the United States army to the settlement of the West mounted troops of necessity played the major

30. *Ibid.*, p. 877.

31. Hamilton Gardner, "The March of the First Dragoons From Jefferson Barracks to Fort Gibson in 1833-1834," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 31 (Spring, 1953), pp. 22-36.

32. George H. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *ibid.*, v. 28 (Spring, 1950), pp. 2-41.

role. And of the entire cavalry the 1st dragoons stood out above all others in this respect.³³ Equally it may be stated that of all dragoon officers—or of the entire army for that matter—Philip St. George Cooke participated in the greatest number of transcontinental military marches. Nearly all of them were connected with Fort Leavenworth.

Mention has already been made of his trip along the Santa Fe trail in 1829. As a captain in 1843 he made two marches from Fort Leavenworth to the Arkansas with an escort of dragoons to the Santa Fe traders.³⁴ During the first expedition he arrested a body of Texans under "Colonel" Snively on the ground that they had unlawfully crossed into United States territory. The actual boundary line had not been definitely fixed on the ground.³⁵ Following strong protests from the Republic of Texas, Cooke was completely vindicated by a board of officers sitting at Fort Leavenworth early in 1844. The same year he marched with Maj. Clifton Wharton and five companies of the dragoons on a visit to the Indian tribes along the lower Platte river.³⁶ In 1845 Colonel Kearny led six dragoon companies, including Cooke's, on the most pretentious expedition of the period. From Leavenworth the column moved to the Oregon trail and followed it to the South Pass in the Rocky Mountains. Returning to Fort Laramie, it passed across the present state of Colorado to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas and returned to its home station on the Santa Fe trail.³⁷

The outbreak of the War with Mexico found Captain Cooke with Company K at Fort Crawford, separated from the headquarters and most units of the 1st dragoons at Fort Leavenworth. Colonel Kearny was designated by President James K. Polk to command

33. Some, but by no means all, of the expeditions of the 1st dragoons are discussed in Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1917).

34. Cooke's official "Journal" was published as "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail . . . 1843," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 12 (June and September, 1925), pp. 72-98, 227-255, annotated by William E. Connelley.

35. For one phase of this incident see H. Bailey Carroll, "Steward A. Miller and the Snively Expedition of 1843," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Austin, Tex., v. 54 (January, 1951), pp. 261-286.

36. Major Wharton's "Journal of a March of a Detachment of the 1st Dragoons" was published in the *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 16 (1923-1925), pp. 272-305. The trip is also described in the first part of 1st Lt. James H. Carleton's *The Prairie Logbooks, Dragoon Campaigns to the Pawnee Villages in 1844, and to the Rocky Mountains in 1845* (Chicago, 1943). Cooke does not mention it in *Scenes and Adventures*.

37. This march has been much publicized. See, e. g., my article, "Captain Philip St. George Cooke and the March of the 1st Dragoons to the Rocky Mountains in 1845," *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 30 (October, 1953), pp. 246-269. Cooke devotes considerable space to it in *Scenes and Adventures* as does Lieutenant Carleton in the latter part of his *Logbooks*. From the National Archives I have obtained a microfilm copy of "Journal of an Expedition Performed in the Summer of 1845 by 5 Companies of the 1st Dragoons Under the Command of Colonel S. W. Kearny." It was written by 1st Lt. Henry S. Turner, adjutant of the expedition. So far as I have been able to ascertain, this "Journal" has never been published.

the Army of the West, with the mission of occupying New Mexico, including Arizona, and Upper California. His force, consisting of the 1st dragoons, less the companies at Fort Gibson, the 1st and 2d regiments, Missouri mounted volunteers, Col. Alexander W. Doniphan and Col. Sterling Price, departed from Fort Leavenworth late in June. The Mormon battalion, Brev. Lt. Col. James Allen, followed about August 13. Colonel Kearny early insisted that Cooke's Company K and Capt. Edwin V. Sumner's Company G, at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, rejoin the regiment.³⁸ The two companies finally got away from Fort Leavenworth July 6 and by forced marches caught up with the main body near Bent's Fort. Kearny had now been promoted brigadier general and about August 1 he sent Captain Cooke to Santa Fe in advance of the column to confer with the Mexican governor, Manuel Armijo, regarding a truce. The mission proved unsuccessful, so Cooke returned and entered Santa Fe August 18 with Kearny's troops.³⁹

When the Army of the West moved out of Santa Fe Cooke started with it, but had gone only a short distance before being sent back to command the Mormon battalion in place of Colonel Allen who had died near Leavenworth. Cooke, now a temporary lieutenant colonel, led the battalion in one of his most notable marches from Santa Fe to San Diego.⁴⁰ In California he loyally supported General Kearny in the latter's acrimonious controversy with Lt. Col. John C. Frémont. Leaving Monterey May 31, 1847, he traveled with the general's party, including Frémont under restraint, by way of Fort Hall, the South Pass and the Oregon trail and arrived at Fort Leavenworth August 22.⁴¹

For the next seven years the fort saw nothing of Cooke. After

38. In a letter dated May 31, 1846, to Brig. Gen. G. M. Brooke, commanding the 3d Military Department, St. Louis, Colonel Kearny stated: "I have now most respectfully to urge . . . to demand . . . that the 2 Cos. of my Regt (Capt. Sumner's and Cooke's) . . . may be ordered by you to repair forthwith to Santa Fe—those Cos are among the very best of my Regt . . . from the Captains down they would consider that injustice was done to them by leaving them unemployed. . . ."—Ms., "Kearny Letter Books," Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

General Brooke thereupon issued Special Orders No. 19, June 4, 1846, and Orders No. 15, June 9, 1846 (N. A. R. S. W. R. B.), directing Captains Sumner and Cooke to proceed forthwith to Leavenworth. They took a boat down the river to St. Louis, joined companies there, and proceeded up the Missouri to the fort.

39. Cooke chronicles his experiences in the Mexican War in his third book, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California, an Historical and Personal Narrative* (New York, 1878).

40. Cooke's official daily "Journal" of the battalion march was published in *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 31st Cong., Spec. Sess., and reprinted in *The Southwestern Historical Series*, Glendale, v. 7 (1938), pp. 65-240; edited by R. P. Bieber and A. B. Bender. His "Report" to General Kearny from San Luis Rey, Cal., February 5, 1847, may be found in *House Ex. Doc. No. 41*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 551-563. It was republished in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, v. 22 (January, 1954), p. 15; annotated by Hamilton Gardner.

41. Most of the details of Cooke's rather tempestuous experiences in California may be found in the *Proceedings of the Court Martial of Lieut. Col. John C. Frémont*, *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 33*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.

testifying at the Frémont court-martial (he had been promoted to major, 2d dragoons, February 16, 1847), he served a few months with the occupation forces in Mexico City. From 1848 to 1852 he acted as superintendent of the cavalry recruiting service and commandant of its training depot at Carlisle Barracks. Then followed tours of duty with his new regiment at Fort Mason, Texas, and Fort Union, New Mexico territory. He was advanced to lieutenant colonel, 2d dragoons, July 15, 1853, and shortly assumed actual command, although Brev. Brig. Gen. William S. Harney was carried on paper as colonel for several years. In 1854 he led two successful expeditions in New Mexico against marauding Apaches.⁴² He rejoined his regiment at Fort Leavenworth in the fall of that year.

Lieutenant Colonel Cooke and his 2d dragoons arrived at Fort Riley October 16, 1855, and he became post commander. The place had been located in 1852 as Camp Center but was renamed Fort Riley in 1853.⁴³ Most of Cooke's activities at this time, however, centered around Fort Leavenworth. Thus he commanded the mounted troops under General Harney at the battle of the Blue Water (Ash Fork, Neb.), September 3, 1855.⁴⁴ During the troublesome times which beset Kansas territory in that period, when the army had been called in to help preserve the peace, Cooke acted as a field commander. He accomplished his mission with such tact and fairness as to win not only official commendation but general civilian approval.

In the fall of 1857 the 2d dragoons were assigned as a component of the Utah expedition under Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, 2d cavalry. It was the last element in the column to leave Fort Leavenworth, departing September 17 and arriving at Fort Bridger November 19. This was Cooke's last major transcontinental march and undoubtedly the most hazardous and difficult. Due to the lateness of the season and the freezing weather encountered in the high mountain altitude, he lost half of his horses and mules and

42. Hamilton Gardner, "Philip St. George Cooke and the Apache, 1854," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Albuquerque and Santa Fe, v. 28 (April, 1953), pp. 115-132.

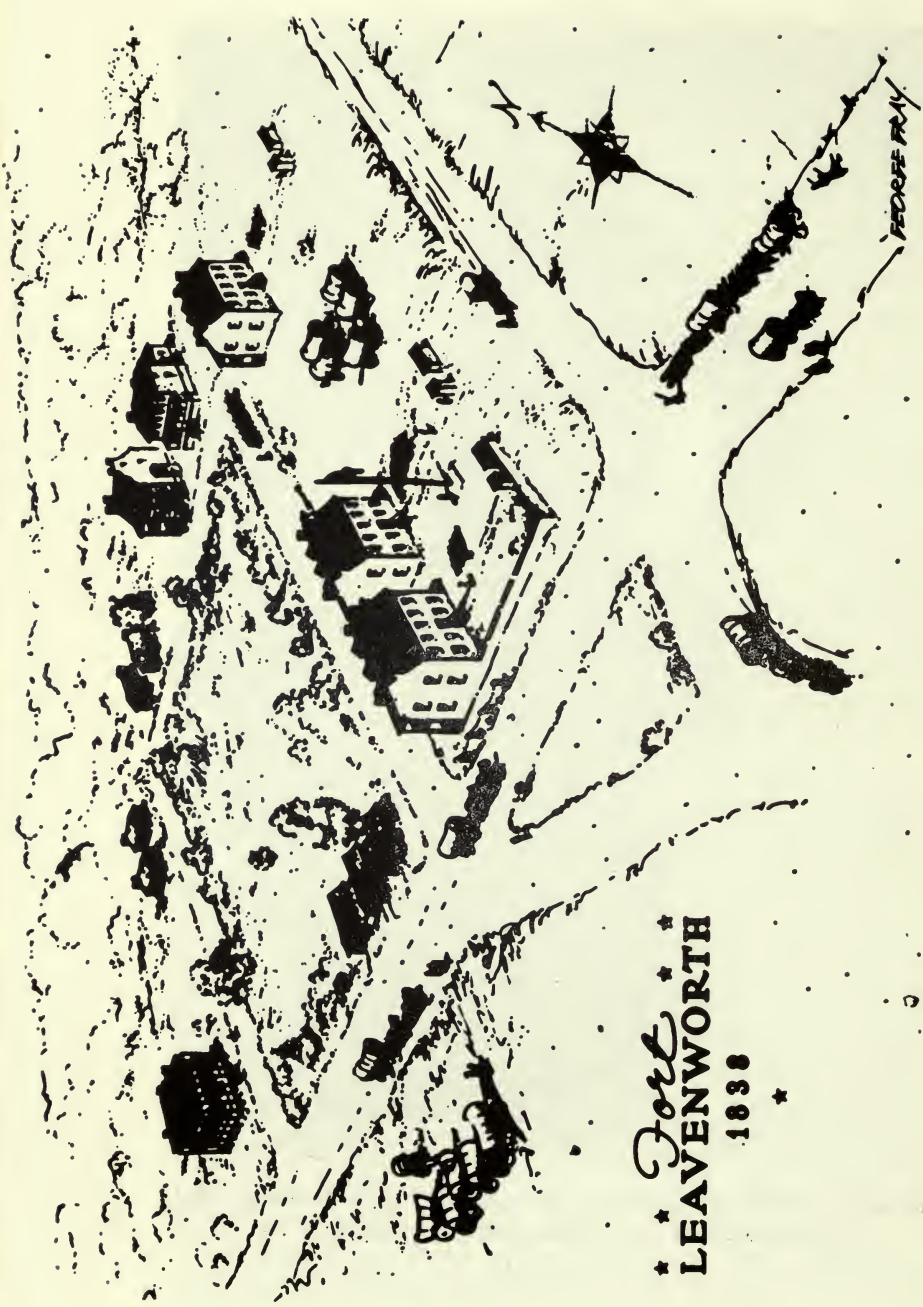
43. "It would seem, for sentimental reasons at least, and with our present-day knowledge of events, that it might have been more appropriately named for Colonel Fauntleroy who proposed its establishment at this point, or for Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, a dashing cavalryman at heart and one who was intimately associated with the early history of the post. . . ."—Capt. W. F. Pride, *The History of Fort Riley* (1926), pp. 61-63, 84.

Since it has generally been contrary to army tradition to designate installations after living officers, the new fort did not take the name of Colonel Cooke, but of the recently deceased Brev. Maj. Gen. Bennet Riley, Cooke's one-time battalion commander. It still remains ironic that the army's principal cavalry post should honor an infantry officer!

44. General Harney's "Report" of this engagement was printed in *House Ex. Doc. No. 1*, pt. 2, p. 49, 34th Cong., 1st Sess.; republished in J. Sterling Morton, *Illustrated History of Nebraska* (3d ed., Lincoln, 1911), v. 1, pp. 150, 151. Cooke's "Report" to General Harney may be found in Rodenbough, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-184.



Brig. Gen. Philip St. George Cooke (1809-1895), U. S. Army, 1861.
Courtesy Philip St. George Cooke, II, Richmond, Va.



★ ★ *Fort* ★ ★
LEAVENWORTH
1838 ★

Sketch of Fort Leavenworth in 1838. Courtesy Signal Corps Photo Lab and Librarian, Command and General Staff College, Leavenworth.

many of his men suffered from frost bite.⁴⁵ Only his wide experience and his pre-eminent skill, judgment and courage made the trip possible. His promotion to colonel, 2d dragoons, followed June 14, 1858.

From 1858 to 1860 he visited Italy as a military observer and completed his *Cavalry Tactics*, which was adopted for the service in 1861. In the summer of 1860 he returned to Utah as department commander. When the Civil War broke out he brought the garrison from Fort Crittenden (which he had renamed the former Camp Floyd), east to Fort Leavenworth, arriving in September, 1861.

These successful marches, mostly in and out of Leavenworth, for which he was invariably commended, added greatly to Cooke's professional stature. From them and his long experience with the Indians, he had attained a place by 1861 as one of the army's foremost cavalry leaders.

Having received his stars as brigadier general, U. S. army, November 12, 1861, Cooke was placed in charge of a cavalry brigade in the defense of Washington. The next year he became commander of the cavalry division of the Army of the Potomac in the peninsular campaign and participated in many of the battles of that summer. Later he was assigned to court-martial and recruiting duty. At the close of the war he was promoted to Brev. Maj. Gen., U. S. A., "for gallant and meritorious services during the Rebellion."

In 1866 he was named to command the Department of the Platte with headquarters at Omaha. Possibly he visited Fort Leavenworth at that time, but such has not been established. During this tour he directed the campaign against the Sioux in Wyoming which was marked by the Fetterman massacre.⁴⁶ His last duty was as commanding general, Department of the Lakes, at Detroit. He retired there in 1873, following 50 years of continuous and distinguished service since he had entered West Point. His death occurred on March 20, 1895.

45. Cooke's "Report," which was also in the nature of a daily "Journal," appeared in *House Ex. Doc. No. 71*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess.; republished in the *Annals of Wyoming*, Cheyenne, v. 27 (April, 1955), pp. 43-60; annotated by Hamilton Gardner.

46. Alton B. Ostrander, *The Bozeman Trail Forts Under General Philip St. George Cooke in 1866* (Seattle, 1932).

Mrs. Hattie E. Lee's Story of Her Life in Western Kansas

Edited by MRS. RAYMOND MILLBROOK

THIS is the story of Harriet Emmaline Upjohn. I was born in 1868 at Sardenia, Ind., where my father was a tanner by trade. At that time the hides were put into vats of water and the bark of certain trees were in those vats to tan the hides. My father died in March, 1870, leaving my mother with four children, my older brothers, Frank and Warren, myself not yet two years old, and the baby Calvin, only three months. Both my grandparents who lived in the country, had large houses and we went to live with my mother's folks, Grandma and Grandpa Inscho, where I spent the happiest years of my life. I had everything, plenty to eat, nice home, pretty dresses,—everything to make a little girl happy.

But when I was six years old, Tim Armstrong began coming to see my mother, which I resented very much. One day he came to Grandpa Inscho's and took my mother away. After they left my Grandma said, "Children, come here," and we all gathered around her rocking chair. She said, "Children, your mother and Armstrong are going to get married today. What will you do about it?" Frank, who was always a peace maker said, "Well, I guess we will have to call him father," and Warren said, "No sir, I will never call him father." Calvin and I did not say anything. So that evening when mother came home, Armstrong stopped at the front gate to let mother out and then he had to go up the lane to the barn. We children ran down to the gate to meet them. And Frank said, "Father, can I ride back to the barn with you?" Father said, "Yes, Franky, get in!" Calvin said, "Can I go too?" and Father said, "Yes, Cally, get in." But Warren and I went up the walk with Mother.

Before Mother was married, she said to Grandma, "I don't know what to do about Emma's doll. Tim's two girls don't have dolls and I am afraid they will quarrel over this one." Grandma said, "Don't give Emma's doll away." But Mother gave my doll to my

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Mrs. Lee wrote her story in a series of letters to Mrs. Leslie Frye of Arnold, Kan., and in response to Mrs. Frye's interest in the history of western Kansas, gave a great deal of detail on her experience in that part of the country. The letters were arranged into consecutive narrative and annotated by Mrs. Raymond Millbrook. Mrs. Lee, at 88 years, is still living in Sacramento, Cal.

cousin, so there went my china doll. I had such nice clothes and shoes and hats and I also had a little parasol. Mary and Lou Armstrong had plain calico dresses and no Sunday shoes or hats. We moved up the road about two miles from Grandpa's place into a log house. Mother had stored her household goods so they were put in the log house with a kitchen of logs added on. So there were my Mother and my three brothers and Armstrong and his two girls—eight of us all crowded in the log house and strangers to each other. I cried myself sick, I was so homesick. So you see what a tragedy it was to marry again with four children.

My mother and father were young and after we got settled Father and Mother would go somewhere almost every Sunday and they would take Lou and Calvin with them, these being the youngest children. Lou being younger than I but about as big, could wear my nice clothes. My mother would put my nice clothes on her when they would go places which I did not like at all. So one Sunday they were going some where and Mary and I were washing the breakfast dishes. I was growling to Mary about Mother dolling Lou up in my clothes. Father must have heard me for he came out and said, "If you had hurried and got your work done I intended to let you go to your Grandpa's today but now you can stay at home." I said, "Oh yes, we can go to Grandpa's barefooted and in a calico dress but Mother puts my nice clothes and shoes on Lou and takes her with you." My mother heard me say that and she took my clothes off of Lou and put a calico dress on her and she went barefooted just like the rest of us did and my clothes were never worn again by any one of us. Frank, Warren, Mary, and I never got to go much, we were always left home.

In those days the main crop was corn so that was what my stepfather raised. And the mills that ground the corn were built on the banks of the rivers and the power that ran the big wheel was water power. Father would take four or five sacks of corn to mill and get it back by the miller taking out his toll for grinding. Flour was \$14 per small barrel so we lived mostly on cornbread. Mother baked biscuits every morning and if we ate the hot biscuits for breakfast we would have to take corn bread to school for our lunch. We went to town to school as by this time we had moved near Westport, Ind. I was ashamed of my corn bread so would slip out behind the schoolhouse and eat my lunch. I had a close friend whose father had a store and she had such nice lunches. And when I would slip out to eat my lunch Anna would follow and trade me

some of her lunch. I was in the 6th grade and was ready for the 7th in that fall of 1878-1879 that was the end of my schooling.

My stepfather was a soldier in the General Lee war and was never very strong. Frank, my oldest brother, was 11 years old; Warren 15 months younger. They had to do most of the work. We lived in Indiana until 1879 and my grandfather (Inscho) and all his family took the bright idea they would come to Kansas and get homes of their own. So they sold out and came in an emigrant train to Kansas. We all had big baskets of food—I mean clothes baskets—and we ate all our meals on the train. There was a big round stove in the corner of the car where we made our coffee or fried eggs and bacon and made tea. It was a picnic for all the young folks. We got as far as Minneapolis (Kansas) and there my grandfather bought a farm and two of his children stayed there with him. The rest of us shoved on to Wakeeney. And when we arrived at Wakeeney there were more thrills—the way they served our meals at the hotel. And we would stand and gaze at the prairies for we were from a heavy wooded country and we did not know what we were about to get into.

Then my stepfather went with some land agents to hunt a place and he did find one on the bank of the Smoky Hill river 24 miles from Wakeeney.¹ I think we were about four miles from the Gove county line and five miles from the Ness county line. He homesteaded the Forrester Bros. out of the dugout they were living in² and we moved into the dugout, 10 x 12, dirt floor, double bunk bed. It was dug back into the hill, a straw roof, no windows. The Forresters went four miles up the river and built themselves a new dugout.

And then we did see hard times. No team. We had to depend on a neighbor four miles away to get our groceries. We would take our order up to our neighbor one day and go back another day to get our groceries. It took the whole family to carry them home—a supply for a week. By that time Frank and Warren got jobs herding sheep. Frank got \$30 a month up on the Saline river, Warren got \$27 a month herding sheep on the Hackberry for Mr. Cope. Father lived on their wages. There were six of us left in the dugout.

1. The Armstrong homestead was on the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 32, Twp. 14 S, R. 25 W, in southwestern Trego county. The farm buildings were north of the river about 150 feet west of where the Utica-Collyer road now crosses the Smoky on a low bridge.

2. The Forrester brothers, Ad, Bob, Steve, and John, had been cattle ranchers in the West since 1874 and had been on the Smoky since 1876. In all that time they never owned any land, always using the public domain for their cattle range. Their peaceful evacuation of their home dugout to this nester was quite in contrast to the more violent action, traditional when homesteaders moved in on ranchers.

The winter of 1879 was quite mild and we children went barefooted all winter. When there was snow we tied rags on our feet when we went outside. Our dugout had a fireplace³ in one end and an eight-by ten-inch glass in the homemade door. That was all the light we had. It kept us busy saying, "Get out of my light." But we got through the winter very nicely.

The next spring we got a team of oxen. It took all day to go to Wakeeney with them and all day to come back so no one went to town but Father. Father plowed and mother planted a big garden and the cowboys all around us bought vegetables and watermelons of us.

When Father got the yoke of oxen, Buck and Bright, I was the oldest one at home and I was the one that helped my stepfather in everything I could do. I was 12 years old. My father would do the plowing and I did the harrowing. You should have seen me walking along besides the oxen with a big whip and heard me say, "Whoa-haw, Bright and Gee, Buck." Sometimes I would have to run ahead of them and whip them on the nose to make them mind. They seemed to know when noon came. Mother would put a white rag up to let me know when to come to dinner. And sometimes the oxen would start home before Mother would put up the rag. I would do everything in my power to stop them but they would shut their eyes and go down the bank of the river, harrow and all through the water, up the other bank and walk into the yard and stop. Some job, I say!

The place when we came was bare. We planted all the trees that are there now as there was not a tree anywhere. There had been a good sized tree just down the river from our place but it had been used for firewood, leaving only a good sized stump. We did not use the river water at all. Father dug a well the first thing after we got settled. A friend of ours who lived north of us, A. Ferris, was digging a well quite deep and it caved in on him. The neighbors were called but they never got him out.

And the snakes! We had many rattlesnakes and blue racers, bull snakes and hoop snakes. Blue racers would lie in the cliff of rocks and they would go like the wind when they were scared. The rattlesnake lived with the prairie dogs and the bull snake lived wherever they pleased. The antelope were very cunning. They went in droves of 15 or 20 and when the hunter was after them they all ran. They never stopped in a low place but would

3. Fireplaces were very unusual in this country and found only occasionally along the infrequent streams where there was a scattering of timber.

get on a high place where they could watch the hunter. And when they were feeding one of them was on a high place watching and when anyone appeared the one on the high place would give a sharp whistle and they would all run.

In 1880 I think, Mr. Clement Young and family and a bachelor named William Sweeney came from Rock Island, Ill., and settled about a mile from us on Wild Horse creek.⁴ Mr. Young was a stone mason and that summer and fall he built for us a stone house, one room, 14 x 20 feet, right beside the dugout. The stone room was on the west end next to the dugout. The stone house had an attic. We used the dugout for a kitchen and then later father built the frame house over the dugout and against the east end of the house.

The year of 1881 the settlers began coming in. That summer the Indians left the territory and did a great deal of damage. A man on a horse came riding through telling us that the Indians were out and to get back. I was so frightened I could neither eat or sleep. But the soldiers from Fort Hays put the Indians back.⁵ Two newlyweds took claims near the old Texas trail. They built their sod house on each place near their line. The Texas trail was seven miles west of us.⁶ They drove Texas cattle from Texas to Montana and other points north. The Indians traveled the trail going north. One day two Indians came to these two houses and asked for something to eat. They gave them lunch and one of the men of the home had a nice looking hat on his head. One old Indian said, "swap," and took the man's nice hat and put it on his head and put his old dirty hat on the man's head and went away.

In 1881 in the fall father sowed about 20 acres of wheat and he had about one peck of seed left and in the winter of 1881-1882 we had a very deep snow and as the only fuel we had was cow chips we did not have many picked up to burn. So we ran out of cow chips and we burned everything we could get to cook our meals. Then we got out of salt and at last we had not a thing to eat but the seed wheat that was left. We had a coffee mill and mother ground the wheat in the coffee mill. Mother cooked it. We ate it without salt for a few days. Then Bob Forrester came to our place and asked Father how we were getting along.

4. Wild Horse creek heads north of Utica and flows into the Smoky from the south.

5. There were several Indian scares in this area in the early 1880's but there is no record that any large bands came into this country or committed any depredations.

6. The Western Cattle trail at this time ran along just west of the Ness county line up through Gove county to Buffalo Park on the Union Pacific railroad.

Father told him we were out of fuel and eats. Bob told my father to get on the horse behind him and took Father with him to their ranch and gave him a sack of coal, some salt and flour and about one half quarter of beef. He gave him an order for groceries and let him take their team and wagon. So the next day Father went to Wakeeney and got coal and groceries.

In 1882 and 1883 Father got back pay on his pension and built the frame house. By that time the settlers were coming to Kansas fast and they named our place Armstrong Crossing and we took care of all who were taking land in Ness and Lane county. We would have as many as 12 stay over night and in a day or two they would be back again for Wakeeney was the land office.⁷ The family never lived in the frame house; we used the first stone house and attic to live in as long as I was home. We then had a stove and plenty of coal as my father brought coal for the heater in the frame house. The travelers used our beds or those that had their beds with them would spread their beds on the floor.

The freighters used some covered wagons also open wagons. Some of them had grub boxes and carried their food with them and made coffee, cooked bacon and eggs on the stove in the frame house. Some ate their meals with my mother. They were a very jolly crowd. Some carried their bedding and some slept in our beds. The floors would be covered with beds. My father built a stone stable against the face of the cliff making the face of the cliff as one side. It was large enough to hold six teams of horses. We had plenty of hay so the travelers had a place to put their horses and plenty of hay. The travelers brought their own grain.

The frame house was built over the dugout and the dugout was used for a cellar to store things away in. We still used the stone room for dining room and kitchen. One night two men hobbled two horses just east of our house and came to the house and asked to stay all night. Father said, yes they could stay, "but leave your gun and revolvers in the dugout." They told father, "Thanks, *we* will take care of our guns." When they were called to supper they

7. The U. S. land office moved to WaKeeney in October, 1879, but settlement to the south and west was not heavy in the early 1880's. Beginning in 1884 the country filled up in about two years. There was a regular trail from WaKeeney angling across down to Dighton in Lane county and there were many freighters moving goods over this trail that crossed the river at Armstrong Crossing. In the blizzard of January, 1886, a train of six wagons, one driven by a woman, was believed lost between Armstrong Crossing and WaKeeney. It was found later that all had made Armstrong's safely.—*Trego County Tribune*, WaKeeney, January 14, 1886. So heavy was the traffic over this trail at that time that H. L. Hill of Wichita contemplated establishing a stage line between Garden City and WaKeeney, via Dighton.—*Ibid.*, February 25, 1886. The building of the railroads through Ness and Lane counties in 1887 eliminated the need for travel cross-country and the trail fell into disuse. Utica on the Missouri Pacific then became the nearest town to Armstrong's Crossing.

came in with their guns and revolvers at their belts. The table was setting lengthway in the kitchen so on one side they would have to sit with their backs to the door. Those two men set the guns down behind the door and walked around the table and sat facing the door. Then we knew they were bad men. So father did not sleep much that night. In the morning they paid for their lodging and left. About noon that same day two officers came to our place asking about them. The horses they hobbled were stolen.

When my mother was made postmistress of Gibson Post Office,⁸ she had a big bureau with deep drawers and that was the post office. The reason my mother was postmistress was that my stepfather could only sign his name with a cross. She said to us children, "Now don't any of you ever touch the mail if I am out. Wait until I come in." Well about a year after we had the P. O. Mr. Middleby⁹ came for his mail. He got it. And when he read it he said in a very excited tone, "This letter was supposed to have a check for \$65." Mother said, "Give me the envelope and letter and I will send it back to the P. O. Department and they will get it for you. Don't lay it on anyone until you know who did it." About a month later, one afternoon, a man came to our place. Mother was not in and he said to me, "Is this the Gibson P. O.? Will you look and see if there is a letter for J. P. Olsen?" I said, "No, my mother will be here in a moment. She is post mistress. We never touch the mail." He left and we never saw him again. About a week later, the detective caught a man in the Wakeeney P. O. He had steamed the letter open, took the check out and sealed it by using a little brush which had been used in green ink. The glue and the ink told the story. Mr. Middleby got his money back and he came and told my mother he was sorry. Later another stone room was built west of the first one and the post office moved into it.

A man and his daughter took a claim five miles south of our place. His name was Cash. He had a spring on his claim. He got some cows and built a house over the spring to keep the milk.¹⁰ They made butter and sold it. As we had only one cow yet, my brother Calvin and I carried eight pounds of butter from Mr. Cash's place, which I think was in Ness county, five miles and there were no

8. This post office was established December 30, 1880. The application blank, which still remains in the National Archives, requested the name, Armstrong Crossing. This name however was struck out and Gibson inserted. Whether this was done at the instance of other applicants or because the Post Office Department thought Armstrong Crossing was too much like the name of another post office in the state, there is no record. The origin of Gibson is unknown.

9. Joseph Middleby was another of the ranchers who ran his cattle along the Smoky. He became a member of the Forrester pool when it was organized in 1884.

10. Ness City Times, May 13, 1880.—"Mr. Cash, Mr. Casteel and George Steele are talking of going into the dairy business."

houses on the road the whole five miles. We took a bucket with a wire handle. We would start out early in the morning on Tuesday each week. We went over, ate lunch and started back with the butter. Some days the Texas cattle would be all over the road and we would have to go around them. That would make our road much longer and we would be tired when we got home. We did that all one summer.

A man by the name of Rainey had a claim one mile north of us. In the winter we had a bad blizzard and snow and Mr. Rainey came to our place when the storm began and said he would stay with us through the storm. My father had a big hay stack fenced in. That I think was the year that the cattle men went broke. The cattle came down the river in droves and father and Mr. Rainey got on the horses and drove the cattle on down the river. Such a noise the cattle made; they bawled all round as they were starving. When Mr. Rainey and father came in to drink coffee and get warm, Calvin and I would get on the horses and keep the cattle away from the stack of hay. They would get a bite before we could drive them on. You could hear nothing but the wind and bawling cattle. The snow had drifted deep in the ravines and the cattle would walk off into the drifts and they could not get out so there they died, two or three in a bunch. We skinned them and the settlers skinned them and sold the hides.

Then in 1884 in the spring Father got the bright idea he would take some cattle to herd. And that meant me and Calvin had to herd the cattle; we had to stay with the cattle all day. We had a half barrel of salt at the place where we left the cattle for the night. So we would turn the three or four milk cows toward home and send the dog home with the cows. Then when we got home after the cattle had settled down for the night, there was my step-sister with the milk pails for us to milk the cows. One night she came down with the pails and she said, "Mr. Bingham was here today and he wants Emma to go work for him and Mother wouldn't let you go." I said to Calvin after Louella left, "Well, I will see about this." I was crying. I said, "Cal, I am not going to herd cattle another day." Cal said, "Don't leave me, Emma." That night I bundled up my few clothes and went out and hid them in the grass on the hillside. The next morning we started out early before the cattle would get on the crops the people had out, with lunch pail and afoot to round up the cattle. I picked up my bundle of clothes and Cal began to cry, "Don't leave me, Emma."

The Bingham's lived about two miles from where we had the cattle. So after I helped Cal round up the cattle, I stood and talked to Cal. Someone had sent a pony down with the cattle and Father was riding it all over the country. I said to Cal, "Don't cry, father will have to let you have the pony to herd the cattle." I left him then and walked about two miles to the Bingham's. I walked into their house and Mrs. Bingham said, "Why Emma, where did you come from?" I said, "Home, and I am going to work for you."

So I began my first job away from home. The next day Father helped Cal get the cattle together, then he came up to Bingham's. He got there about noon so he ate dinner with the Bingham's. When he came in, he said, "Oh here you are Emma." I said, "Yes and I am through herding cattle." When he started home he said, "Well are you going home with me?" I said, "No." He left and that was the last time I ever was home only for a visit.

After I left home and went to Mrs. Bingham's near Castle Rock and after I was there four weeks, a friend of Mrs. Bingham came there one Sunday to visit. Mrs. Bingham asked this friend, Mrs. Honnel, if she wanted a girl to help her. "I am through with Emma and she wants work." Mr. Honnel was the depot agent at Collyer about ten miles north of Bingham's at the Kansas Pacific. So I went home with the Honnells that evening. That put me 16 miles from home. Collyer was a very small place, the depot, a hotel and store and a few houses. The Honnells lived in part of the depot. I stayed with them about six months and she had a little girl in that time. After I was with them six months Mrs. Honnel came to me one morning and said, "Emma, Mr. Honnel is transferred to Trinidad, Colo.; do you want to go with us?" I said, "No, I want to stay near my brothers." So the next day she went to the hotel and talked with Mrs. Birkland, who had come to Collyer and took over the hotel on account of her son's health. Eddie was very frail. They came from Chicago. Mrs. Birkland wanted me to come to the hotel as a waitress. So when the Honnells moved I went to the hotel. Everyone was good to me. The Birklands had a daughter about 18 years old, a very nice person. Eddie was 16. Mrs. Birkland told me what I was expected to do and she said, "Emma don't talk to the people who come to eat. Just take their order, keep the silver bright and the dining room clean." So I became a waitress and all this time I was working for two dollars a week.

This I must tell. Mrs. Birkland had on a sideboard a cotton

chicken in a half of an egg shell, very cute. One morning two men came in for breakfast. I took their order—one man, ham and eggs, eggs turned over. The other man said, "Hot cakes, ham and eggs with a chicken in it." I went out and told the cook the order but did not order an egg for the man who wanted a chicken in his egg. When I got the order I went in the dining room and picked up the cotton chicken from the side board. I placed the first order, then I set the other order down with the cotton chicken. He said as I was leaving the dining room, "Hell, can you beat that." He got no egg for being smart.

I stayed all summer and Eddie died and the Birklands went back to Chicago. Then I went to Wakeeney and went to the hotel where we stayed when we came to Kansas—their name was Escher.¹¹ I stayed a few days at the hotel then Mrs. Escher and I walked down town and met Mrs. Millard talking to a neighbor at the gate. We talked awhile then Mrs. Escher said to Mrs. Millard, "I hear you want a dining room girl." "Oh yes, I need a girl," she said. "Take Emma, she wants work." Mrs. Millard said she would like to have me. Mr. Millard was postmaster at Wakeeney but the third class post office did not pay well so Mrs. Millard had a private boarding house. I stayed there about eight months and she was very nice to me. A new post master relieved Mr. Millard.

From there I went to Frank Ellsworth two miles west of Wakeeney. We used to herd his cattle when I was herding. He took me out and his wife was all dressed up in a blue dress and looked very nice. She took me up stairs to my room and she said, "Now on Monday I want the washing done, on Tuesday you iron with your house work, on Wednesday you do all the mending, on Thursday you can have the afternoon off. Then we went to the kitchen and she showed me where I would find things and what she wanted for supper. I felt like a fly in the soup. Then she said, "See that little window and the caster on the table?" "Yes." "When we come in the dining room I will ring that little bell on the caster. You set the things in the window and I will put them on the table. We don't allow our servants in the dining room after Mr. Ellsworth comes to the table." So I got supper and called them and then got a plate and went to eating my supper. The little bell rang but I kept on eating. She came to the door and said, "Did you hear the bell?" I said, "Yes, but I am eating." Then I put

11. "Joe Escher, who for so many years ran the hotel on the hill north of the city, was a hero of Andersonville prison in its worst form and carried ever with him the marks."
—*Western Kansas World*, WaKeeney, March 7, 1929.

the grub in the window and we all had our supper. Then I washed the dishes and cleaned the kitchen, went upstairs and got my suitcase and went down and asked Mr. Ellsworth to take me back to town again. He took me and gave me 50 cents for my work.

I went back to the hotel in Wakeeney and in a few days a man came and asked me to go out $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of town to cook on a sheep ranch. His name was Ostrander and he was from New York. He was a bad egg and his two old maid sisters who were millionaires, bought a ranch out there and got sheep and sent Ostrander out on the ranch. He had a wife, a very nice woman, and one child. Of course the wife had a girl to do the work as she did not know much about housework. I went out there to work for two dollars a week. The work was very hard, wash on the washboard, iron with a heavy iron on the table, nothing convenient.

One morning Mrs. Ostrander came into the kitchen and told me these two old aunts were coming to spend the summer and she wanted me to be very nice to them. Well, the old maids came one morning but Aunt Jane came out to the ranch and Aunt Ann stayed in Wakeeney at the hotel. When evening came I put supper on the table and called them. Sam, the herder, had been eating with the family so Sam and I went to the table with the family. Old Aunt Jane said, "I object to eating with the servants." So Sam and I ate at the kitchen table. After supper Aunt Jane went to her room. I went to Mrs. Ostrander and said, "If you keep that old maid around here I am leaving." She said, "Emma don't leave us. If you will stay I will give you three dollars a week and you and Sam will eat with us." So she talked to Aunt Jane and told her she was in Kansas, not in New York and if she would be nice to her help they would stay. Otherwise they would leave. Then she told me to set the table for all of us. When it came to washing I had to do the family wash on the washboard. But Jane informed me that she did not want her washing done on the washboard, to do it with my hands. I went to Mrs. Ostrander and said, "Now this is too much." She said, "Emma, you wash her things on the washboard—she will never know the difference." I said, "She makes me too much work." She said, "Emma, I will give you \$4.00 if you will stay." Aunt Jane would not ride to town either with the servants. Mr. Ostrander would drive Aunt Jane to town, then come back and get Mrs. Ostrander and the baby and me. And so I waded through the summer with the Ostranders.

I think the man's name was Donald. He was visiting the Ostrand-ers and he was Mr. Ostrander's nephew from New York. He told Sam the herder that he would watch the sheep for him one afternoon while Sam went to town. So he took the gun and a piccolo and the dog and went out to herd the sheep. In the evening he brought the sheep over on the hillside and stood opposite the house and played a piece on the piccolo and then put his hand over the muzzle of the gun with the stock on the ground. He snapped his finger at the dog; the dog jumped up and when his feet slid down the barrel of the gun, the gun went off and hurt his hand so bad the Dr. had to take the hand off. So I had plenty to do. I wrote Don's letters to his girl and carried him food and water besides my work. When the doctor said he could go home, that morning when he left, he came out into the kitchen where I was washing dishes and said, "Emma I am leaving but I never will forget the little brown eyed girl I met out in Kansas. Thank you so much for helping me out. Here is \$10 for you."

While I was home we never went to picnics. My only pleasure was the dances and there were not many of them. I can call to memory any dance I attended. That was the summer I was 15 and I left home that fall. I was called a very good dancer and I always had partners to dance. I took prizes twice for being the nicest dancer on the floor—for keeping time with the music and for smoothness. I was counted nice looking and I sang like a bird and they said I was the life of the dances. I always threw off care and trouble by singing.

In the old days we went to dances at private homes. The place where we went they would prepare a midnight lunch. They would send out word there was to be a dance at Mr. Wheatcrofts and as you know that was in Lane county. Josh and Jim were young then. So about three o'clock in the afternoon the cowboys would begin coming for their girl friends. Will Olive drove his mother's horses and buggy. So about that time he would drive into our yard. I would soon be in the buggy and away we would go to the dance. We had to go early and stay at the dance until morning as it was not safe to travel after dark. There were no good roads and very few houses and it was easy to get lost. So we would dance until we got tired and then we would sit around and sing and joke. We sang the old songs such as "After the Ball is Over" and "Barney McCoy," "Maggie" and many other songs and some religious songs. Allie Smith was one of our men who played for the dances. He lived in

Utica. I think we had better times than the young folks do today. The polka, waltz, quadrille and fireman's dance were really danced to the music.

Will Olive was my date—we went to dances together. Then he went to Wakeeney, got in a drunken fight and shot a man. The man lived 18 days and died.¹² The officers went out to the ranch after Will. He knew they were after him and he hid in the attic. After the officers left he got on a horse and started for Texas. Later on we heard he was killed in a fight. Mrs. Olive was a very nice lady and she liked me and took me with her a few times to Collyer where they did their shopping. I did think Will Olive was quite nice until he got in trouble in Wakeeney and that was the end of our courtship. I was then as I am now, a good girl and I have no use for anyone who drinks liquor.

But the half will never be told. When a child is out in the world to make her own living, no one knows what a hard time she has. No one can tell the hardships I went through; carry water from the well, rub the clothes on a wash board and keep the house work up. And some were so unreasonable; they never thought a young girl ever got tired. I made my clothes by hand by sewing after I went to my room. They did not sell patterns then. I ripped up an old dress that fit me nicely and pressed it and that was my pattern. I added on the drapes and trimming. My wedding dress I made it all by hand after I got through with my housework. We did not wear corsets those days; we sewed stays in the seams of our waist. I made it and had my picture taken in it while I was still at my grandmothers.

In the fall I was 17, I quit my job and went home for two weeks on a visit. Then I went to Delphos, Ottawa Co., where my grandparents were living to do Grandma's work for her at \$2 a week. I had a very nice time at Grandma Inschos with other relations. I went to church out in the schoolhouse close where my grandparents lived on a farm. I soon got acquainted and found me a very nice man two months older than I. We went together for about eight months and we were talking of getting married. He and I joined the Methodist Church on probation. This man was of a T. B. family.

One day my grandma said to me, "Emma are you and Will expecting to marry?" I said, "Oh, it is not certain but I think Will is pretty nice." Grandma said, "Emma you think twice before you

12. Will Olive was the son of I. P. Olive, another member of the Forrester pool. While drunk young Olive shot George D. Harrison, a cowboy friend, on April 10, 1886. The wounded man died, April 25.—*Trego County Tribune*, April 15, 29, 1886.

marry Will. You know his mother and two sisters died of T. B. and his brother Sam is bedfast with T. B. Now you don't want to bring trouble on your family so be careful." Well I had not thought of that, so I lay awake thinking it over. In a few days Will came to take me for a ride and while we were riding along Will said to me, "Emma, if we get married, we will have to take Sam and care for him." I said, "Will, I am not going to get married and take an invalid in my home to take care of." Of course that was the first trouble with us and so in August before I was 18 I broke off from Will.

I went home on a two-week visit and met Charley Lee¹³ where he was then postmaster at the Gibson post office. At once he began to try to go with me. I stayed two weeks and went back to my Grandma's. Charley wrote to me and we corresponded and he asked me to marry him. I got ready Christmas, went home and we were married February 25, 1888. I was 19 years old. Bob and Jessie Benson came that same spring and homesteaded a piece of land and as they did not have much to do they were down to the post office nearly every day and we played croquet. So we had a very nice summer. Bob and Jessie only had to live on their claim six months and proved up,¹⁴ then they went to Wamego, Kan. Charley gave up the Gibson post office and went down to New Mexico to work. I stayed with my mother. Charley came back in November and Jessie was born the 26th of December and I called her Jessie for Jessie Benson.

The next spring we went to Wamego and Mr. Lee worked as bookkeeper at the depot. We were in Wamego until 1890 and we left there in the spring and went to Denver and in that same year in July our twins were born, girls Maudie and Myrtle. They did not live but a few days. Our first boy, William, was born on February 25, 1892, and in the summer we moved back to Iona, Kan., and December 26, 1894, our second boy, Roscoe, was born. Then Charley rented a farm three miles south of Jewell City and there our third boy, Warren, was born in August, 1896. On June 30, 1898, the fourth girl, Ella, was born.

Charley was a man that would not stay long in one place. Although he had a good education, high school and was a graduate of Davenport Business College he never tried much book work.

13. Charley Lee with his brother had first settled on land in eastern Lane county. They got quite a bunch of cattle together only to have them all destroyed by one of the blizzards that swept the plains.

14. This must have been a pre-emption rather than a homestead, since only six months residence was required.

He always wanted to farm. Mr. Lee taught singing by notes. He also played the violin and I started Jessie taking lessons at seven years of age. We had an organ that we practiced on. After we moved to Trego I sent her to her Aunt Ella to stay all summer and she went two terms at the Kansas Wesleyan Music School and she taught music later to help herself.

Charley wanted to go to Trego county, Kansas, but I said, "No, I won't go to Trego county until they get schools and churches there." We stayed in Jewell county, three miles from Jewell City, Kan., and there Jessie started her first year of school. We lived there until 1900. Then they wrote that there was a school and a church so Charley started for Trego county. We went by wagon and drove through. We got there in August, 1900, and put the children in the Gibson school near my folks and we moved into Geo. Young's sod house on the Wild Horse.

In 1902 Esther was born and in 1904 Lillian was born. There were seven children to feed, clothe and care for. I washed on a washboard, ironed with an old-fashioned iron. I milked, worked in the garden and raised hundreds of chickens. Our well was 72 feet deep. At first we drew water over a pulley for our stock. When Charley was away the children and I pulled the water up and then when the stock got through drinking we began filling the half barrels again. If we let the water run low and then the stock came in for water it seemed they could never get enough water. Those were tough times.

My mother always took care of us when we were sick children out on the Smoky and then when I was married I got old Dr. Chase's doctor book and took care of my family. When they got the flu or hard colds I would give them the first thing castor oil; keep tab on their temperature and, if a cold or cough, put lard, a few drops of turpentine and coal oil in the warm lard; wring a piece of flannel in the grease and put it on their lungs and breast and keep them in bed until the fever went down. They always called me the turpentine doctor.

In baby cases I could always go to my doctor book to find out what to do. I learned how to sterilize the things I used and when I cut the cord I browned the gauze in the oven before I put it on the baby. We had a telephone and I was called out many times in the night and took a fast ride through the hills and hollers to get to the patient. I nursed my neighbors for the love of them and all free. We were all poor together and when



Mrs. Charley (Hattie) Lee, 19, in her wedding dress (1888), which she made by hand. (See p. 126.)

anyone came for me I went day or night. I loved every one and they had faith in me. I was always so cheerful.

Sam Robinson came one night and wanted me to go with him, his wife was sick. The baby came bottom first. I called for a doctor as soon as I got on the job at 10 o'clock. Hall Robinson went for the doctor and we hung out a lantern so he could find the place. But we waited all night, the doctor did not get there until daylight the next day. The little boy was born dead and in eight days Mrs. Robinson died.

Then not long after I came off that case I got a phone call from Mrs. John Smith. "Say Mrs. Lee can you come over, I am afraid we are going to lose Delburt." Away I went to John Smiths. I stayed four days and he died the next day after I went over. Poor little Delburt! I laid him out and kept him packed in ice and stayed at the house while they went to the funeral, got supper for the family, cleaned up the house. After supper I hitched to the cart and went home.

My uncle and aunt, J. B. Inscho, came to visit us and on Sunday we all went to my mother's. We got home about dark. (We were living on the Brown place then.) The phone rang and Mrs. Barber said, "Mrs. Lee, something is wrong at Henry's." Just then Emily Henry said, "Oh Mrs. Lee will you come over? Mama died this afternoon." So we hitched the horse to the cart and away I went to help out. Mrs. Henry was still warm. I laid her out. Mr. Henry and I put her on a board in front of the window and I stayed there three or four days. I kept wet cloths on her face to keep her nice. I was up all night watching her and getting the clothes ready for the family to wear to the funeral. Again I stayed behind and cleaned house and got supper.

One night Mr. Ed. Frye came to our door about 10 o'clock and said, "Mrs. Lee, Claud ran a nail in his foot and it is hurting him so he can't sleep. What would you do?" I said, "Make a big bread and milk poultice. Put one half teaspoon turpentine in it and put it all around the foot as hot as he can stand it." He said, "I don't know whether I have any turpentine." So I gave him a little bottle and Claud got OK.

In 1901 we bought 160 acres of school land¹⁵ over one mile from the Ness county line next to George McNinch and there we lived for nine years. We had many ups and downs while living

15. This first land that the Lees owned was the NW¼ Sec. 36, Twp. 15 S, R. 25 W, in Trego county. Now owned by Harold McNinch, the house stands just where the Lee's soddy stood.

there. In July, 1902, the children were playing out and Will ran in and said, "Oh, Mother get into the cave quick a bad storm is coming." I closed the house and we ran to the cave dug in the bank of the slough. Esther was six months old. Charley was away from home. There was only a screen door on the cave—it was just a small place near the well to keep our cream and butter cool. After we got into the cave the storm hit and blew off the roof of our sod house and ruined everything. Jessie's little rocking chair fell down in front of the cave and Jessie, who was 14 years, began to scream. I said, "Jessie, don't cry, don't you know Jesus said I will go with you all the way." And then we began saying the Lord's prayer. The next thing we saw was the water and hail coming down the ravine. The hail made the side of the ravine look like a stone bank. Then I said, "We have to get out of here. Jessie you take Ella; Will and Roscoe take Warren and we will find some place to shelter us." Jessie went out crying, Roscoe took Warren's hand and Will took Ella's hand and we marched out into the rain and hail. I turned Esther's face down over my arm and covered her with my apron. The only place left to go was the door to the hen house—it was all gone but the doorway as the cyclone had blown it away. We got under the doorway and we were very cold. After about an hour it got better and then we did not know what to do. There was an old trunk out side the house where I kept clean rags and old worn out clothes. I said, "Will, go to that trunk and get some dry clothes and go get Mr. William Henry." Will went to the old trunk and put on his father's old white shirt with the stiff bosom on his back and an old pair of pants and ran barefooted to Mr. Henry's place through the hail and water.

Mr. Henry hitched his team to the wagon and came after the rest of us. We were so glad to get in a house and where there was a fire. We stayed at Mr. Henry's all night and the next day Mr. Ed Frye came over and took us to his place as they had more room. Oh how thankful I am that we had such nice neighbors! I shall never forget the kindness Mr. Frye and Mr. Henry showed us. All the phones were out of order. Mr. Henry went to my mother's place the next morning after the storm and told Charley what happened so he got home after the storm. Then Mr. Frye and other neighbors came and plowed sod and built up the walls of our house again. Charley went to Utica and got more lumber and windows and in a few days we were back in our home. How many would go through the hardships we went through!

I sewed rags and made two rag carpets to cover the two floors of our sod house. After hoeing in the garden, helping milk the cows and taking care of the family I would sew rags together. I sat up many a night sewing the rags together on the machine and the next day the children would cut and roll them into balls. Then I would take them to the weaver and she would make my carpet. I made two 20-yard strips of carpet. They were one-yard wide and I would cut them into four strips five yards long and sew them together. When it was finished I would have a carpet 12 feet wide and 15 feet long and it just fit my two rooms.

About 1906 the St. Elizabeth church was built. Charles M. Bell donated the land.¹⁶ When it was finished we had Rev. Vanderlip as pastor. He preached at Bethel church at eleven o'clock and at the St. Elizabeth at two o'clock. Jessie was organist and leader of the choir. Charley was superintendent. We had a good faithful crowd. We could always depend on Mr. Frye's family to be there, they never failed. I was the head of all programs. Living so far apart I could not get all the children together to practice so I would get Claud, Leslie and Carl Frye, Robert, Alice and Gertrude Upjohn, Don and Emily Henry and also Jessie, Roscoe and Warren Lee. We would give the church a good program.

In 1906 we built the High Point schoolhouse¹⁷ and it was so late in getting ready we could only have a three-month school that year. So I said I was going to move to Utica and put the children in school for nine months. That was Will's last year in grammar school and I wanted him to graduate. Mr. Tom Nuttle rented me the building just north of the depot. I moved into Utica that fall. The neighbors said I could not make a living but after we got there I went to work sewing, and washing for other people. I had two boarders and I did washing for Mr. Earl Hoffer, editor of the Utica paper.¹⁸ And Will got \$5.00 a week helping Mr. Hoffer in his office. We made a good living and had a very pleasant winter. The summer of 1907 we sent Will to Wakeeney to Normal and he got a third-grade certificate for teaching school. In April, 1910, Glen Owen and Jessie were married. We put on a big wedding but it

16. St. Elizabeth church was located on the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 15, Twp. 15 S, R. 25 W, Trego county. Chas. Bell of the Sweetwater ranch gave the land and the church was named for his mother, Mary Elizabeth Bell. The church was a frame building about 26 x 40 feet. Well attended services were held until the early 1920's. Later the building was moved and sold and then torn down.

17. When the Lees and other families moved into the west part of the Pleasant Hill school district, the district was divided and a new district formed called High Point as it was on one of the high points of the county. The schoolhouse was on land owned by William Henry, NE corner of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 26, Twp. 15 S, R. 25 W. There is no longer a school there.

18. Earl Hoffer was editor of the *Utica Enterprise*.

was a sad day for me as she was my oldest child, now leaving me. By then we had left our old sod house and moved into Mr. Brown's frame house. We had to leave the sod house as the rats were so bad in the sod walls of the house.

In August, 1910, Esther took sick and we called Dr. Atwood. A few days later her appendix broke. Dr. Atwood told me we must get her to the hospital right away. So we wrapped Esther in a sheet, took a pillow and went in Dr. Atwood's car to his house in town. We put her on the doctor's bed and waited until two o'clock in the morning and took the train out for Great Bend hospital. We had to change somewhere down the line and while we waited the doctor phoned the hospital to be at the depot with the ambulance.¹⁹

We got to the hospital at ten o'clock and the doctors took the bandage off her bowels and said, "What did this?" I said I bathed her with turpentine and blistered her. We went to the operating room and when I left Esther cried. And soon a nurse came and said, "Mrs. Lee, you will have to stay with Esther until we get her asleep." She put a white apron on me and tied a white cloth on my head and took me back to the operating room. Little Esther was so glad to see me there. I took her little hand and said to her, "Now you have a boil in your side and we brought you down to have it opened. You be a nice little girl, I will stay with you." They opened her bowels and the pus ran out on the table. The doctors shook their heads. I was praying all the time. The doctors fixed her up and they rolled her out to her room. One doctor said to me, "Mrs. Lee, we expected to find her bowels all full of gangrene but there was none and the only reason I know is you used the turpentine. I think she will be all right."

I then went to the room and stayed by little Esther. That night I slept on the floor beside her bed. She was in a ward with four other persons. I had to stay with her for three weeks as she would not let me leave her only at night. I had a room close by. I went in the hospital at seven in the morning and left at six at night. I waited on the other patients, combed their hair and I just cared for that room and the hospital gave me my meals for my service.

At the end of three weeks the doctor told me I could take Esther home so I wrote to the folks for one of them to come and carry Esther for me. So Will came to Great Bend and the next day we started for home. We got to Utica about five in the evening and it seemed the whole town was out to meet us. Charley could not take

19. This transfer point was Hoisington, from which point a train formerly ran to Great Bend.

us home that evening so we stayed all night at John Smith's home and the next day Charley came and took us home. Esther was very weak and the doctor said not to let her be on her feet before ten days, so we carried her from place to place.

Then the 23rd of September we had our sale. We sold the farm and all the cattle, horses and chickens and farm machinery but one team and the boys' horse and buggy. We rented a place in Arnold of Mr. N. S. Ream and the family moved to Arnold. Charley had to husk the corn which took him a couple of months. I started a restaurant. The house had four bed rooms, dining room and kitchen. I had two roomers and boarders, Hilda Preston and Laura Stewart. I gave Cora Giess her dinner and Guy Luckey took his meals with us. That was the first taste of life for the Lee family, we all enjoyed that winter very much. We would get together and work out a program for the Literary. One time we were going to have the animal song, "We Went to the Animal Fair." At the same time Guy Luckey and my three boys were practicing a number out in the lumber yard and would not tell us what it was. Will said, "Mama, put our number on just ahead of yours." So I did and when we went to the Literary that night and called for the boys' song what did they sing but the animal song. It almost spoiled our program.

About Christmas of 1910, we decided we were going to California where my children could get a better education. Reams had been talking California all winter, so we had our sales together. I wrote to Will, Glenn and Jessie. Did they want to go? Of course, they said yes. We packed a big box that weighed 500 pounds with the last of our things and that big box went on our tickets. We bought 11 tickets—ten whole ones and one-half ticket and I wrote Glenn and Jessie to meet us in Pueblo April 1, 1911.

We had a day stop over at Salt Lake City. We got off the train and went to the hotel, cleaned up and took a sight-seeing bus and rode for two or three hours. The next day about noon we went to the train. There was another family from Colorado on the train and their family and ours and two or three men were the only people on the train. It was the first train out of Salt Lake City on the D. R. G. railroad that spring. We had a nice time on the train but had to wait eight hours one time until the snow slide could be cleared off and another time six hours. On the 8th of April about two in the morning we landed in Oroville and there the train stopped 30 minutes to let us get something to eat and some coffee. We had been on the train so long we ran out of food. Then about

two in the afternoon we got into Oakland. I felt like I was in the Garden of Eden, everything full of bloom, everything so green and pretty.

We got room in a hotel for the night and the next day Charley and I started out to get some place to live. We went to several real estate offices and the first thing they would ask was, "Have you any young children?" We told them we had two girls seven and nine years and the man would say, "We can't rent to you with small children." Along in the afternoon I got mad. I said, "What do you want us to do with those little girls, throw them in the bay?" Then he said, "I am sorry lady but we have a four room duplex if you would like that." I said, "We can't stay in a hotel with this crowd," so he rented us the duplex at \$25 a month.

Charley and I went to a second-hand store and bought a three-burner gas plate, three bedsteads and a bureau and the man delivered them to the duplex. Charley went to the depot and got a man to take our baggage to the duplex. I went to the store to buy our groceries. I walked in and said, "I would like five loaves of bread, one peck of potatoes." He said, "We sell our potatoes by the pound." When I asked him what was the price of anything, he would say two bits or four bits. I was stumped again. Well I got my groceries and gave him a \$20 bill and he ran to the back of the store to see the manager if the bill was good. At last he came back and gave me my change in gold. It was the first time I had seen gold money. And from that time for several years there was nothing but gold, except when someone came from the East. And there were no pennies. If your bill was 42 cents you would pay 40 cents but if it was 43 cents they would get the 45 cents.

Everything was so different from what we were used to that it took a few weeks to get adjusted. Two Sundays we went on the ferry boat to San Francisco and spent the day in Golden Gate Park—a wonderful place to spend the day. It was the first time we had been on a big boat. The children went from top to bottom looking at everything. And what a day they had in the park. There were flowers from almost every nation and in the zoo all kinds of animals. That evening we were so tired we could hardly get home, leave the ferry building, catch a train and ride a long ways across Oakland.

We stayed one month in Oakland, then we went to Hollister, where there was plenty of work for all of us. We got to Hollister the 12th of May. At Hollister there was the largest hay barn in

California so Charley came in one day and said, "Hattie, I am going out in the fields to work in the hay—give me a comfort and pillow." About two hours later Will came and got a comfort and a pillow and so on until all my men and pillows had gone to the hay field.

The 27th of May my first grandbaby was born. I took care of Jessie and baby until she was able to take care of herself. Then the three girls, Ella, Esther and Lillian and myself went out to Mr. Richinsons and went to cutting apricots. We got 10 cents a 40-lb. box. Ella and I cut cots and the two little girls made \$1.00 a piece taking care of the small children the women had to bring with them. We soon got so we could cut 20 boxes a day and by me helping Ella some she would cut 20 boxes. We worked in the cots about two weeks.

The boss came to me and said, "Mrs. Lee, will you go out in the yard and double trays?" When the first cots are half dry they dump the apricots, two trays on one so as to get more trays for the cutting shed. I said, "How much are you paying?" The boss said, "I will give \$2.75 per day and furnish a boy to help." So I put on my big hat, went out in the yard and doubled trays. I stayed at that until the cot season was over. The apple harvest came next. The boss asked me to sort apples. He had sold the apples to a packer in San Jose. The way we sorted apples was a board with three holes in it, big, medium, and small. I sat all day poking apples at those holes. A boy set the box of apples on the table and took them away. I sorted apples about two weeks at \$2.75 per day.

All this time the boys were working in the orchard too. Next came prunes. They are dipped in hot lye water and put on trays. When they were dry about half and were well wrinkled the Boss put me to doubling trays again. And at last the pears came and then I sorted pears the same as apples.

While we were busy in the fruit Charley went with a land agent over in Stanislaw county at Patterson and bought ten acres of land two miles from the town. We bought a team, harness and wagon and drove through a range of mountains to Patterson. It took us two days. Now we were in the San Joaquin valley. Patterson was a Spanish land grant and Thomas Patterson inherited it from his father. So in 1910 he started and laid out Patterson. There were 13,000 acres in the grant.

So we landed there September 19, 1911. It was a new place. There were few houses there. They were building the grammar

school, putting side walks and water lines. And there was plenty of work. I told Charley I had enough of building up new places and I would not move onto the ten acres and live in a tent all through the rainy season while we built something to call home. So we rented a building and started a restaurant. The building was 30 x 32 feet with a partition across the back for the kitchen and a washroom and toilet in the corner of the back. So we went to work. We were close to the Standard Oil station pipe line. There was a crew of 20 working at the station. The crew signed up with us. There were about 20 other men came to our restaurant besides my family and transients. Roscoe and a girl I hired, waited on tables and kept the dining room nice. Ella and Esther and Lillian washed dishes and I did the cooking. We served short orders for breakfast and family style dinner and supper. Will got a job in the lumber yard and he paid his board too. And as my other men folks worked they paid their board also. They kept their beet wages but paid board. I took care of their clothes and they slept at home. We had two tents in the back to sleep in. We made good money. Charley kept books and ran errands.

But in March, 1914, I got quite ill and had to go to Modesto hospital. I had a fibroid tumor and the doctor said it would go to cancer if it was not removed. So I had a major operation and was in the hospital six weeks. I had to lie low that summer. When I came out and got strong enough to look around I sold the restaurant to a Mrs. Martha Bishop and we went into a brand new house, all modern, seven rooms, bath, toilet and two lots and there we stayed until 1945.

I had a bad heart attack in 1931 and was in the hospital from April to September. Charley rented an apartment in Modesto and came out to the hospital every night. He would spend the hour reading the paper to me. And then in 1935 Charley got so he could not swallow (pipe cancer). I rode around in a wheel chair and tried to do things for him. He got so thin his bones almost rattled but he was so patient and good. He bore his suffering alone and never complained. He was 81 on December 9, 1935, and died January 9, 1936. Roscoe died of liver trouble in 1945.

I am so glad we came to California. The children finished their schooling and three graduated from high school and all have nice homes and good jobs. I live with Jessie and Will, and Warren lives nearby on the same acre of land in Sacramento. Both houses are

modern, everything nice. I expect to spend the rest of my life here. I have been a Christian for 67 years and kept my children in the church and I have a fine family and I am so proud of them.

Now you have a part of my life and I hope there will be a few stars in my crown when I get to heaven. And the one thing I regret is that I should have been a man. Mr. Lee and I lived together 48 years. He was a very kind and gentle man, whom every one liked and respected, a perfect gentleman. And when I pass on I will be shipped back to Patterson and laid beside him. I have my lot there. So this is the end of my life story.

The Connecticut Kansas Colony

LETTERS OF CHARLES B. LINES TO THE NEW HAVEN (CONN.)
DAILY PALLADIUM—Concluded

Compiled and Edited by ALBERTA PANTLE

III. THE LETTERS, MAY 23-AUGUST 23, 1856

WABUONSA, K. T., May 23d, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS.—Since the mail left this morning we have received important intelligence by the return of our messenger from Topeka. He reports that our committee sent first, after being arrested, as before stated, were taken to Lecompton and are still detained as prisoners. They have been in durance one week, very much to their personal damage and annoyance, and yet it does not appear that they have committed any crime. We are further informed that they will probably be released to-day.

It appears that early Wednesday morning the U. S. Marshal brought his forces to the brow of one of the high bluffs overlooking Lawrence, planted his guns there and proceeded with a posse of twelve men into the city. They called at the "Free State Hotel" and ordered a dinner, saying they were about to make certain arrests. They were not resisted, having previously given notice that in any event they should respect life and property. Three arrests were made, after which Sheriff Jones gave notice to the mob, who had now entered place in full force, that the Hotel had been pronounced by the Court *a nuisance*, and must be demolished. Whereupon they proceeded in the first place to remove some articles of furniture, which was the private property of Mr. Eldridge, the keeper of the Hotel, but they did not proceed far before they seemed to regard this as rather a tedious operation and abandoned it. They then attempted to batter the walls by firing cannon; but not succeeding in this, set fire to the building and burned it to the ground. They then proceeded to the two printing offices, the type and presses of which had also been declared nuisances, and destroyed them, breaking up the presses and throwing them into the river, while they scattered the type in the streets. Subsequent to this, Gov. Robinson's house was several time[s] fired and put out again, but finally burned down, with all its contents.

Before commencing the destruction of property the arms were

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demanding whereupon Gen. Pomeroy give up all he could control, and pointed out where some of the cannon were secreted, and gave them up also,—for which latter operation he has been very much censured, although he is understood to plead in justification the hope entertained by him that by that means he would be able to save the Hotel. The women and children generally left the place before the posse entered, as did many of the men, secreting their rifles as best they could, before leaving—it having been generally agreed that as the invasion was under the forms of United States authority, no resistance should be made. After the destruction of the Hotel and printing presses,⁵⁷ private houses were ransacked to some extent in search of arms; a few only were found, which of course were taken away, and thus ended the long expected attack upon Lawrence.

Previous to the descent upon that city, a great number of horses were stolen, and in some instances forcibly taken from the people by the mob, in justification of which it is now declared that the Territory was under "Martial Law." In one instance a man from Ohio, with several passengers in his wagon, was detained by some half dozen armed men at or near Lecompton, and required to give up his horses, which he refused to do. He was asked if he had any *arms*, to which he replied, yes, *two* as good and strong as the Lord ever gave to man, and added if you will throw down your weapons I will thrash the whole of you. They concluded to let him pass, but told him that a mile and half further on, he would be stopped and his horses taken from him, whereupon he called upon Gov. Shannon, who was an old acquaintance, and procured a *pass* for himself and company. After arriving at Leavenworth he was summoned before the Committee of Congress and testified to what had transpired and a copy of his "pass" was taken, illustrating the nature of *free* government in this part of the world.

Several murders have been committed during the siege—teams detained, and many other annoyances imposed upon the people. After the news of the burning at Lawrence was received, the people of Topeka hourly expected to be visited in a similar way, but dispatches were received to the [effect] that no further molestation would be offered unless it was found that decided preparations were being made for an armed resistance. It would therefore appear that the prompt refusal of our company upon three different appeals from that locality to their call, under the circumstances,

57. The presses of *The Kansas Herald of Freedom* and *The Kansas Free State* were destroyed by the border ruffians.

has saved them and us from the humiliating and embarrassing predicament of a hostile attitude towards the Government of the United States, and the consequences, we have reason to suppose, would in that event have followed. It is quite evident that the enemies of a Free State, in Kansas, have been in some sense sagacious in cloaking their proceedings with the over garments of the "general government"—but it remains to be seen how far the people of the country who make, and have the power to *unmake* the government, will consent to be a party to such proceedings.

A part of the plan of the Missourians, often openly avowed, is to discourage Free State settlers who are here from remaining in the Territory, and others from coming in. I have myself heard "highly respectable" citizens of Missouri state distinctly that they cheerfully surrender all claim to Nebraska, but feel that in order to keep up the equilibrium between the two parties, it is no more than *fair* that Kansas should be a slave State, and that they feel *injured* (poor souls) whenever emigrants from the North pass through their State, bound here. It will be quite natural to enquire what next? and what is to be the end of these monstrous proceedings? It is difficult for us to decide, and of course still more difficult for you, but I think two things are becoming more and more apparent to some minds, in both parties. Many of the pro-slavery party despair of enforcing the infamous laws of the bogus Legislature, and well they may,—while few of the most decided friends of a Free State, feel in doubt whether the organization of a State Government at the time and under the circumstances was a judicious movement. It is understood that Gov. Robinson is in custody and will be tried before the U. S. District Court, in the Territory, for treason, and some think he and several others will be hung, but such an event will not be likely to transpire.

We feel highly gratified that we, as a company, have been thus far preserved from any rash or inconsiderate movements, resulting in embarrassments and perhaps more serious consequences, although our escape has been a narrow one, as many of the younger men upon several occasions felt that they ought to go to the scene of the disturbances and help their friends, but since the events before described have become known, there is a very general conviction that we have done wisely in pursuing the course decided upon, and in no degree jeopardized our character for bravery or sound Free State principles.

By the foregoing statement it will be seen that we still want men.

Kansas can be and must be organized with a Free Constitution, whether the present State Government is sustained or not, and unless the United States authorities are completely controlled by the Slave Power and wilfully permit and cause the entire subversion of all equality of rights among the actual settlers, there need be no fear for the result. Let the people come then, promptly, fearlessly, and resolved to locate, and all difficulties will ultimately vanish—Jehovah will triumph and the people will be free.—L.

P. S.—Our messenger informs us that Mr. H. A. Wilcox, known in Connecticut as having been connected with the organization of our company, has been appointed by the Common Council of Topeka, or a Council of War, as agent for Kansas, to go East and collect funds, obtain assistance, &c. We know nothing in regard to this appointment and hope that our friends in Connecticut will proceed with caution in the matter and be satisfied before they act. As soon as we can possibly ascertain the facts we will communicate them.⁵⁸

WAUBONSEE, K. T., May 30th, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Since my last communication, our committee, Messrs. Wm. Mitchell, Jr., of Middletown, and J. P. Root⁵⁹ of New Hartford, who had been arrested, have returned to our camp. It appears, as before stated, that they were on the road a few miles this side of Lawrence, in company with two others who had been on the same errand, when they were suddenly pounced upon by a company of about sixteen men, rushing from a cabin near the road, *firing and commanding them to surrender*. The two others, being on horses, made good their escape, while our friends, on mules, faced their assailants and inquired for what purpose they were interrupted. The officer in command informed them that he was acting under instructions from the United States Marshal, which were to detain all persons passing over the road, and he offered to show them his authority if they would go with him to

58. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, June 9, 1856.

59. Joseph Pomeroy Root was born April 23, 1826, at Greenwich, Mass., the son of John and Lucy (Reynolds) Root. He was married September 10, 1851, to Frances Eveline Alden. They had five sons. He studied medicine and practiced throughout his life when he was not holding public office. He served in the Connecticut legislature in 1855. Intensely antislavery he became actively engaged in the Free-State cause soon after coming to Wabauensee. In 1856 he was chairman of the Free-State executive committee and served in the territorial senate the next year, from Wyandotte, whence he had moved his family. Dr. Root helped locate the Topeka-Nebraska City road and then went East in the fall of 1856 to solicit aid for the Kansas settlers. In 1859 he was elected lieutenant governor of the new state. During the Civil War he served first as surgeon of the 2d Kansas cavalry and later as medical director of the Army of the Frontier. On September 15, 1870, President Grant appointed him minister to Chile where he gained popularity by his labors in improving the sanitary conditions of that country. Returning to Kansas in 1873, he served as surgeon general of Kansas under Governor St. John. Dr. Root died at Wyandotte, July 20, 1885.—James P. Root, *Root Genealogical Records, 1600-1870* . . . (New York, 1870), p. 477; Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1935), v. 16, pp. 150, 151.

the camp. After consulting together for a few moments, they decided to surrender, and were conducted to a small cabin, where they were guarded by about a dozen soldiers. In the morning they were taken to the camp, and questioned very closely by Stringfellow, who appeared to be the master spirit of the gang. They were required to give up their arms, consisting of three revolvers and a bowie knife, and also their papers.

Mr. Mitchell had in his possession three letters belonging to one of our company, which he had taken from the Post Office in Lawrence, with a written order from the owner. He objected to giving up the letters, showing the order he had for them, but they took them, notwithstanding, and remanded the prisoners to their cabin, where they were detained from Friday night until the next Wednesday morning. During this period, several others were brought in under similar circumstances, and detained, *no accusation being made against any of them*. One gentleman had arrived in Lawrence only a few days before, bringing with him in money, land warrants, and other valuables, about \$5,000. He left his trunks at a boarding house in the city, which were broken open by the mob after the burning of the hotel, and robbed, so that after being discharged he was nearly destitute. This gentleman was taken while quietly reconnoitering the country in pursuit of a location.

Brown, the editor of the "*Herald of Freedom*," and another gentleman,⁶⁰ were brought into camp, accompanied by their wives, during the stay of our committee, charged with "treason," and the scene when the ladies were compelled to leave their husbands, was very affecting. These men were subsequently taken to Leecompton for trial, while the other seven were discharged upon the entrance of the "posse" into Lawrence. Our men received but one of their mules, and he nearly dead with the hard use and neglect he had been subjected to.—They could not obtain the letters, and but one of their pistols. The owner of the letters is expecting money from home, and has reason to believe that there are remittances for him in the stolen letters. It is known that these letters were in the hands of Stringfellow,⁶¹ but whether they will ever be received by the owner, is of course uncertain. Atchison, late president of the Senate of the United States, was frequently

60. The other gentleman was Gaius Jenkins, an active Free-Stater who had settled at Lawrence in the fall of 1855. He was killed by James H. Lane on June 3, 1858, in a dispute over a claim.

61. There were two Stringfellows actively engaged in the Proslavery cause in 1856. They were Benjamin F. Stringfellow, a lawyer, who later settled in Atchison, and his brother, Dr. John H. Stringfellow, editor of the *Squatter Sovereign* in Atchison.

in the camp, and both he and Stringfellow, harangued the "posse" before leaving, and marched into Lawrence with them.

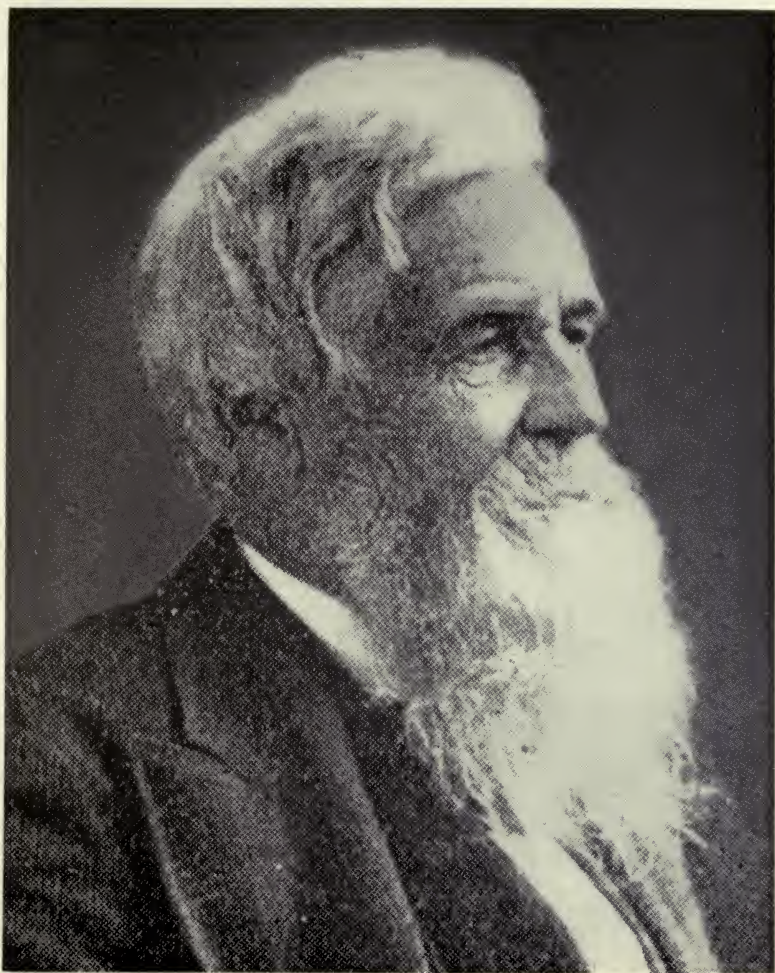
The prisoners, being discharged about the time of the descent upon the city, proceeded on to the hills in the vicinity, and witnessed the destruction. They also saw groups of women and children sitting upon the bluffs, from which they could distinctly see their own dwellings, and their neighbors', pillaged by the mob. Our committee went to Lecompton, and endeavored to obtain some satisfaction for the detention and robberies to which they had been subjected, but to no purpose. The officer promised them that everything should be returned, and paid for one of the pistols, but no further indemnification has yet been received. It should be borne in mind that this "posse" of the Marshal, so called, were made up chiefly of soldiers recently arrived in the Territory from the South, together with the "Kickapoo Rangers," and a few others from Missouri, and the proslavery districts in the Territory. *The emigrants who come here from the East are uniformly bona fide settlers, who bring their cattle and ploughs with them, take up land, and go to work, with here and there a few who visit the Territory for purposes of business, or to examine the country with a view of finding a location for future settlement. Southern gentlemen come in as soldiers, bring no implements of industry, and engage in no employment.*

They are camped out, and under military organization, thus occupying the position of invaders, according to the doctrine laid down in the proclamation of the President of the United States. But these invaders are at once enrolled by the U. S. Marshal, and by him employed to aid in making certain arrests and destroying the property of real citizens of the Territory, beginning their work as his "posse," and ending it after discharged by him, in the depredations of a lawless and irresponsible mob, and *for all these services they are paid two dollars per day out of the treasury of the United States, and provided also with rations, including a liberal supply of whiskey.* Let your democratic citizens, who vote to sustain the present Administration, distinctly understand this, that emigrants from Connecticut, who have located in this Territory, and purchased cattle and farming implements, are forcibly detained while quietly passing over the road, with no charges made against them,—robbed of their property, and prevented from pursuing their labor upon the soil,—and that the men who detain them, and rob them, invading even the sacred

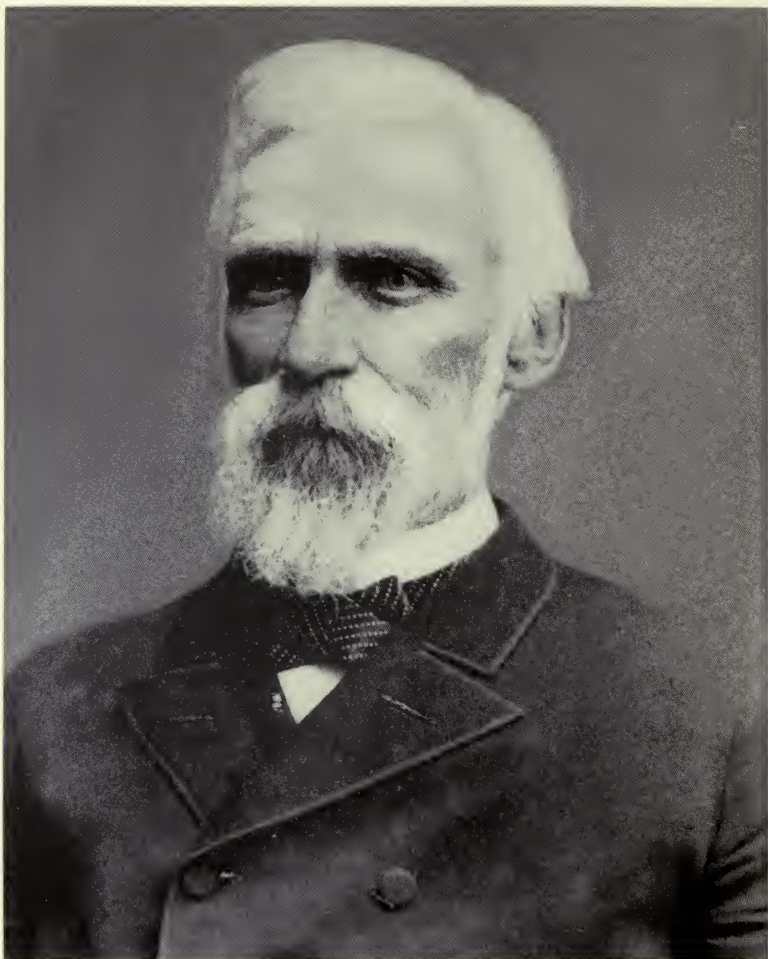
rights of private correspondence through the U.S. mail, are invaders from another section of the country, who do not pretend to have come here to locate, and, what is more monstrous than all, that these depredators are paid for their services by your own government.

Our committee had frequent conversation with a number of these Southern patriots, many of whom complain that they have been deceived, and that they wish themselves home, and intend to go the first opportunity. They acknowledge that they are in the wrong, and say they are ashamed to be caught in such business. Some of these men were well educated, and appear like gentlemen, while by far the larger portion were of a very different character, most of them young, and either whimpering with a desire to see their mothers, or complaining for the want of whiskey, their officers having been compelled to restrict their allowance in order to keep them in subjection. Stringfellow was repeatedly seen by our men, badly disguised by a too free use of whiskey.

It is understood that this encampment is for the present broken up, BUT THAT THESE SOUTHERN COMPANIES, TO THE NUMBER OF ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED MEN, ARE TO REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY UNTIL SLAVERY IS ESTABLISHED HERE. It may require a longer sojourn than they anticipate. They may meet with more difficulties if they attempt to repeat the depredations already enacted. How monstrous all these things appear to a thinking man. Wrong heaped upon wrong, the most sacred rights of free citizens despised and trampled in the dust, and all for the purpose of fastening upon this young Territory a gigantic, WHOLESALÉ WRONG, frowned upon and condemned by the whole civilized world. If there should be fighting, (which may God in his mercy prevent,) there is no doubt as to the result. A well informed citizen of Southern Missouri, passing through our community a few days since with a drove of cows, stated that beyond the immediate western border of the State, a majority of Missouri are in sympathy with the Free State movement, and if a general fight should ever take place on the impending difficulty, more recruits would be found in favor of freedom than on the other side. IF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD WITHDRAW THEIR ACTIVE SYMPATHY WITH THE PRO-SLAVERY PARTY, AND DISMISS THEIR OFFICIALS WHO ARE CONTINUALLY PROSTITUTING THEIR FUNCTIONS TO THE BEHESTS OF THE SLAVE POWER, THE QUESTION WOULD SOON BE SETTLED, TRUTH TRIUMPH, AND THE PEOPLE BE FREE.



Charles Burrill Lines of New Haven, Conn., organizer of the Connecticut Kansas colony and writer of these letters, was active in the affairs of Kansas and Wabaunsee from the arrival of the colony in April, 1856, until his death at Wabaunsee in 1899.



William Mitchell, Jr., of Middletown, Conn., member of the Connecticut Kansas colony who became captain of its "Prairie Guard," was also prominent in Kansas affairs until his death at Wabaunsee in 1903. A son, the late William I. Mitchell, devised the state in 1953 a near-by 30-acre tract of hill pasture known as Mount Mitchell, as a memorial to the colony. *Courtesy Maude J. Mitchell, Wabaunsee, daughter of William Mitchell, Jr.*

We have but one mail in a week, and our last budget from this locality was returned yesterday, after one week's absence. We know not how to account for the circumstances, but many of our company think that the Postmasters intend to cut off all communication with the East, thus denying to us the privileges of the U. S. mail for the past week. We hope this matter may be hereafter explained, as it would be an unendurable aggravation of our annoyances to feel that these interesting epistles from this far off country were to be "arrested" and imprisoned on the way, or sent back to us, when they are especially designed for you.

We had the first regular parade of the "Prairie Guard" on Monday last, for the purpose of welcoming back to our camp, Capt. Mitchell, who had been elected to the command of the company while he was imprisoned among the Georgia, South Carolina, Missouri, U. S. Marshal "posse." We were not exactly in uniform, except as every member dressed, in every particular, different from all the others. Our music consisted of "Geo. Coe's" band, Mr. Coe himself being the leader, with no other members present, and beating time upon a tin milk pan. The company performed exceedingly well, especially in the firing and music. Capt. Mitchell was received about midway between his "claim" and the "Big Tent," when a salute was fired, after which the company were marched to "Mr. Bisbee's Spring," in the vicinity, where a collation of *cold water* was served by the "music," assisted by the orderly sergeant, with another tin pan. After the entertainment, the company marched under command of Lieut. Burgess, in a hollow square, to the camp, Capt. Mitchell, accompanied by Doct. Root, being "imprisoned" within the square. On arriving at the company tent, Capt. Mitchell was welcomed and recognized as the Captain of the company in a "right smart" speech from the orderly sergeant, which was feelingly responded to by the Captain. Speeches were also made by Dr. Root, and others, after which a salute was fired and the company dismissed. We then held a meeting and heard a statement from the committee just returned from *durance vile*, which stirred our Yankee blood not a little.

We are at work ploughing, planting and making cabins. Our greatest need this Fall will be the funds for building a church, a school house and a hotel. If by any means we are able to construct these buildings, it will furnish employment for our men, and when the work is completed, constitute a decided attraction to the place, and lay the foundations for its future character and

success. Our plans from the outset have contemplated all these things, and we still hope to realize our expectation. We have not yet decided upon a name for our future city, but hope to soon. In the meantime, persons wishing to correspond with residents here, should address them at Waubensee, K. T.—L.⁶²

SHUNGANUNGA MOUND,⁶³ K. T., ON THE PRAIRIE
SOUTH OF TOPEKA, June 10th, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—This letter is being written on the summit of one of the high mounds of Kansas, near the road from Lawrence, west, commonly called the "California Road." We are here on our way to Kansas City, for the purpose of hauling up our steam engine and saw mill. We left our home yesterday morning, and expect to be absent two weeks. We take provisions with us, and at the proper time, "heave to," as the sailors say, kindle a fire and cook our meals, giving the cattle opportunity to feed at the same time. Having finished my dinner, and resorted for a few moments to this quiet spot, where the surrounding country for a great distance presents a delightful view in every direction, and where a cool refreshing breeze gives cheerfulness to the place, it seemed natural to bring into requisition my patent loaded pen, which, always at hand, will furnish the means of covering an entire sheet of paper, without recourse to an inkstand.

The view from this point is the finest I have as yet enjoyed in the Territory. The prairie is now "dressed in living green," and as far as human vision can extend, is one continued lawn, rolling like the swell of the ocean, with the tall grass waving under the influence of the gentle summer breeze that is always enjoyed here at this season. The view is only broken by here and there an Indian settlement, with some trifling improvements, and in the distance beyond the "Reserve," a few scattered cabins of newly arrived emigrants, together with the creeks and streams, skirted with wood, that add variety and beauty to the landscape. We camped last night near a stream, and after supper removed the baggage from our wagons and fixed them for lodging, by spreading hay over the bottom. With the aid of a few blankets, our beds were prepared, and we enjoyed a first rate night's rest, our cattle luxuriating, in the very finest open pasture, all "*free gratis*." This is a fine country to travel in at this season, as you are subject to no expense

62. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, June 23, 1856.

63. Shunganunga mound is another name for Burnett's mound at the southwestern edge of present Topeka.

for your animals, and can easily take your public house along with you.

These mounds by the way are objects of interest to the Indians, as they are in the habit of selecting the highest peaks as places of sepulture for their "Chiefs," and beneath the spot where I now sit, repose, in all probability, the ashes of some ancient red man, who in his day figured as a leader in their councils, and a champion in their battles. But now a pile of stones is all we see to remind us that he ever lived. Below, three Indians are now passing on horses. They are dressed in the usual fantastic style,—perhaps rather more so than common, as they have just returned from Union Town, where they, with the others of their tribe, have been paid their semi-annual allowance by the Government. They are well supplied with whiskey, and very civilly invited our men to drink with them.

The man⁶⁴ ("mankind I crave your pardon") who so brutally shot down Barber, one of the best of men, who had done no wrong, is still permitted to act as the agent of the Government for this tribe of Indians, and is now at Union Town, paying them off. Perhaps we expect too much in looking for the dismissal of any Government official in this country, however infamous his conduct, because there is no proof that can be made available, and the absence of any acknowledged government prevent the people from securing such proof. . . .

ON THE ROAD, Wednesday, June 11, '56.

It is a lovely morning. The sun, in all its glory, is just rising out of the eastern horizon, and your correspondent has just arisen from his excellent bed of hay, in our wagon, after enjoying another night's quiet and refreshing repose. Our teamsters are gathering their cattle, and after breakfast we shall again be on our way. One of our company, a young man of the right stamp, from Durham, who is along with us and serves as teamster, cook and chambermaid, is so delighted with this rustic out-door life, that he says if he should ever return East, he should be disposed even there to adopt the same mode, and there are many among us who would heartily concur with him. But to resume the subject on hand,—when we camped last evening, for want of a candle I could not improve the time after dark, and can only write now by running along ahead of the teams, thus gaining time, and sitting on the

64. Although George W. Clarke was indicted for the killing of Thomas Barber, a Free-Stater, it was not proved that he actually fired the fatal shot.

bank by the wayside to improve it,—and also the time gained while the cattle are grazing, after eating my own allowance in a hurry. We are informed, and think the information reliable, that the President has given orders to Col. Sumner⁶⁵ to disband all the armed companies in the Territory, without delay, and that he is now engaged in that important work.

This, of course, will “spike the guns” of these Southern invaders, and we hope, eventually, restore peace to the country. At all events, it is a step in the right direction, and if followed up, will, in some measure, relieve the U. S. Government from the responsibility of permitting armed bodies of men from the South to come here, and, when here, be enlisted by their own Marshal, to impose heavy burdens upon the people too grievous to be borne, instead of being expelled forthwith, in accordance with the proclamation of the President. We are also informed that Whitfield has gathered a large force, and is now in the field, and that detachments of his men, with others, have recently plundered the village of Ossawatimie, very much after the manner pursued at Lawrence, extending their robberies so far as to take ladies’ rings from their ears.

Captain Walker, a free state man, has also a company of men under arms, gathered by him since the descent upon Lawrence. He has been a prominent actor in all the movements here from the first, and a sufferer, also. He has been for some weeks obliged to be away from his house, and of course to leave his family without protection. The blood-hounds of the slave power are after him, and being a brave man, and conscious of no crime, he has raised a force as the only means of defending his rights and preserving the peace of the community. But our greatest difficulty now is at Kansas City and Westport, both of which places are in Missouri. Here the excitement is intense, and in the vicinity of Westport, about four miles from Kansas City, there are armed men along the road who have established a regular system of highway robbery, as can easily be shown by reference to facts.

We called last evening near where we camped, upon Mr. Root, from Meriden, who came out with us, but being unwell, could not proceed further, and therefore took up a claim in this vicinity. He informed us that in returning from Kansas City last week with a load of boxes containing wearing apparel and other goods,

65. Col. Edwin V. Sumner was a prominent figure in Kansas territorial affairs. As commander of Fort Leavenworth in 1856, he attempted to preserve order, disbanded Free-State and Proslavery parties as the occasion demanded and, by order of President Pierce, dispersed the Free-State legislature in Topeka on July 4, 1856.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8 (1903-1904), p. 346.

together with provisions, he was joined by a young man by the name of Barlow, also from Meriden, and that when a little out of Westport they were stopped by a company of armed men numbering about 60. Barlow was first secured, and after being questioned as to his views on the subject of a Free State, he was taken to the woods to be hung, a rope being placed around his neck for that purpose when he was first arrested. Soon after Barlow was out of sight in the woods, another company came to Mr. Root, the leader asking him whether he was in favor of making Kansas a Slave or Free State. He promptly replied, a Free State; when they at once told him that he had only fifteen minutes to live. A rope was put upon his neck and he was led away also to be hung. He made no resistance, but followed them quietly to the spot designated under an adjoining tree. One of the most respectable looking of the company, flung the rope over a limb and drew it tight. He was then asked if his [*sic*] wished to leave any word for his family and replied he should be glad to have them to know what had become of him. He says he felt no fear, for he told them he should not be harmed, as he felt his soul was safe.—After some hesitation they released him upon his assurance that he did not intend to injure them.

In the meantime however, they broke open his boxes, trunk, and bureau, and scattered their contents in every direction. They did not find anything in their search, which they were disposed to take except a quantity of provisions and a shotgun, the latter of which they retained.

About this time Mr. Barlow appeared and Mr. Root requested him to help him gather up and repack his goods, but he said he was not permitted to do so, and that he was going to return immediately to the East. Mr. Root then reloaded his goods and proceeded on his way, being joined soon by another man. After passing a few miles they were again stopped by two persons, to whom they did not yield but warned them to touch them at their peril. They were not molested, and finally returned in safety to their homes. Mr. Root is one of the most peaceable and excellent of men, and in his general character and deportment without reproach. This is not a solitary case.—Many are served the same way every day.

We know of a large number who have been robbed of horses, oxen, provisions and other valuable goods, and this is done by arrangement and system. It is now confined chiefly to the extreme

Eastern border of the Territory, near Westport. It is said to be impossible to go through that place without being stopped. As we are destined for that place, we inquire of those we meet, all of whom concur in advising us not to attempt going there. I suppose there never was a more outrageous system of highway robbery among Arabs, than is now being daily perpetrated in this Territory. *It is unnecessary to give further details although sheets of paper could be covered in so doing.*—We learn that at Kansas City the owner of the hotel has been compelled to sell out to save his building from being burned, and that merchants favorable to the Free State cause have been compelled to leave their stores and go down the river.

We are now in Lawrence, and shall remain over night before we decide what course to pursue. I am writing in Mr. Hutinchon's [*sic*] office, in full view of the ruins of the Free State Hotel, and after conversing with citizens here in reference to the plundering of private houses, it is hard to believe that we live in the country for whose liberty Washington and his compatriots fought, and martyrs among them bled and died. The only comfort in the case must be found in resorting to the foundation of our faith, where we find the assurance that God can cause the wrath of man to praise him.—L.⁶⁶

LEAVENWORTH, June 13, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We left Lawrence yesterday noon for Leavenworth, with a view of proceeding down the river to "Kansas City," leaving our teams at Leavenworth, and freighting our engine, mill, &c., from Kansas City, up, at an extra expense of at least \$100, and all because it is not safe to go over the usually traveled road to Kansas City. We camped last night on the road that has been a good deal infested with these border ruffian guerilla parties, but it is now clear.

We started at 4 o'clock, and at about 5, met Col. Sumner in his carriage, who stopped us to inquire whether we were leaving the country. He seemed earnest, and somewhat anxious, evidently making the inquiry from the suspicion that we were driven out, and prepared, I think, to guarantee his protection, as he has done elsewhere. We soon after met a company of light artillery, with four heavy cannon, and about thirty well armed men, all bound to Lawrence. This looks well, and indicates a determination on the part of the Colonel to give these marauders *Jesse* unless they leave the Territory. It appears that a small company of U. S.

66. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, June 21, 1856.

troops ordered Whitfield's company of Ruffians to disband, and they refused, whereupon a dispatch was sent to Col. Sumner, and the force we met this morning is understood to be a response to the dispatch. We therefore anticipate a speedy scattering among the invaders, and, to a considerable extent, peace in all our borders, but we cannot be confident. The pro-slavery party are exceedingly excited and desperate, and they may defy the U. S. troops, in which case the war will be prolonged, though blood *must* end in the triumph of the right.

Our road to Leavenworth, over which we travel, is the best we have seen in the Territory, and passes the Delaware Reserve, which is a beautiful country. A considerable portion of the distance is as pleasant as a drive through "Hillhouse woods." The effect of the suicidal course of the Missourians at Kansas City and Westport, is beginning to be witnessed in the transfer of trade to Leavenworth, and this is as it should be. KANSAS CITY SHOULD BE AVOIDED at present by every emigrant from a FREE STATE. Let the people there reap the fruit of their own way and be filled with their own devises,—let them derive their prosperity from the trade of Buford's marauders, and South Carolina patriots, but let those who come from the East go direct to Leavenworth City, where their purchases can be made equally well, where they will pass over better roads, and, being IN THE TERRITORY, will be protected from Ruffianism, by U. S. troops, whose jurisdiction does not extend to Kansas City. We have just met a gentleman whom we suppose to be the mail contractor for this region, who confirms what we have before heard of the stopping and overhauling of the mail, which business, he says, will be stopped. He further informed us that eight companies of dragoons were now moving down on the other side of the Kansas River, all of which gives us still more confidence that something effectual is about to be done for the peace of Kansas.

We learned in Lawrence a very sad instance of suffering by a Free State man now there, who resides about 14 miles south. He was on his way to Leavenworth, for a load of provisions, when he was stopped by a few Missourians, and robbed of his team and \$210 in money. He was then tied in a sitting position, his hands behind him, and drawn near his feet,—he was also gagged by means of a stick tied into his mouth, very cruelly, and his hat fastened over his face. In this condition he was left to die, but fearing he might by some means get clear, they returned in a short time and consulted as to the probability of his dying, con-

cluded it would not be necessary to shoot him, and again withdrew. The poor man, after a long struggle, succeeded in kicking off one of his boots, by means of which the cord became loosened about his ankles, and after a while he removed the other boot, and drew his hands up behind him. He then walked nine miles to a house, where his hands were unloosened and the gag removed. He soon told his story, was sent to Lawrence, and a company dispatched to find and punish the offenders. One of them was overtaken, and severely flogged; the other, with the team and money, is still at large, while the man remains at Lawrence in a very uncomfortable position, with all the marks of the brutal outrage upon his person. He was a stranger to them, and a quiet emigrant upon his claim. It is wonderful that he was able to effect his escape. . . .

Our friend Mr. Root, spoken of in another letter was made doubly strong in his purposes, after his arrest. Naturally very mild, when talking to us of the outrage, he raised his hand, and with unwonted energy for him, declared—"I WILL STAY NOW, AT ALL HAZARDS, AND SEE THIS THING THROUGH, IF I DIE FOR IT!" That is the general and natural effect of such persecutions for opinion's sake.

The effect of the recent outrages at Lawrence has been to advance the price of the real estate, and increase investments from outside parties. The day before we passed through, an old hunker democrat from Illinois came into the Territory, and while in Lawrence, became so well satisfied that the Free State men were in the right, and must prevail, that although intending to invest elsewhere, he paid cash, \$500, for a fifty feet lot immediately adjoining the smoking ruins of the Hotel, and will build a block of stores upon it forthwith. We are now in Leavenworth, which is really a very thriving place, much larger than Lawrence, with better buildings, of which I may speak more particularly hereafter, and also of the Fort, which we visited. But as we are about leaving, after another fine night's repose in our wagons, there will be no time to say more now. My next will probably be mailed in the Territory, and may not reach you.—L.⁶⁷

WAUBONSEE, K. T., June 14th, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Our mail, directed to this place, has just arrived, and about fifty letters were received by members of the company. Some of which contain strange tidings in relation to

67. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1856.

matters and things among us. We learn for the first time that severe sickness has prevailed and several deaths taken place since we arrived. Whereas we have had no deaths, and excepting two cases of measles and one of mumps, which occurred on the way, there has been without doubt much less of sickness than there would have been among the same persons, in the same time, at home. Another letter speaks of certain prominent members of the company as having left and gone East, who are still here, and others that the company has broken up and the members scattered, all of which is untrue, and no doubt founded upon vague rumors, originating "nowhere," and for which that distinguished individual, "nobody," is solely and entirely responsible.

The truth is as before stated. The company have thus far been kept together, and prospered beyond any who have ever before entered the Territory, and are now peaceably and harmoniously pursuing their organizations in this very delightful section of the country. To say we have had no disappointments would be not only foolish but untrue. Some who came here as mechanics, with no arrangements except to work at their trade, have not realized their expectations. It is impossible in the nature of the case that all such persons should be at once placed in eligible circumstances for earning money *at their business*, and thereby prospering. We must have first of all a saw-mill before any considerable demand for labour can exist so far as *mechanics* are concerned, and yet most of those among us, willing to work, have found employment at fair wages. Some have been employed in making tents, some to assist the surveyors, others in building log-cabins, and others in getting our rails for fencing and logs for sawing.

The latter business can be pursued for the present to almost any extent, as the demand for rails, at a remunerative price, is very "active," and plenty of timber can be found on the island in the Kansas River, free to anybody who chooses to cut it. Several of our men are now at work at this business and doing well; but it is work,—there is no play about it; and a few of the company, after complaining for considerable time that they could get no employment, have become discouraged and left, with standing offers for any number of rails, which are now being cut so as to realize the cutters from \$1.50 to \$2 per day.

As soon, however, as the mill is in operation and the houses begin to go up, there will be work enough of a different sort,—and if our plans for the erection of a church, school house, &c. are

realized, there will be no difficulty about work in future. Those who came out with the means of buying a team to "break up" with, or a part of one, have no trouble. Those who can command, on their arrival here, from four to five hundred dollars, and have the strength and disposition to work, are very soon in "easy circumstances."—They can own three yoke of oxen, a plough, cart and cow, and, with this "capital" to start upon they can either break prairie for themselves, plant corn and realize a handsome return for it in the Fall, or they can work for others without any lost time and realize at least \$5 per day. With less capital they can do well by joining teams with others similarly situated, and alternating with each other. In this way most of our ploughing has been done, as only a few have full teams.

These statements have been made in part before and are only repeated in order to say again that WE WISH OUR FRIENDS AT HOME TO BELIEVE NO RUMORS THEY HEAR CONCERNING US, BUT TO BASE THEIR JUDGMENT OF OUR CONDITION AND PROSPECTS SOLELY UPON WHAT INFORMATION THEY RECEIVE OF A RELIABLE CHARACTER FROM THOSE OF OUR OWN NUMBER WHO REMAIN ON THE GROUND OR RETURNING FOR GOOD AND SUFFICIENT MEANS, ARE OBVIOUSLY WILLING TO TELL THE TRUTH. We much regret that some of those who have left us and returned home should be inclined to circulate unfavorable stories in regard to the country and the colony from Connecticut. Perhaps it is not strange, since it becomes necessary either to acknowledge that they became homesick and returned for that reason, or imagine some difficulty of a different kind sufficient to justify themselves in turning their backs upon us. Some, we know, have taken the former course and more probably will follow, which is honorable and fair, and we have reason to think that others have taken the latter, which, while it may work evil to us, is certainly not very creditable to them. In view, therefore, of all these things, we again ask our friends to withhold any conclusions, in regard to us, until they know the facts in the case. Three have left us since my last, two of whom are from New Haven, and are, ere this, far on their way.—The other is to return soon with his family.

The Territory is still in a very unsettled state. The people of Lawrence since the detestable robberies, referred to in a former letter, were committed, feel exceedingly restless and more or less discouraged, but the state of things there is such, that it will be a hazardous business for anybody to attempt a repetition of the

scenes recently enacted there. Several teams from our place have just returned from Kansas City, and report that a man living near Lawrence came into the city while they were there and complained that he had been turned into the street by the Southern soldiers and fired upon, and that his wife and children, as he feared, were in danger, whereupon a company of fifty men were immediately rallied, and proceeding to the spot, found near there five of these imported ruffians, and arrested them. One of our teamsters was of the company.

They found upon them three Sharps' rifles, which it was known they had stolen, and took them, while they permitted them to retain what belonged to them. They then advised them to leave as quick as possible, which they promised to do, saying, with all becoming humility, that they were sorry to be found in such business, and were determined to leave for home at the first opportunity. A few instances have occurred where brave men from the Free State party, deeply incensed at the conduct of these invaders, have pursued and arrested some of them, and shot others, declaring they will no longer suffer these infamous depredations without showing some disposition to punish those who commit them.

The extent to which robberies have been committed by these troops sent here to establish Southern institutions upon the plains of Kansas, will hardly be credited at the East, and yet there is no remedy at law, as the "State" is not acknowledged, and the sufferers will not recognize the "bogus" authorities. Under these circumstances it is not strange that in some instances the people take the power into their own hands, and redress their grievances in a summary manner. We hear very strange reports in regard to Gov. Shannon. He is represented as being fair to Free State men when he is sober, and, as an evidence of it, we are informed that a young man called upon him, and stated he was in danger of his life from pro-slavery men, and had no means of defense, whereupon the Governor furnished him with a U. S. rifle, . . . upon another occasion, the Governor, by request, ordered the disarming of the pro-slavery forces to prevent a fight. But in both these instances he was sober, which, I must think, from all we can learn, is not a very common occurrence, as I hear, upon the very best authority, of his committing many acts that would be exceedingly dishonorable to any sober man.

In order to give you some idea of the extent to which the Mis-sourians in some instances carry their prejudices, let a single fact

be mentioned.—One of our teamsters called at a printing office in Westport, and bought half a dozen papers of the boy, paid for them, and put them in his pocket. On leaving the office he met one of the proprietors, who interrogated him closely, inquiring where he was from, &c. He replied to his inquiries, whereupon he was requested to return the papers, which he refused to do, and left the office. He was soon overtaken by the same man on a horse, who again demanded the return of the papers, and was again refused. He then inquired of our friend whether he had any weapons, and was told that he had. He ordered him to give them up, which he refused to do, and after a few more words this brave Missourian returned, threatening to look out for our emigrant when he came back,—all for, the offense of buying six Westport newspapers to send East. Another of our company, coming up from Kansas City, the next day, with a load, was stopped and asked whether he was a Free State man, to which question he answered in the affirmative, when he was advised to quit the Territory forthwith, as a company of horse were soon to traverse the country, and “drive every d—d abolition Yankee out of it.” Our friend was not easily scared, and came back without further molestation. These annoyances, although exceedingly provoking, do not frighten us, as they are generally perpetrated by cowards.

These various incidents, and many others that could be narrated, will show that we are still quite unsettled, and that while the slave power is being exerted to the utmost, the *real* strength of the Free State party is steadily increasing. Whether it will be permitted to operate in effecting the ultimate establishment of free-principles in the Territory, remains to be seen. Another fact: A team has just arrived with a load of baggage belonging to a family removing from Lawrence. The teamster is a respectable citizen of that city, whose acquaintance we made while there. He reports that when about 20 miles on his way, he was stopped by a company of about thirty-five of the Southern robbers, who, after inquiring where he was from, and where he was going, and using very insulting language towards him, demanded his money or his horses. He remonstrated, denouncing them as cowards, thus to waylay and rob an unoffending citizen *alone* and without arms, but they were the more insulting and determined, until the old man, as a choice of evils, gave them ten dollars, it being every dime he had with which to pay expenses.—*These facts were communicated to me*

by the man himself, and were especially interesting at this time, as we have made our arrangements to leave for Kansas City on Monday morning with four teams, to bring up the engine and fixtures, which we very much need. We shall start, nevertheless, according to our plan. Perhaps they will rob us, but we do not intend they shall, and as there will be *nine* in our company, we think they will prefer to let us pass. . . .—L.⁶⁸

KANSAS CITY, June 17, 1856.

MESSRS. EDS:—In my last, a few facts were stated in regard to the town of Leavenworth. It is situated very near the river, and built in the woods, the stumps of trees being quite common in the streets. Original patches of the forests remain still undisturbed in the yards, and unoccupied spaces, in the very heart of the city. The houses, stores and other buildings are nearly all framed, and some of them quite substantial. We did not see a log cabin in the place. The number of buildings is now over three hundred, the first of which was not begun twenty months since. There are also two weekly newspapers, a city government, 2,000 inhabitants, a hotel in the works to cost \$25,000, 24 licensed grog shops, but no churches built expressly for the purpose, there being one cheap building erected for temporary use, in which divine service is held, and other rooms occupied in different parts of the city for the same purpose.—There is a Methodist church North, and one South, already organized, illustrating the condition of society here—a struggle between the slave power and the friends of freedom for supremacy, in which the churches participate.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that a community of 2,000 people should grow up so rapidly under the circumstances, but with the exception of some of the cities in California, it is undoubtedly the most remarkable instance of rapid growth on record, far outstripping St. Paul on the Mississippi. But it is lamentable to witness all through Kansas how little is done to establish the worship and the ordinances of our holy religion. The most complete establishment for the purpose I have yet seen, is that of the Catholic Bishop at Leavenworth, erected in all probability for the accommodation of the troops, a very large proportion of whom are Irish, as very few Catholics are to be found in the community at large. The establishment is of course upon a small scale, but sufficiently commodious for the present. The Unitarians are now erecting a fine church at Lawrence, and the Congregationalists are preparing to do the same,

68. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1856.

each of which is to cost about \$5,000. We hope our own community will not be so tardy in the matter, but, after the example of our fathers, make it their first business to provide a good house for the worship of God, and another for the education of the children.

During our present sojourn in Kansas City, opportunity has offered for full conversation with a number of the conservative portion of the pro-slavery men, merchants and others, and while they condemn all the proceedings on the part of Missourians, that we condemn, such as illegal voting, unjust laws, and the introduction of armed bodies from other states, they insist that the fault is not all on their side. They charge very much of the trouble to the Emigrant Aid Company, not denying their right to operate as they have, but claiming that it was natural and inevitable that the operations of such an organization should excite and incense the masses of the people here.—They say that the people of Missouri, very many of them, had long been waiting for the country to be open for settlement, without any idea of the repeal of the Compromise act, but with the well settled understanding that Kansas was of course to be free. They preferred it should be so, and further *that the repeal was the work of demagogues, got up for political effect, the whole of which they deeply regretted because they foresaw the result.* They knew that the country would become excited, and that, in the end, Kansas would after all be free,—but instead of having a population from among themselves, friendly as neighbors, and profitable as customers, it would be as it is, made up of enemies to their institutions, who, as far as possible, pursue a non-intercourse policy in matters of business.

Some of these positively declare that considerable numbers did come here from the East solely to vote—that they saw them with nothing but a carpet bag, revolver and Sharps' rifle, and also that they saw them return, and have made oath to these facts before the Committee of Congress. While it cannot be doubted that these men are mistaken in their belief as to the fact that any considerable number came here, 2,000 miles, to vote and return, at an expense, including outfit, loss of time, &c., of at least \$200 to each man, it is nevertheless obvious that many of them do believe it, and that the masses, in their movements, are more or less stimulated by the same faith. These facts are only referred to in explanation of the sympathy that now pervade all classes here in Missouri on this subject, and not in justification of their course. I do not wish to condemn the Emigrant Aid Society, but to explain how and why it has

operated to increase the violence of the action of the people in this terrible controversy. There can be no doubt the hotel in Lawrence was destroyed because it belonged to this Society, and the proprietors of the one here were compelled to sell out because of their supposed connection with the same society.

The popular feeling is further illustrated in the fact that there is now lying on the levee at this place, more than 100 tons of engines and machinery belonging to this Company, on which more than \$3,000 has been advanced by the forwarders. It is suffering badly by exposure, while it is not deemed safe for the agents of the Society to be here to remove it. This of course is all wrong.—THE AUTHORS OF ALL THIS TROUBLE, ON WHOSE HEAD THE CONSEQUENCES OUGHT TO FALL, ARE THE POLITICAL DEMAGOGUES WHO CONCEIVED THE IDEA OF REPEALING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE AS A MEANS OF CREATING A NEW HOBBY TO SERVE THEIR OWN AMBITIOUS DESIGNS.—THE ACCESSORIES ARE THE WHOLE BODY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WHO HAVE ENDORSED THE MEASURE AND INTEND TO RATIFY AND ESTABLISH IT, IF POSSIBLE IN THE COMING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. Yet we need not be defeated, WE MUST NOT, AND BY THE HELP OF GOD AND THE CO-WORKING OF GOOD MEN IN WISE MEASURES, WE WILL NOT. All now necessary is to multiply the number of independent emigrants, who come to settle, and go into the Territories with the necessary tools to make themselves a home. They should not come to fight under any other circumstances than those of self-protection. We hope and believe that measures are in progress that will place all such emigrants beyond the necessity of fighting at all.

You have already been informed of the movement of U. S. troops. We learned this morning, that Col. Sumner, with a body of men, encamped yesterday, at Cedar Creek, on the road, about 20 miles from this place, and in the midst of the region of the recent disturbances. Also, that several companies of dragoons are reconnoitering different parts of the Territory, in consequence of which, we shall start our teams over the usually traveled road this evening. Col. Buford's men have indirectly levied an assessment upon me to the amount of \$25, by breaking open a box of wheels brought out to haul our engine, pretending they supposed them to be cannon carriages, in consequence of which, they were not received by the consignees.

They made a journey down the river to St. Louis and back. Among the many mischievous devices of the pro-slavery men, there is none perhaps more diabolical than the appeals made to their

people, based upon cruelty said to have been perpetrated by our friends, upon innocent pro-slavery men.—Not content with publishing these statements in newspapers, issue hand-bills and circulating them widely through Missouri and the South, declaring that free State men have been guilty of committing the most cold blooded murders; that they have also tortured their victims, by cutting off their hands and feet and chopping them to pieces with hatchets; that they drag men from their homes, in defiance of the entreaties of wives, and cries of children, &c. All this is done, of course, to excite and inflame the passions of the populace, and lead them to rush into the Territory to wreak their vengeance upon every free State man they meet.—These statements are false and are known to be so by the men who publish them.

Provoked to exasperation by the robberies and murders that were becoming quite common, perpetrated by invaders upon peaceable citizens, bands of free State men have, in some instances, organized, and taken the law into their own hands, in consequence of which, several of the aggressors have no doubt been slain. Our friends at the East must bear in mind how deeply we are wronged both by the government and the people.—L.⁶⁹

KANSAS CITY, June 19, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We leave here this morning, after an unusual detention, having arrived on the 13th. We should ordinarily have accomplished our business in one day, but as we came by a new route, and left our teams up the river, thinking we should be unable to go over the ordinary road, and have been subject to various other annoyances growing out of the war. Our stay has been prolonged and our expenses very much increased; but we now have our engine, boiler, saw mill, &c., all packed on the wagons, without any accident having occurred to mar the hard work of the occasion. We start with five teams, in all thirteen yoke of oxen, beside one team containing a family from Ohio, a man with his wife and three children, first rate people, going to join our community.

We find very comfortable accommodations here with Capt. Smart, who is a slaveholder, but a sensible man. In coming down the river, the other day, we had an opportunity of seeing and hearing Mr. Atchison and some of his associates. He sat opposite us at the dinner table. He did not like the nomination of Buchanan, although it would make no difference in *the result, as the party were fully committed to their cause*,—but, said he, a victory with Pierce

69. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1856.

or Douglas would have been worth fighting for, because they were more actively *identified* with the great questions at issue. He complained that the Buford men had overdone matters in the Territory, having taken their own friends as well as foes, and, in one instance, he said they had arrested Wilson's (meaning Shannon, as we suppose,) brother-in-law, tied a ball and chain to him, and sent him down the river. His friend with whom he was talking, replied—"It will never do to allow any class of men to feel that they have a right to take life, indiscriminately, at pleasure." "*That*," said he, "must be stopped," and Mr. Atchison assented, adding that "*an unarmed* man ought not to be detained under any circumstances," all of which, of course, meets our hearty concurrence. Mr. A. is a very fine looking man, erect in person, about the size of Judge Boardman, perhaps a little taller, with a rather ruddy complexion. During our passage, he, with another man, came where two of us were sitting upon the gunwale of the boat, and addressing a gentleman standing near us, said, "I wish to introduce to you the renowned Captain of the 'Kickapoo Rangers,' a gentleman distinguished for his military exploits, and well skilled in taking scalps." We saw the Captain afterwards in Kansas City, in company with a Wyandot Indian, both decidedly worse for whiskey.

The pro-slavery paper at Leavenworth speaks highly of a company of Wyandots, for their co-operation in the recent troubles, stating that they fight after their old fashion. We saw in the same paper a circular addressed to the friends of slavery, signed by committees of the three border counties, calling for aid. They say they can find men in Missouri, but want money, horses, ammunition and arms. The troops, say they, cannot accomplish much on foot, and they must be supported. It goes much into detail, and is an earnest appeal to aid in carrying on the war, and in another paper in the same town, I noticed the Governor's proclamation, ordering all armed bodies to disband and disperse, and calling upon good citizens to aid in restoring peace. These things seem a little inconsistent with each other, but it is surprising to notice how bold the pro-slavery men are in their action, for the distinctly avowed purpose of making Kansas a slave State,—and upon the borders of Missouri the popular sentiment is undoubtedly very strong in that direction, although we meet with some who deprecate the course pursued. We saw a gentleman yesterday, said to be the largest slaveholder in the country, and living within a few miles of this place, who is heartily sick of the whole thing. It is quite possible

that if a few men of common sense, representing both sides of the controversy, could be brought together, measures would be taken to put an end to violence, and possibly leave the matter to be decided by the legitimate and natural course of event.

There is no doubt great excitement at the East, and there probably will be earnest efforts made to raise "material aid" for Kansas, but it is difficult for me to see how money can be used advantageously except to encourage actual settlers to come here with simply the means of self protection, in the quiet pursuit of making homes for themselves and families. To raise money for the support of an army, is to engage in civil war, which does not yet seem expedient or right. Money invested in building school houses, churches, stores and dwellings, will be more effectual, and tend to peace, but I am sorry to say many Free State men here have lost their patience, and possibly their common sense, and are ready for the worst,—yet we hope better councils may prevail, and a general disruption be prevented.

We are making some purchases with a view to a celebration on the Fourth, and we intend to have one with a public dinner, military parade, oration, toasts, display of flags, &c., all of which will be duly reported after the event has passed,—and may the festivities, if we are permitted to enjoy them, contribute to promote a better appreciation of the value of our institutions, and a more determined purpose, by patient continuance in well doing, to seek for their full development and final success.—L.⁷⁰

WAUBONSEE, K. T., July 2, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We arrived home on Saturday night, after an absence of three weeks, with our engine and mill all safe. We left Kansas City and drove through Westport, the hot-bed of the late infamous outrages, and found all things quiet in a region where ten days before no Free State man was safe in passing. The potency of U. S. rifles, in the hands of U. S. Troops, had rendered the inhabitants very civil. The change is apparent in the fact that while at tea table in Kansas City, a few days before, there were four men who had been robbed of their teams within a week, some of whom found them afterwards in possession of citizens of Westport. These robberies were generally committed by the Southern troops under Buford. I saw one of them in Kansas [City?] exhibiting a fine watch, which he boasted of having "pressed," up in the Territory.

70. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1856.

Passing through Westport, our "big wheels" made in New Haven, to carry the boiler, attracted considerable attention, especially in connection with the smoke pipe on the next wagon, and we heard the remark from persons on the road, "there goes a smashing big cannon." We passed the camp of Buford's men a little out of Westport, but they treated us quite civilly, or rather did not interfere with us. Our train consisted of seven wagons, four of which were chiefly loaded with the machinery, one owned by an old settler who came down after provisions, one a teamster who had been robbed and recovered his team traveling in our company, and the other a family, consisting of a man, wife and four daughters, whom we met at the boarding house, and who came up to locate with us and are now here. They are from Ohio and will be a decided acquisition.~ We had a fine opportunity on our journey up to notice again the character of the country, and we are agreed that it looked more than ever attractive. Our friends from Ohio were constantly exclaiming, "What a beautiful country."

For a considerable distance through the Shawnee Reserve, the road is skirted upon either side with innumerable wild plum trees and no marks of "curculio" upon them. Crab apples were also exceedingly abundant, some of the trees being 20 feet high, and all full of fruit, while from their tops, stretching from one to the other, grapevines were hanging in beautiful festoons. The odor from their blossoms filling the air with a delightful perfume, gave earnest of the rich fruit in course of preparation for the harvest season. These fruits, we are informed, are very fine, as are also the strawberries, immense fields of which we passed thru, after the season. Our pleasure of course was found in the gratifying evidences of the adaptation of the country to the growth of these fine fruits.

On our first day out we passed in sight of several encampments of U. S. troops, in the vicinity of recent outbreaks. Near one of them we stopped for water, and while refreshing ourselves at the well of the old "Baptist Mission,"⁷¹ now abandoned— one of the soldiers informed us that a Free State man was hung by ruffians from one of the adjoining trees, a few days before, and his body thrown into the well from which we were drinking. He pointed to his clothes strewed about, and a little distance off, to his grave,— his body having been taken from the well and buried. His

71. The Baptist Shawnee Mission was established in 1831 in present northeast Johnson county. It was here that the Rev. Jotham Meeker brought his printing press and types to print books in the Indian language. The mission was discontinued in 1855.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 66.

name was not known. We also passed several other localities that have been recently made memorable by sad and fearful tragedies. A little off from our route a young man, the son of a widow, and her chief dependence, not 20 years old, was stopped by some of these infamous Buford men and interrogated. He acknowledged himself a friend of the Free State movement, but said being under age he took no active part in the matter. He was asked if he had any arms, to which he replied, none that belonged to him, and only a single pistol, the property of another person, which he had taken to get repaired. He was ordered to give it up but refused on the ground that it was not his. The owner being in hearing and fearing for the young man's safety, told him to surrender it, which he did. They then suffered him to drive off, but one of the company not being fully satisfied, drew his rifle and shot him dead. This occurrence fired a few young men in Lawrence with a spirit of vengeance, and they proceeded to the spot, met two persons whom they did not know— who in fact were not connected with the affair, except in sympathy, being identified with the Southern invaders. Words passed, shots were exchanged, and one of the Lawrence boys was shot dead, a young man with whom I became well acquainted in Lawrence.

One of our men went into this neighborhood to do an errand for a member of the company, and he reported a very tense feeling among the settlers, and especially the FREE STATE MEN FROM MISSOURI. He found quite a number of that class and their indignation on account of the invasion of these Southern outlaws was irrepressible. They seemed eager for a fight—they had witnessed the atrocities, and feeling that justice required their expulsion or their death, and despairing of any effective measures of redress from the government, the[y] were anxious to "go at them" and drive them to the kennels from whence they came.

We have made the acquaintance of quite a number of true men from Missouri and they are among our most reliable settlers, but it is often difficult for them to hold back, and it is not strange. They are here in good faith with their families,—they have lived in a Slave State, and seen the workings of the system and become sick of it.— They know it is bad in all its aspects and come here to get rid of it, and add their influence to protect these broad prairies from its withering curse. When they see men without principle—mere outlaws—coming in for the sole purpose of forcing the cursed system upon actual settlers at the point of the

bayonet, is it to be expected they will look with unmixed forbearance forever? Of one thing you may be assured, whenever the contest does come, if come it must, Missouri will be divided against herself.

A single fact more. There is a little town called Franklin about four miles east from Lawrence, where pro-slavery sentiments are in the ascendant. Among the unscrupulous and most active of the enemies of the Free State movement was a German residing there, by the name of Peshmaker.⁷² He went to Kansas soon after the Buford men arrived, and induced a number of them to camp at Franklin. He also figured conspicuously at the siege and sacking of Lawrence, and was regarded as one of the worst of the leading depredators in the territory. A few days before we passed through the town, a number of Buford-men were assembled with a loaded cannon, and arrangements for destroying an obnoxious store, and doing other mischief. A few Free State men, not exceeding ten also appeared, and when Peshmaker opened his door they fired and wounded him mortally. He lived five days. No other persons were killed, although the pro-slavery papers, have made the most extravagant representations on the subject. There is no doubt this Peshmaker has been a very bad man, and it is claimed in justification for shooting him, that he and his accomplices were meditating a general onslaught upon the Free State party that night. We visited the house; the family were gone, and yet everything appeared the same as when they left. We saw several bullet holes, some where the balls passed through the bed and pillow where the children were sleeping, and some that perforated eight one inch boards, giving very satisfactory evidence of the immense power of "Sharp's Rifles." It was a sad picture and a melancholy illustration of the terrible fruits of civil war; may they soon have an end, and peace with her thousand blessings reign supreme over the land.

We again called at the residence of Capt. Walker on our return, and found his heroic wife at her post. The house was unoccupied when we passed it going down, as she had been advised to flee for her personal safety. She has with her five young children, and only sees her husband occasionally, as he is still in peril although he has done nothing but defend his own house, and aid in defending others. Mrs. Walker informed us that the night the house was surrounded by the Buford men, 12 persons had been posted by Capt. W. to aid

⁷². This incident is described in the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 14, 1856, but the name is spelled Tichemaker. He is described as "a good citizen and pro-slavery man."

in his defence, and a few others stationed outside. Immediately upon the ruffians dismounting the men inside fired, wounding several of their enemies, and killing one horse. The brave men of course attempted to flee, but a portion of them when Mrs. W. recognized one of the Buford Boys who were secured by those outside and brought in, had been frequently at her house and had been nursed by her in sickness. They also discovered the SON OF GOVERNOR SHANNON IN THE COMPANY. They took as spoils, one live horse and one dead one, two U. S. rifles, several pistols, one coat tail with a bottle of whiskey in it, &c.

Mrs. Walker stated that she had a call the next day from Gov. Shannon, who enquired for her husband, but she of course could give no information about him, and it was rather queer that the inquiry should be made. Under most circumstances, it would be surprising that the Chief Executive functionary should be out on such business, but Mrs. W. stated that he was so badly intoxicated, that it was with great difficulty he could keep upon his horse. There were many other incidents of interest that occurred during our journey, but we must close this communication with a brief reference to one feature in our "camping out" at night. As our wagons were loaded, we of course could not "bunk" in them, except to a limited extent. Two of them were so loaded that they could be used, one by the family with us, and the other by two men. The rest of us, were of course obliged to make our beds upon the open prairie, and judging from my own experience it was no hardship.

There is certainly something peculiar in the atmosphere in this country, for while we slept upon the ground and found our blankets and the hair upon our heads *wet* with dew, we experienced no inconvenience from the exposure; in fact we have become so accustomed to these things that exposure to night air is not regarded as at all prejudicial—but such a sleeping apartment—so capacious—so thoroughly ventilated—and such a canopy studded with brilliants, the like of which cannot be found in the bridal chambers of Queens or Princes. . . .—L.⁷³

WAUBONSEE, July 7, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We were disappointed in part in regard to our celebration the 4th of July. We had made very full arrangements some weeks since, which, had they been carried out, would have been satisfactory to all, but circumstances we could not foresee, changed our plans. After the teams and eight members of the com-

73. *New Haven Daily Palladium*, July 19, 1856.

pany left for Kansas City, an application was made from Topeka, earnestly requesting our Company to be present at a Convention in that place on the 3d and 4th inst. Some of the members, and among them the Captain of the Prairie Guard, were of opinion that we ought to respond to the invitation—consequently the committees suspended operations and no preparations were made. The difficulty was also increased by the protracted absense of the members gone to Kansas City, and we found on our return the state of things as above described, with only four days intervening before the “glorious fourth” would be upon us. We accordingly called a meeting of the Company to consider and decide upon some course to be pursued.

A proposition was made to send a delegation to Topeka, in connection with resolutions expressing the sentiments of Company in relation to the existing state of things, which, after considerable debate was adopted with great unanimity. Captain Mitchel and C. B. Lines were appointed delegates, but Mr. Lines was unable to attend, in consequence of severe exhaustion from a long journey and the impossibility of procuring any conveyance except saddle horses, and M. C. Welch, Esq., was appointed in his stead, and attended the Convention. Our delegates returned on the 5th inst. and reported that the attendance was large, numbering at least five hundred, and the debates earnest and some of the time exciting. Mr. Welch, of our Company, was Secretary of the Convention. John Hutchinson, Esq., of Lawrence, offered a resolution advising that the Legislature proceed, at all hazards, to establish a code of laws and put the government in operation, but the proposition was defeated, the general sentiment of the Convention being in harmony with the resolutions of our own Company.

Before the adjournment, two important votes were passed; one raising a committee to impeach Shannon, Lecompte and Donaldson; the other to provide ways and means for constructing a stage road through Nebraska to Iowa, in order to provide a thoroughfare for emigrants, clear entirely of Missouri. This last movement is one of great importance. An instance illustrating its necessity occurred just previous to the session of the Convention. A company of emigrants, numbering about sixty, were on their way from Illinois and Indiana, and were stopped at Lexington, on the Missouri river, where they were robbed of their arms and permitted to proceed to Leavenworth, where they were not allowed to land but compelled to return to St. Louis. . . .

The results of the Topeka Convention were on the whole quite satisfactory to our delegates and the company generally, and we think will be productive of good, but the Legislature were not so fortunate. Marshal Donaldson read a proclamation the day before in public, forbidding them to meet, and on the morning of the 4th, and before they had organized, Col. Sumner marched a company of dragoons into the street, located two pieces of artillery in a commanding position, and then entered the hall where the Assembly were to meet and where the members were in fact together, and ordered them to disperse. He then proceeded to the Senate and dispersed them also, not encountering from either body any disposition to resist.—The Senate was nearly full, but in the lower house only 17 members appeared, considerably less than a quorum, although others were no doubt in town. This terminates the action of our State Legislature for the present, but it should be borne in mind that our cause is not in the least affected by these proceedings—we are still knocking at the door of Congress for admission as a State, and if that is denied—for protection as a Territory—we still have a large majority of the settlers with us, and there is an increasing determination to defend our rights to the last. It will not be easy for Missourians to come in here again and vote the people down, unless they are protected by the government in so doing, which is not probable.

The government are now in full possession, having troops distributed in various parts of the Territory. We are informed that a company is stationed above us for the purpose of intercepting and disbanding a force said to be coming in from the North under company of Gen. Lane, with no intention of preventing them from coming in, but dispersing them as a military company. With this course no fault could be found, provided the same precaution had been taken with Buford's men and others from the South.

I have received a few copies of the Register containing certain extracts from correspondence which the editor is pleased to commend. He also bespeaks for them a candid consideration on account of the *source* from which they come. I am glad of all this, for while these editors may find occasionally something to approve, and while they endorse these extracts because they come from a *reliable* source, it will serve to commend to their readers and their political associates, certain other extracts that may not be equally digestible, but that have the same element of truthfulness attaching to them, and consequently are entitled to consideration and con-

fidence. The statement in the Register in reference to a letter seen by them, purporting to be from one of our Company, and stating that most of the members were homesick, &c., is a mystery to us. *It is unnecessary to say that the facts are not so. The truth in relation to that matter is well understood, and it is not probable that the editors believed the story when they published it.*

Our Company still number about 50 of the original organization, besides several who have gone home, to return in a short time, and I do not know of one who regrets that he came. We also have accessions to our number from time to time, more than sufficient to supply the places of those who leave. The coarse and vulgar trifling of the Register with the names of some of us, may be all in accordance with its taste, *but were the editor two thousand miles from his family, it is hardly probable that a similar paragraph in reference to himself, to be read by his wife and children, would be any more pleasant to him than it is to us.* But no matter—"border ruffianism" is not confined to Kansas, and we need not wonder at its developments, wherever its outrages here are justified. Our friend Mr. J. J. Walter, and two others, leave here to-day for the East, but will return soon. Others also will follow them. As far as we know they all intend to come back and make Waubonsee their future home.

The first year of our experience in this country will be the one of trial—the one that must test our fidelity to the cause and our satisfaction with the country. We shall need patience, courage and principle to sustain us, and we must have encouragement from home. We shall ask no charity except it be to aid in building a Church and School House, and we suppose we may rely upon our friends at the East to help us in these matters.—More than this, we need capital, and those who desire to have us thrive as a community—who wish our men to stay and aid in the great work before us, must see the necessity of furnishing the means to provide labour for those who wish to work. If we can have money spent among us this Fall, to the amount of \$10,000, in building a church, school house, hotel, stores and dwellings, we shall be "on our pins," and those who make the investment will ere long reap a handsome reward.

We shall also need a good stone mason and carpenter, competent to contrive and erect good buildings. With these appliances we must go ahead, without them we shall be embarrassed, and in a great measure stationary. Our Company generally continue

to enjoy good health and good pluck, although a few have been somewhat unwell, but are improving. In my next I will give you a sketch of our 4th of July celebration, such as it was, got up in a hurry, and with few facilities for such an occasion.—L.⁷⁴

WAUBONSEE, July 25, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We are greatly encouraged in our hopes for the future of Kansas, by the evidence pouring in upon us from all quarters that FREMONT is to be our next President. I am almost as sure that he will "come in" as you tell us Senator Wilson was. The starting of the campaign seems so much like the one of 1840 and '48—there is the same enthusiasm and confidence of success, which always are a prestige of ultimate triumph. But on the other hand we are uneasy through fear of the effect of Douglas' bill, now [pend?]ing in Congress. We fear that trap, so finely set, will deceive some of our friends, and jeopardize our cause,—but let us explain. The bill on its face seems very fair, and apart from events transpiring here would be so. It provides for a convention to consist of 52 members, and to be apportioned to the different Counties according to population, all of which is well until you know how things are being managed here.

For some weeks past special efforts have been made to rush in to all the border towns large numbers of Missourians and Southerners, and we know that an unusual stock of provisions have been taken to these places, evidently to feed these adventurers—at the same time the propagandists having control of all the inlets to the Territory, are preventing Free State men from landing or rather from proceeding on their way to the interior. Hence, while the proslavery districts are rapidly filling up, the Free State localities in the interior are blockaded. The murders and robberies have to a great extent subsided, but the Buford men are still operating in the way indicated above.

One of our teamsters direct from Leavenworth, only a few days since, states that he saw one of the Buford men, with a Sharp's rifle, in a store where he was trading, and that the merchant told him that it was one taken from a company of emigrants, sent back a few days before. He learned while there that what has been before stated in regard to the sending back of Free State men, is a fact of everyday occurrence, which nobody denies. Hence it appears that Douglas and Atchison are acting in concert, the one arranging a bill so plausible as to deceive many of our truest

74. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1856.

friends, and yet sufficiently dove-tailed into the operations here as to render their success in some measure probable. The accumulation of a large population in the border towns operates against us in a variety of ways. It not only secures a large proportion of the delegates, but under the bill it is very likely also, in some cases, to swallow up adjoining Free State Counties, because they may prove to be fractious. . . .

We are quiet in our community and all things are well with us. We have just divided our town site into parcels, and a few days since distributed to each man his share. Our plan was as follows:—We first reserve for church sites six lots, for public buildings six lots, and for school houses thirty lots, part of them for sites, the balance to be hereafter sold for school purposes, the remainder were divided into parcels of eight lots, each as near equal in value as possible, and drawn for by the members. The size of these lots is 300 feet deep by 100 front. There is also one lot to each member, on the bank of the river, somewhat smaller, making for each nine lots, leaving also a surplus over and above the reservations of nearly 100 lots, to be hereafter disposed of. Our men are well pleased with the arrangements and by a unanimous vote adopted rigid rules to secure to each man his right and protect the Company from embarrassment, by means of individuals trading off their lots and removing to other points, or by any other illegitimate system of speculation.⁷⁵

We have also started our saw mill under the influence of the first steam engine ever heard in Waubonsee, and we think these two circumstances will give a fresh start to our business operations and the development of the town. . . .—L.⁷⁶

WAUBONSEE, July 31, 1856.

MESSRS EDITORS:—This day closes the fourth month since the departure of our Company from New Haven, and with many, if not all the members, these four months have been among the most eventful of their lives. Their experience has been new, peculiar and varied—away from home and its endearments—deprived of the company of wives, children, parents, sister, friends, and living almost

75. About this time the streets of the village were named. Many New Haven, Conn., street names were used. Some favored naming a street after Henry Ward Beecher but Moses C. Welch objected on the ground that while he respected the character and many excellent qualities of Mr. Beecher's heart, he had come to be a symbol for bold impulsiveness that acts without reverence and sound judgment. He did not believe that the company would wish to be put in the position of seeming to approve of Mr. Beecher's manner by naming a street after him. Mr. John H. Gould fancied that if they felt this way and wanted to be consistent he "moved to send back to Mr. B. the 25 rifles and 25 Bibles, he was instrumental in furnishing us with. Motion rejected." The street was named Plymouth.—"Minutes of the Connecticut Kansas Colony," August 5, 1856, Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

76. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, August 8, 1856.

entirely excluded from female society,—as an evidence of which, it is pertinent to state that the only *young lady*, between the age of 15 and 25, seen in this community since our arrival, was one who attended our religious service on Sabbath last, being, for a few days, on a visit from another settlement in the vicinity,—denied also the religious, literary and social advantages—and what is perhaps more than all, the feeling of personal security under the protection of law, which we have always enjoyed in common with you before. We have been breathing also a new atmosphere, engaging in new pursuits, exposed to new temptations, subject to new physical, mental and moral influences, undergoing in short almost an entire revolution in every element of our being. . . .

The weather with us for July has been very pleasant, much more so than is usual in Connecticut. We have had no uncomfortable warm days or nights, very few sudden changes, and no drizzling rain, as our water from above all comes down in “energetic” showers, falling fast and soon over. We hear of no such thing as colds, although three of our number, and only three, have had the “ague,” and in every instance, they were very much exposed, either by living in the woods, in very unsuitable apartments, overworking or imprudence of some kind. What our experience for August may be is of course yet in the future.

We are beginning to have a plentiful supply of vegetables from our gardens, and every promise of any quantity, of “melons.”

Our Institute held their first meeting last evening. The officers are—

President—M. C. WELCH.

Vice President—J. M. Hubbard.

Secretary—George Coe.

Treasurer—J. H. Gould.

George H. Thomas and F. H. Hart are members of the executive board. A very extraordinary question was debated at the first meeting—viz: “*Resolved*, That a good wife contributes more to the happiness of a man than a fortune.” It was still more extraordinary that any MAN could be found to advocate the negative of such a proposition, and especially *here*, where we have had a fair opportunity to realize the value of a wife. Some of us feel that an apology is due to the sex for having permitted such an absurd question to go upon our records. The resolution for next week is, “*Resolved*, That life in Kansas is preferable to life in Connecticut.” We have in Mr. Welch an excellent President, every

way qualified to maintain his position with profit to the institute and honor to himself.

On Tuesday evening last we held our second weekly prayer meeting. Twenty persons were present in a small tent, and the occasion was one of great interest. An expression in one of the prayers, offered by an old settler, would have sounded strange in the ears of a New Haven audience. He prayed that God would take care of the interests of our Territory, that He would overturn the existing corrupt government, and especially supply the place of our present debased Governor, with a better man, and in all this, he spoke right out into the ear of God, what he felt in his soul. . . .—L.⁷⁷

LAWRENCE, K. T., Aug. 23.

We left our settlement on Friday, the 16th, with two teams, bound for Kansas City or Leavenworth for a stock of provision,—three of our number being on their way east. We had heard various rumors of new troubles below, but knew little that was definite or reliable. On arriving at Topeka, however, we ascertained enough to satisfy us that we could not proceed upon our journey further than Lawrence, without great hazard. We found also that the long expected train from Illinois and other States, had arrived over the new wagon road through Nebraska, via Iowa City. They numbered in all about 500 men, besides women and children. Over 200 were left at two different points upon the road, to locate new towns, and establish convenient stopping places for future travelers,—and about 250 were camped at Topeka, more than half of whom had just left for Lawrence, in answer to a call from there for aid.

Among their large number were the two companies stopped on the Missouri river, robbed and sent back; one from Massachusetts, under Doct. Cutter, and one from Chicago. Doct. Cutter informed me that they were not only robbed of their rifles, but also of their tents and farming utensils, and compelled to make a long and tedious journey over more than 300 miles of new country, never before traveled with teams—besides a longer distance by steamboat and railroad. What an illustration of civil liberty and protection of personal rights in this *republican land*!! This train has long been expected and often referred to by our enemies as Col. Lane's fighting band, collected to drive all pro-slavery men out of the Territory. It is very likely Col. L. may

77. *Ibid.*, August 19, 1856.

have been instrumental in raising some of these companies, but many of them have never seen him, and all of them appear like bona fide settlers. Many have their families with them, their furniture, implements for farming purposes, &c., and from a free intercourse with them I can see no reason to doubt that they intend to make Kansas their home.

In this particular, as in every other, they differ widely from the "Buford men," and others from the South, who are evidently here for *no purpose* except to fight, rob and murder. After very diligent enquiry I have not been able to learn of a single instance where one of the latter that has taken a claim or made a permanent location. In fact all their movements, from their start to the present time, prove they have no such intention, and the personal appearance of the men themselves, establish the fact beyond controversy. They were never accustomed to work, and one of the leading considerations that brought them here is that the system of work without remuneration and living in luxury without work may be inaugurated upon this fair soil for the double purpose of extending their detestable institution and propping up its rotten dynasty, where it now exists.

Those who read carefully the true history of passing events in Kansas, will notice all these differences and many more that mark the progress of the two classes of emigrants to this country, but those who read only the unmitigated falsehoods published in pro-slavery papers in the Territory and re-hashed by the dough-faced journals in the Free States, can know nothing of the real facts in the case. It often appears to me when reading these statements that the old liar whose sole business is to deceive men, and who is the acknowledged father of the profession, must have suspended, for the time being, all his other labors and concentrated his entire power upon his pro-slavery coadjutors in Kansas.

. . .
We spent the Sabbath in Topeka, but it was no Sabbath to us. We walked to the room where service is usually held, and found less than a dozen persons present. The minister offered a prayer and called upon others to speak and pray. The conversation all turned upon Kansas, and the war, in the prayers, earnest petitions were offered for the success of the people in their struggle for liberty; and especially that God would so control the coming Presidential election as to secure a result favorable to Freedom.

On our way we passed through the small pro-slavery town of Tecumseh, and when a little beyond the settlement, eleven men, all

well armed, came up to our teams and ordered us to stop.—One of our wagons being some miles in advance of us, there were only four in our party, two of whom had pistols, the others none. We of course made no resistance until they required us to open our trunks. We protested against it asserting our rights as American citizens to travel unmolested, but they said we were suspected of having ammunition for the Northern army, and they must examine for the purpose of ascertaining the fact. We then opened our two trunks, and, much to our surprise, found 10,000 of Sharp's rifles caps or primes, which we supposed had been left behind. They did not know what they were, but we frankly told them, and at first they were quite decided that they must be taken. We knew they could be of no value to them and told them they could take them if they choose—but as it was private property, they must pay \$1.25 per thousand if they took them. They tried to raise the money but could not, and the poor cowards had not pluck enough to take them without, and left us, although they found the very articles they were looking for.

We now passed on to Lawrence without farther interruption, and on arriving found everything indicating a state of war. Upon inquiry we found the Free State men had been driven to make several assaults and conquests in order to clear the country of highwaymen, and protect the lives and property of travelers and other citizens.

It appears that among numerous robberies that have of late become quite frequent, a merchant of Topeka lost a team and load, near Kansas City or Westport, valued at over \$500, the teamster having barely escaped with his life. Diligent enquiry revealed the fact that these robbers were entrenching themselves in log cabins, or "block houses," in various parts of the Territory, one of which was in Franklin, a small town five miles east of Lawrence. They determined at once to root them out, and mustered a small force of determined men, many of whom were among the best citizens of Lawrence, and one of the most prominent, an excellent young man who has established a Sabbath School at Franklin and attended it regularly every Sunday. They proceeded to the place and after some hours of fighting, and the loss of one man, they succeeded in smoking them out, and took a cannon and about fifty very good guns, besides recovering some stolen property. The ruffians, after crying for quarters, succeeded in making their escape. *No other building or person* was disturbed, the proslavery statements to the contrary, notwithstanding.

From here, they proceeded to another of the same sort of *forts*,

upon Washington Creek, but the inmates got the alarm and fled, leaving a number of guns, ammunition, stolen property, etc., and easy prey to the Free State party. Our friends then returned to Lawrence with their cannon and rifles, and found a pressing call to proceed at once to Leecompton, where it was said Col. Titus⁷⁸ had arrested several "Topeka Boys," and had them in durance. This Titus, by the way, is one of the most blood thirsty men in the whole country. He has been a fillibuster and sort of land pirate during much of his life, and is now the terror of all peaceable citizens in the territory. We know him well. Our friends Mitchell and Root saw much of him when in the enemy's camp, and heard him offer \$500 for the head of Capt. Nather, and various other similar things. Preparation was promptly made for a call upon this ruffian, by sending to Topeka for reinforcement, which was responded to by the citizens there, and part of the companies recently arrived. During the night our force, with the cannon taken at Franklin, were on the ground, and after considerable firing with rifles from both sides, the cannon was brought to bear upon the building, and Col. Titus, Capt. Donaldson and seventeen others, were taken prisoners.

Several of our men were wounded, and among them Capt. Shomber⁷⁹ of Indiana, who afterwards died of his wounds. Capt. S. was a very respectable citizen of Richmond, Ind., a member of the Presbyterian Church in that place, and highly respected. He was an ardent friend of Freedom, and when told he could not live, said in his latest breath, "Tell my friends I offer my life a willing sacrifice to the cause of Freedom in Kansas, and die peacefully." While standing by his grave and witnessing the last sad rites of sepulture, the query suggested itself—How many such men, prepared for such a death, could be found in the ranks of our enemies? Another of the wounded was Mr. Henry of Hartford, who was an original member of our company, but remained at Lawrence because he failed to overtake us on the way. He was shot with a pistol by Titus himself. He saw him fire from the window three times, two shots striking his horse, and the other entered his right side and is lodged a short distance from the surface. His escape from instant death was almost miraculous. Another was shot with a rifle ball through the arm and it has since been amputated; another through the skull, across the top of his head—all of whom are now doing well.

78. Henry T. Titus, from Florida, was commissioned colonel of the Second regiment, Southern division, Kansas militia, August 5, 1856. He figured prominently in the incidents of border warfare during the summer of 1856.

79. Henry J. Shombre (not Shomber) brought a Richmond, Ind., company to Kansas in August, 1856, and was killed in the same month at Fort Titus.

The prisoners were brought to the city and treated with the utmost kindness and attention. Titus was badly wounded, but properly cared for by direction of the same Capt. Walker for whose head he had so often offered a reward, and who has been hunted by him for months, and kept away from his family and prevented from raising his crops. Capt W. was in command, and found it somewhat difficult to satisfy the people that the life of old Titus should be spared. Clark, the murderer of Barber, was in the building, but escaped, and it is well he did, for all the captains in Kansas could not have saved him from the death he so richly deserves. He therefore still lives to serve President Pierce awhile longer in the capacity of Indian agent. At Titus' house they recaptured several stolen horses, together with a number of tents, also stolen, and sundry other things.

The foregoing is a plain statement of the facts in the case, derived partly from personal observation and partly from the testimony of responsible men who were eye witnesses of the event.

On Sunday, the 17th, Gov. Shannon visited Lawrence and proposed an exchange of prisoners in which he was to give up five taken at Franklin by warrant, and held under the *forms* of law, in exchange for more held by the people. To this proposition the committee objected on the ground that they had much the larger number, but offered to accede to it if the Gov. would also return the cannon taken from them at the time of the burning of the hotel—to which he agreed, and stipulated that he would send the prisoners and the cannon into the camp of U. S. troops between Lawrence and Lecompton, and there make the exchange—which was carried out in good faith by both parties the next day. It so happened that we, with our teams entered the city with the surrendered prisoners, and cannon. Shannon made a speech to the people at the time the treaty of peace was agreed to, and his dispatch sent by the commander of the troops with the prisoners was also shown me—in both of which (the speech and the dispatch) he manifested the warmest sympathy for the people of Lawrence, and expressed a hope that whenever they should again meet, it might be only as friends. But the calm which followed was only for a moment, and I fear will prove a sure precursor of the most terrible storm that ill-fated Kansas has yet experienced. By next mail you may expect some facts in reference to pending dangers, and chances of succor and relief.—L⁸⁰

80. *New Haven Daily Palladium*, September 1, 1856.

IV. EPILOGUE

The above letter was the last that appeared in the *Palladium* and it seems likely that Lines did not write another. Late in August, he returned to Connecticut to get his family and to obtain funds for the erection of a church, school, and other public buildings needed in Wabaunsee. Apparently he began soliciting money as soon as he reached home because the New Haven *Daily Palladium* for September 4, 1856, reported that Charles B. Lines had spoken in Union Hall in behalf of the Connecticut Kansas Colony. Lines wrote, in a letter to his son, Edward, dated January 1, 1857,⁸¹ that he had spoken at New Haven and the surrounding towns, written numerous letters to his friends and acquaintances, and distributed circulars⁸² describing the needs of the Kansas colony. Through his efforts about \$6,000 was promised, including \$500 from the Congregational Union for a church, \$250 from the editor of the New York *Sun* for a school, and individual contributions.

In the same letter, Lines wrote of seeing several members of the colony who had returned to Connecticut. Several expected to come back to Wabaunsee in the spring with their families, others would not return at all, and one, Charlie Ford, wanted to return but his wife probably could not be persuaded to come.

About the time that Lines returned to Connecticut, the Prairie Guards, led by William Mitchell, were called to Lawrence which was again threatened by Proslavery forces. They left Wabaunsee on August 25 and were gone about a month. They were stationed in one of the temporary forts which had been erected the previous winter on the hill where the University of Kansas now stands, with Captain Mitchell in charge of the fortification. When news reached them that Osawatomie had been burned "they went on a forced march to Bull Creek and met the enemy on August 31st. Only a few shots were exchanged and these by the cavalry in the lead. The boys suffered from hunger and thirst on this trip, having marched forty miles without anything to eat or drink. They then returned to Lawrence, after having captured one of Colonel Buford's baggage trains."⁸³

81. In Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

82. A copy of one of these circulars was printed in an unidentified newspaper some years ago. It was signed by C. B. Lines and E. M. Woodford, of the colony, and T. D. Woolsey, Leonard Bacon and 13 others in the East. This reprint was found in a scrapbook belonging to Maude Mitchell.

83. "Wabaunsee History," by Henry Fairfield Burt, in *Wabaunsee County Truth*, Wabaunsee, September, 1931.

A. A. Cottrell, one of the Prairie Guards, wrote later:

When our company reached home we found ourselves in a bad fix. The cattle we left had eaten up the most of the corn and garden truck. Many of the boys were sick, caused by improper food and exposure. That fall and winter there were so many sick that there were not well ones enough to look after those that needed care. At one time there was not money enough in the settlement to buy an ounce of quinine. The winter of '56-'57 was a very long cold winter. A neighbor of mine, with a wife and five children had only one pair of shoes for the family. They were French-Canadians⁸⁴ and lived most of the winter on nothing but lye hominy with occasionally a prairie chicken. That winter I paid \$6.00 for a 100 pound sack of flour in St. George and brought it home, six miles on my back. Mr. J. M. Bisbey with a family to feed paid \$9.00 for a sack of flour. Many of the New Haven Colony became discouraged and left the country.⁸⁵

There were several reasons for the withdrawal of such a large number of the colonists during the first year. The severity of the weather, for which they were poorly prepared, illness and lack of provisions have already been mentioned. In addition, a few of the men felt that the affairs of the colony had been handled in too dictatorial a manner and aid from home had not been impartially distributed. Probably the most important reason was that the men were city bred and some had little inclination for farming and little desire to live in a new country where the odds were so strongly against them.

Soon after the return of the Prairie Guards from Lawrence, the settlement was augmented by the arrival of five young men from Mendon, Ill. They were Enoch, Jeremiah Everts and Luther H. Platt, Samuel Weed, and S. H. Fairfield. The Platts, originally from Connecticut, had come, a few years previously, to Mendon where there was a large settlement of people from Guilford, Conn. They, as well as S. H. Fairfield, from Massachusetts, were probably well acquainted with a number of the members of the colony. Samuel Smith, who started with the main group from New Haven, had stopped off at Mendon and did not come to Kansas until later. Everts Platt was his son-in-law.

S. H. Fairfield, recalling his arrival at Wabaunsee, said:

From what we had read in the New York and Chicago papers we were expecting to find Wabaunsee a pretty New England village. We had first taken up our abode with a couple of colony boys in a log cabin some three miles up Antelope creek. The next day, in a two-wheeled cart drawn by a yoke of Missouri steers, we set out to see our pretty village. . . . Crossing the

84. This was probably one of the Sharai families since they were the only French-Canadians living in the vicinity at the time.

85. *Semi-Centennial, Wabaunsee Congregational Church, Wabaunsee, Kansas, Je. 27-28, 1907* (Alma, 1907), p. 13.

branch east of town we came into the village. It was composed of three tents, a bark house, and a small log cabin. The post office was kept in a shake cabin two miles west of the village on Emmons creek. The postmaster was the home missionary, Rev. Harvey Jones. This was the first post office in the county, and the only one at the time, unless there was one at Wilmington.⁸⁶

The men who stayed in Kansas during the winter continued to aid the Free-State cause. Joseph P. Root was away most of the time actively engaged in antislavery activities. William Hartley, Jr., is said to have joined with John Brown and was reputed to have been one of the best shots in his band. An underground railroad route was established through the settlement. The attic of the William Mitchell house, east of Wabaunsee, served as a hiding place for slaves. Mitchell took the slaves to Joshua Smith who escorted them north to the state line. Enoch Platt was also active in this movement and it is interesting to note that his father, Jirad Platt of Mendon, Ill., was one of the most ardent workers in the underground railroad in Illinois.

Not much constructive work was done toward improving the settlement during the winter but when spring came the colony went ahead with its plans to make Wabaunsee a "New Haven" in the West. Friends and relatives came from Connecticut to join them and by the time of the company meeting on May 12, 1857, Lines and his family with several other families had returned.

On May 18 plans were adopted for dividing the townsite into shares of three lots each. Each member of the company in good standing was to receive six shares. The remaining shares were to be retained under the control of the company. M. C. Welch, J. H. Gould, and E. Dwight Street were appointed a committee to prepare a form of certificate of the ownership of shares, and also to report a plan for the sale of a limited number of shares on liberal terms to persons, not members of the company, making improvements on the townsite, and to actual settlers in the vicinity. A building committee was appointed to report a plan and select a site for a schoolhouse. The location of a cemetery site was also discussed.⁸⁷

At the same meeting on May 18, officers were elected. Dr. J. P. Root was chosen president; H. Jones, secretary; M. C. Welch, treasurer; and Wm. Mitchell, J. J. Walter, J. M. Hubbard, J. H. Gould, F. H. Hart, and Benj. Street, directors.

86. "Getting Married and the Agree," a paper read by S. H. Fairfield, before the old settlers' meeting at Harveyville, in 1904, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11 (1909-1910), p. 610.

87. The site chosen for the cemetery was east of town. On May 30, 1953, a memorial gateway, designed by Maude Mitchell and paid for by the descendants of the pioneers, was dedicated. It was built of glacial boulders gathered from the hills overlooking the settlement. Several members of the original colony and many of their descendants are buried in this cemetery.

The following meetings were concerned with the drawing of shares. On June 15, inducements in the form of shares were offered for the erection of an additional saw mill (to be in successful operation by October 1, 1857), a good shingle mill, and a hotel which was to cost not less than two thousand dollars. Messrs. Hart, Welch and Walter, the committee on the temporary church building,⁸⁸ were instructed to send at once to Leavenworth for pine lumber to finish the building.

On June 17, the same committee was instructed to obtain a door for the church building and also some white paint for painting the building. A plan was reported for transferring all interest in and control over the townsite from the Connecticut Kansas Colony to the Wabonsa Company.

At this meeting, Lines made a verbal report on the money collected by him for the school and church building and for other purposes. A resolution was passed thanking him for the efficient way in which he had represented the interests of the Connecticut Kansas Colony in the East. There were three dissenting votes.

On June 26, 1857, it was voted

that as there is no longer any necessity for the continued existence of this organization, it be & is hereby dissolved and that the Secretary be requested to hand over the books, papers & other property of the Conn. Kan. Col. in his ~~hands~~ possession, to the Secretary of the Wabaunsee Company,⁸⁹ and the Board of Trustees of the Wabaunsee Co. are fully authorized to take possession & control of all property of every description now belonging to the Conn. Kan. Colony.

Voted To dissolve & adjourn *sine die*.

Many of the members of the Connecticut Kansas Colony were deeply religious and from the beginning tried to hold services every Sunday, but it was not until June 27 and 28, 1857, that they effected a church organization. On June 27, a group met for that purpose. Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Lines, Harvey Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Chester E. Pond, Hiram Maybee, and Henry Fairfield, having letters from other churches, were considered a com-

88. A small frame building was completed in 1857. The next year a two-story frame building was erected. It was used as a church until 1862 and for school and public meetings until 1879 when a stone schoolhouse was built.—Letter from Frank I. Burt, November 22, 1938, in Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

89. The members of the original town company were: A. A. Cottrell, J. F. Willard, Harvey Bisbey, Chester E. Pond, J. H. Gould, George H. Thomas, John J. Walter, Wm. Mitchell, Jr., John Nesbitt, F. W. Ingham, F. H. Hart, Nancy Jones, C. B. Lines, Benjamin Street, L. W. Clark, E. D. Street, L. A. Parker, R. W. Guivola, William Hartley, Jr., Harlow Isbell, George H. Hill, S. M. Thomas, Harvey S. Hall, Moses C. Welch, Thomas C. P. Hyde, George H. Coe, H. M. Selden, Daniel B. Hiatt, Isaac Fenn, Peter Sharai, E. J. Lines, I. M. Bisbey, D. L. Bates, H. P. Leonard, and I. M. Hubbard, Jr. For some reason the Wabunsee Town Company was not incorporated until February 10, 1859. By that time the membership had changed considerably because many of the members who had belonged in 1857 had returned to Connecticut or moved elsewhere.

mittee for the examination of new members.⁹⁰ Charter members⁹¹ included those persons serving on this committee and the following named persons: Moses C. Welch, Mrs. Harlow Isbell, Julius F. Willard, Franklin H. Hart, Mr. and Mrs. E. Dwight Street, William F. Cotton, Hezekiah M. Selden and John S. Nesbitt. On June 28, the newly formed church was recognized by appropriate services. The Rev. S. Y. Lum, of Lawrence, preached the sermon and the "Fellowship of Churches" was given by the Rev. C. E. Blood, of Manhattan. The first minister of the church was the missionary Harvey Jones who had been preaching the gospel in the area since 1854.

The frame buildings which have already been mentioned served as church buildings for the first few years. In July, 1860, the *Congregational Record* stated that "The church at Wabaunsee have finished their house of worship, all but the plastering and seats. It is a stone building, forty by fifty, perhaps. It will cost, when finished, four thousand five hundred dollars, and will accommodate perhaps three hundred persons." In 1861 Wabaunsee was reported by the same journal, as having the largest church in the state, and giving the best account of herself. The building was not mentioned, however, and it was not actually completed and dedicated until May 24, 1862. The Rev. W. A. McCullom, then the pastor of the church, gave a brief account of the condition of the church, the struggles they had made to complete it, some having left their own homes unplastered, that the walls of the church of God might not remain bare. The Rev. L. Bodwell preached the sermon on the text, "And the people had a mind to work," and other prominent clergy took part in the service.

There have been intervals since 1862 when the church at Wabaunsee has not been in use but the greater part of the time it has been opened for services each Sunday. The building was renovated in 1948 and it is, today, much the same as it was when it was built by the early settlers. Except that it is built of stone, the church resembles a New England church with its small family-sized pews and the narrow balcony at the rear of the auditorium.

Wabaunsee did not become a "New Haven" of the West, but the countryside is just as beautiful as it seemed to the members of the Connecticut Kansas Colony when they first saw it on April 28, 1856. Today, one hundred years later, the Beecher Bible and Rifle

90. "Records of the First Church of Christ, 1857-1917," microfilm of the original records in Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

91. The names of the charter members were taken from the *Manual, First Church of Christ, Wabaunsee, Kansas, 1902* (Kansas City, Kan., 1902), p. 6.

church still stands as a symbol of their staunchness, their personal integrity, and their uncompromising determination to make Kansas a free state.

V. ROSTER OF THE COLONY

There is no known list of the members who left New Haven on March 31, 1856, and traveled with the main group. Fifty-seven men, four women, including a Miss Alford, and two children, are usually reported to have been in the company. The following list has been compiled from the "Roll of the Connecticut Kansas Colony, July 18, 1856," which appears with the "Minutes." Some of those listed settled at Wabaunsee and made permanent homes, others stayed a short time and then returned to Connecticut or settled elsewhere. For a few, no further record could be found. Newspapers, county histories, genealogies, letters and other sources have been searched and such information as could be found for each individual has been added under the heading "Remarks."

ROLL OF THE CONNECTICUT KANSAS COLONY, JULY 18, 1856.

NAME	Residence	Remarks
Baldwin, Sherman A.....	New Britain, Conn.....	Settled in Wabaunsee; member of legislature in 1875 and 1876; died at Lawrence, March 31, 1903.
Bardwell, Orange.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Removed to Zeandale, Riley county, before 1860.
Barrett, Henry.....	Wethersfield, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within a short time.
Bishop, Hobart D.....	Plymouth, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within a short time.
Burgess, William C.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within a short time.
Cadwell, Perry.....	Plymouth, Conn.....	Withdrew from colony before August 1, 1856.
Clark, Levi W.....	Middletown, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within a few years.
Coe, George H.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Opened eating place in Wabaunsee, May 17, 1856; returned to New Haven, Conn., within a few years; living in New Haven in 1910.
Cottrell, Amos A.....	Cheshire, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; worked in secret service helping slaves escape in Missouri; served in Civil War from Illinois; returned to Wabaunsee county about 1876 and settled on Emmons creek; nine of his children graduated from Kansas State College; died February 8, 1909.
Elmer, Hiram W.....	West Hartford, Conn.....	Left colony within a short time.
Fenn, Isaac.....	Orange, Conn.....	Apparently left about 1857.
Ford, Charles A.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857, and probably did not come back to Kansas.
Ford, Wilford.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within a short time.
Gould, John H.....	Maine.....	Joined colony April 7, 1856; first probate judge of Wabaunsee county; superintendent of schools, 1859-1861; died at Wabaunsee July 10, 1886.
Griswold, Richard W.....	Guilford, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; died December 15, 1868.
Griswold, Walter S.....	Guilford, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; moved to Laclede, Pottawatomie county, in 1880.
Hall, Harvey S.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Apparently left before 1859; returned to Connecticut.
Hart, Franklin Henry.....	Durham, Conn.....	Settled in Wabaunsee; taught school at Camp Point, Ill., winter of 1858-1859; returned to New Haven, Conn., in fall of 1859 where he became a prominent businessman.
Hartley, William, Jr.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Supposed to have fought with John Brown; member of "Lawrence party" to gold fields, in 1858; made first survey and map of Denver, returning to Connecticut probably soon after.

ROLL OF THE CONNECTICUT KANSAS COLONY, JULY 18, 1856—*Continued.*

NAME	Residence	Remarks
Hubbard, Josiah Meigs, Jr.	Middletown, Conn.....	President first town company of Wabauunsee; member of first state senate; served in Civil War, 1862-1865, returned to Connecticut at close of war where he held various public offices.
Huntington, Alfred J.....	Bozrah, Conn.....	Apparently returned to Connecticut before 1859.
Hyde, Thomas C. P.....	Bolton, Conn.....	Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857, and probably did not come back to Kansas.
Ingham, Friend W.....	Middleton, Conn.....	Living at Ogden, Riley county, in 1860.
Isbell, Harlow.....	Guilford, Conn.....	Brought wife and children with colony; ran first blacksmith shop; died at Wabauunsee in May, 1873.
Johnson, Freeman.....	Middletown, Conn.....	Died at Wabauunsee in the summer of 1856.
Kelsey, Samuel F.....	New Haven, Conn.....	No record. An Austin Kelsey came to Wabauunsee in 1859 and is often listed as a member of the colony.
Lake, Ferris.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857, and probably did not return to Kansas.
Lines, Charles B.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Settled at Wabauunsee. <i>See</i> biographical sketch on p. 1.
Lines, Edward C. D.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Settled at Wabauunsee; register of deeds of Wabauunsee county in 1859; clerk of the court the same year; Captain Co. "C", 2d regiment Kan. Vol. Cav. Killed in action September 1, 1863, at Backbone Mountain, Ark.
Lines, Elford Jarmin.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Settled at Wabauunsee, established first store; member of first state legislature in 1861; county attorney of Wabauunsee county 1865-1866; died October, 1870.
McNary, William G.....	New Hartford, Conn.....	Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857.
Mitchell, William, Jr.....	Middletown, Conn.....	Settled at Wabauunsee. <i>See</i> biographical sketch on pp. 43, 44.
Moses, Rollin.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Settled near Zeandale; later moved to Manhattan where he died August 29, 1895.
Neale, Ira.....	Winsted, Conn.....	Withdrew from colony by late 1856.
Ocorr, Henry.....	Hartford, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within a short time.
Parker, Luther A.....	West Avon, Conn.....	Settled at Wabauunsee; postmaster in 1860.
Pond, Chester E.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Wife came with colony; opened business college in Leavenworth in 1857; later had business school in Topeka; owned land and lived at Wabauunsee part of time before 1874; lived in California in 1894.
Porter, Bryan C.....	Settled at Wabauunsee; apparently left in 1859.

ROLL OF THE CONNECTICUT KANSAS COLONY, JULY 18, 1856—*Concluded.*

NAME	Residence	Remarks
Porter, L. D.....	Apparently left colony within a short time.
Read, Timothy.....	Milford, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; died in December, 1859. His widow and sons lived at Wabaunsee many years.
Root, Buel E.....	West Hartford, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within a short time.
Root, Joseph Pomeroy.....	New Hartford Center, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; <i>see</i> biographical sketch on p. 141.
Seranton, Daniel F.....	New Guilford, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within a short time.
Selden, Hezekiah M., Jr....	Middle Haddam, Conn...	Settled at Wabaunsee; served as county treasurer 1860; county clerk 1861-1865; died in office before July, 1865.
Street, Benjamin.....	East Haven, Conn.....	Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857; died at Atlanta, Ga., July 3, 1884.
Street, E. Dwight.....	East Haven, Conn.....	Wife came with colony and died in January, 1859. E. Dwight Street returned to Connecticut in spring of 1859.
Terry, Ward.....	Plymouth, Conn.....	Probably returned to Connecticut within a few months. May be the same Ward Terry who came to Nortonville, Kan., about 1876; later moved to Golden City, Mo.
Thomas, George H.....	Berlin, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; later returned to Connecticut.
Thomas, Silas M.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; moved to California after 1878.
Tomlinson, H. W.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within a short time.
Tuttle, Lemuel.....	Bloomfield, Conn.....	Returned to Connecticut before January, 1857.
Walter, John J.....	Hamden, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; returned East at close of Civil War.
Webb, Walter.....	Meriden, Conn.....	Apparently left colony within two or three years.
Welch, Moses C.....	Hartford, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; register of deeds of Wabaunsee county, 1860; enlisted in Co. "B", 2d regiment, Kansas volunteers, June 26, 1861; discharged for disability August 16, 1861; served as chaplain of 5th regiment, Connecticut volunteers; living in Windsor, Conn., in 1866.
Wells, George.....	Hartford, Conn.....	Left colony by January, 1857; resided in various parts of the United States, then returned to Hartford, Conn.
Willard, Julius F.....	West Avon, Conn.....	Settled at Wabaunsee; moved to California in 1911 and died at San Diego, Cal., May 23, 1917. His son, Julius Terrass Willard, was on the faculty of Kansas State College for many years. Several times he served as acting president of the school.

MEMBERS WHO STARTED WITH COLONY BUT STOPPED EN ROUTE
OR RETURNED HOME.⁹²

NAME	Residence	Remarks
Church, Edward.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Returned to Connecticut in May, 1856.
Crane, Rollon C.....	Thompson, Conn.....	Turned back at Lawrence.
Crossman, Edward N.....	Darby, Conn.....	Turned back at Lawrence.
Farren, Joseph D.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Settled near Lawrence; returned to Connecticut about 15 years later.
Ferris, Weston.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Turned back at Kansas City.
Parmelee, William A.....	New Haven, Conn.....	Turned back at Lawrence.
Pease, Henry Kibbe.....	Hartford, Conn.....	Turned back at Lawrence.
Penfield, Edward N.....	Middletown, Conn.....	Settled near Topeka.
Penfield, Eldridge H.....	Middletown, Conn.....	Settled near Topeka; died December 12, 1858.
Rice, Harvey D.....	West Hartford, Conn.....	Settled at Topeka; one of the founders of Washburn College; died June 11, 1903.
Root, Luther H.....	Meriden, Conn.....	Settled on California road five miles south of Tecumseh.
Smith, Samuel.....	Settled at Mendon, Ill., later came to Kansas and settled on the Blue river; died May 15, 1889.
Woodford, E. M.....	West Avon, Conn.....	Stopped at Lawrence, came to Wabaunsee in 1857.

RESIDENTS OF WABAUNSEE ADMITTED AS MEMBERS OF THE COLONY.

NAME	Residence	Remarks
Bates, D. L.....	New Hampshire.....
Bisbey, Harvey.....	Albion, N. Y.....	Came to Kansas with the Fourth Emigrant Aid party; settled in the Wabaunsee area before February, 1855.
Bisbey, James Monroe.....	Alabama, N. Y.....	Came to Kansas with Fourth Emigrant Aid party; settled in the Wabaunsee area in November, 1854; died at Bonner Springs, Kan., March 30, 1909.
Hiatt, Daniel B.....	Henry County, Ind.....	Settled in the Wabaunsee area in September, 1854; moved to Wyandotte, Kan., after Civil War.
Hill, George H.....	Charleston, Mass.....	Came to Kansas with Fourth Emigrant Aid party; settled in the Wabaunsee area in 1854.
Jones, Harvey.....	Came to the Wabaunsee area in 1855 under the auspices of the American Home Missionary Society; minister of the First Church of Christ at Wabaunsee, 1857-1862, 1867-1871; died in California, April 1, 1901.
Leonard, Hartford P.....	Boston, Mass.....	Came to Kansas with the Fourth Emigrant Aid party; settled in the Wabaunsee area in 1854; later lived in Riley county.

92. This list was compiled from the Lines letters, "Minutes of the Connecticut Kansas Colony," and other sources.

RESIDENTS OF WABAUNSEE ADMITTED AS MEMBERS OF THE COLONY—*Concluded.*

NAME	Residence	Remarks
Nesbitt, John H.....	Pennsylvania.....	Settled in the Wabaunsee area in March, 1855; opened a small store which burned shortly before the arrival of the colony in April, 1856; one of the signers of the Topeka constitution.
Sharai, Peter.....	Upper Canada.....	Peter and a Bartholomew Sharai settled in the Wabaunsee area in August, 1854; many of their descendants still live in central Kansas.

Bypaths of Kansas History

A LEAVENWORTH NEWSPAPER "MOURNS" THE RETIREMENT OF A PUBLIC OFFICIAL

From *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, August 11, 1858.

STROBEL.—It is with an emotion no words can picture, no language paint; with unutterable sorrow, and unquenchable agony, (booh! booh!), that we feel called upon to mention the withdrawal of the immortal Strobel from the classic shades of the Council room. Strobel asked the Council to excuse him from meeting with them during the remainder of the session. The Council eagerly accepted the proposition, to their shame be it said. Like Washington or Cincinnatus, Strobel retires to the walks of private life, an object of universal love and reverence. We understand the venerable gentleman is engaged in writing his own autobiography, which will be accompanied with a volume of his speeches and various philosophical treatises. It will be a glorious legacy to bequeath to posterity.

FASTIDIOUS REPORTING

A lynching in Caldwell on August 19, 1874, was described in part by the *Arkansas City Traveler* [reprinted in the *Wellington Press*, September 3] as follows:

. . . Some time during that night he [the prisoner] succeeded in making an exit, assisted by outsiders, and in the morning was found idling his time away under the shade of a cottonwood tree, on Spring creek, east of town, making one more added to the train of Judge Lynch's victims. . . .

SPRINGTIME IN ABILENE

From *The Dickinson County Chronicle*, Abilene, April 21, 1876.

Wednesday was a terrible windy day. Several 4 x 6 structures were tipped over.

"BOY-MEETS-GIRL" DIFFICULTIES IN MEDICINE LODGE

From the *Caldwell Journal*, January 17, 1884.

Barber county girls place their affections rather high, considering the price of board, fuel, etc., in that wooden country. One of the lasses has engaged her lawyer to bring a suit for \$400 for four breaches of promises. He promised to marry her four times, and failed to fill the contract. We do not believe the jury will give her such an enormous sum, considering the short millet and sorghum crop of the past year. We call upon the Lodge papers to create a public sentiment against such extravagance.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Gen. George Custer's 7th cavalry regiment was the subject of an article by Mendell Beougher in the *Gove County Republican-Gazette*, Gove, August 11, 1955.

Continuing its series on Olathe churches, the *Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe, published a history of the First Presbyterian church August 25, 1955, and one on the Reformed Presbyterian (Covenanter) church, by Dr. Frank L. Stewart, October 6. Both congregations were organized in 1865.

Articles by Thomas S. Howell in the *Emporia Daily Gazette* in recent months included: "Burlingame Road Northeast From Emporia Was Used by the Pioneers," August 31, 1955, and "[Lyon County and Emporia] Voted Half Million in Bonds for Rail Construction [Between 1865 and 1870]."

A biographical sketch of Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston, by Fayette Rowe, appeared in the *Columbus Advocate*, September 6, 1955, the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, October 5 and the *Oswego Democrat*, November 4. The Funston home in Allen county was recently given to the state for a historical museum. Another recent story by Rowe, concerning the hanging of John R. Guthrie near Fort Scott in 1860, was published in the *Columbus Advocate*, November 3, the *Chetopa Advance*, November 24, and the *Oswego Independent*, December 2. Guthrie, a school teacher, was lynched when mistaken for a horse thief. Local legend says that all his executioners "died with their boots on," as predicted by Guthrie just before he died.

Early Ellsworth county settlers were featured in recent issues of the *Ellsworth Messenger*. Included were: Winfield Scott Faris, September 15, 1955; Charles Robinson, September 29; Lewis H. Westerman, October 13; D. B. Long, November 3; and Alexander Boileau, November 10.

The first installment of a "History of Greenwood County, Kansas," by Jean Reser, began September 15, 1955, in the *Eureka Herald*. First settlers arrived in the county in 1856 and 1857.

The early history of Fort Belmont and vicinity, by Mrs. Jo Newman, began appearing serially in the *Toronto Republican*, September 29, 1955. The fort, built about 1857, was in Woodson county.

Kansas Historical Notes

A Civil War-period cannon for the Fort Scott museum was recently obtained through Rep. Errett P. Scrivner and Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker. Another project under way in the city is the rebuilding of the Fort Blair blockhouse.

Coffeyville dedicated the Dalton Defenders Memorial November 5, 1955. The monument is over seven feet high with a stone inset depicting a typical frontiersman and bearing an inscription dedicating the memorial to the men who defended Coffeyville during the Dalton raid October 5, 1892.

Karl Miller, Dodge City, was the featured speaker at the annual meeting of the Comanche County Historical Society in Coldwater, November 5, 1955. New officers elected include: Mrs. Nell Riner, Protection, president; Frank Todd, Coldwater, vice-president; Mrs. Ben Zane, Protection, secretary; and Mrs. Faye Moberly, Wilmore, treasurer.

One hundred and fifty persons attended the annual pioneer mixer of the Clark County Historical Society in Ashland, November 19, 1955. Officers elected for the coming year were: Chester Zimmerman, president; Sidney Dorsey, vice-president; Mrs. Virgil Broadie, first honorary vice-president; Paul Randall, second honorary vice-president; Mrs. J. C. Harper, secretary; Mrs. Wm. Nunemacher, assistant secretary; Rhea Gross, corresponding secretary; Wm. T. Moore, treasurer; Mrs. R. V. Shrewder, historian; Mrs. H. B. Gabbert, curator; and George M. Pike, auditor.

O. W. Mosher was re-elected president of the Lyon County Historical Society at a meeting in Emporia, November 21, 1955. R. Wilford Riegle was elected first vice-president; Duane Drawbaugh, second vice-president; Lucile Owen, secretary; and A. H. Thomas, treasurer.

"Pioneer Medicine in Kansas" was the theme of the 49th annual meeting of the Woman's Kansas Day Club in Topeka, January 27, 1956. The president, Mrs. J. L. Jenson, Colby, presided at the meeting, and Dr. Edward H. Hashinger, University of Kansas Medical Center, talked on pioneer doctors and medicine. Mrs. Emerson Hazlett, Topeka, was elected president at the business session. Other new officers chosen include: Mrs. Edna Peterson, Chanute,

first vice-president; Mrs. Lucile Rust, Manhattan, second vice-president; Mrs. Paul Wedin, Wichita, secretary; Mrs. Steadman Ball, Atchison, treasurer; Mrs. C. W. Spencer, Sedan, registrar; Mrs. Edward Isern, Ellinwood, historian; and Mrs. Lloyd Graves, Caney, auditor. District directors named were: Mrs. Walter M. Knoop, Topeka, first district; Mrs. Loleta Troup, Kansas City, second district; Mrs. V. N. L. Sherwood, Independence, third district; Mrs. Larry E. VanZant, Wichita, fourth district; Mrs. W. H. Vernon, Larned, fifth district; and Mrs. Donna Lewis, Colby, sixth district.

Jim Reed, Topeka, was elected president of the Native Sons, and Mrs. J. B. McKay, El Dorado, was chosen to head the Native Daughters, at the annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas in Topeka, January 27, 1956. Other new officers of the Native Sons include: Cleo Norris, Dodge City, vice-president; Charles N. McCarter, Wichita, secretary; and Roy L. Bulkley, Topeka, treasurer. Other officers elected by the Native Daughters were: Mrs. George Marshall, Basehor, vice-president; Mrs. Hobart Hoyt, Lyons, secretary; and Evelyn Ford, Topeka, treasurer. Virg Hill, publisher of the Fairbury (Neb.) *News*, was principal speaker at the meeting. Winner of the Native Sons and Daughters oratorical contest was Joan M. Sherar of the University of Kansas, Lawrence. Second place went to Betty Orr, Sterling College, and third place to John McComb, Kansas State College, Manhattan.

Mrs. Cleve Stoskopf, Ulysses, was the featured speaker at the annual membership meeting of the Finney County Historical Society in Garden City, February 14, 1956. The following directors were elected: E. E. Bill, Mrs. Josephine Cowgill, Amy Gillespie, Della Gobleman, W. S. Renick, Mrs. Eva Sharer, Abe Hubert, John R. Burnside, Cliff R. Hope, Jr., Bob Wells, Mrs. Cecil Wristen, and Gleason Brown.

Ralph Harrison was re-elected president of the Bourbon County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting in Fort Scott, March 20, 1956. Harold Calhoun was named vice-president, and Mrs. J. R. Prichard, secretary-treasurer.

A 44-page history of Grace Episcopal church of Hutchinson was recently published in observance of the church's 75th anniversary. Material for the pamphlet, which is entitled *Grace Episcopal Church*, was gathered chiefly by Mrs. Virginia McArthur. The first Episcopal services in Hutchinson were conducted June 25, 1879, by the Rt. Rev. Thomas Vail.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Autumn 1956



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THE COVER

An 1873 view of the intersection of Main street and Douglas avenue, Wichita, looking north. For a description of Wichita two years earlier, *see* pp. 210, 211.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXII

Autumn, 1956

Number 3

Touring Kansas and Colorado in 1871

THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE C. ANDERSON

I. INTRODUCTION

DELEGATES to the Ohio Soldiers Colony in convention at Columbus, Ohio, in April, 1871, chose a committee of five to go west in search of suitable lands for colony members. Committee members, all Ohioans, were: Maj. N. Bostwick, Mount Vernon; T. H. Ferrell, St. Clairsville; Isaac Huffman, Cincinnati; J. T. McKittrick (or McKitrick), Cincinnati; and George C. Anderson, Sidney. The committee set out from Cincinnati on May 16.

Three days later they were in Topeka. Here they obtained passes on the Santa Fe railroad to the new town of Florence. From this point they proceeded to Butler county. At Towanda, on May 23, they joined a buffalo hunting party and spent five days beyond the limits of civilization on the north fork of the Ninescaw river. By the end of May they were back in Topeka, and had lost one member of the party—T. H. Ferrell—who returned to Ohio downhearted and homesick. McKittrick later deserted.

The three remaining committeemen spent the month of June viewing lands in Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming and Indian territory. But when they returned to Cincinnati on July 8, they had not decided upon a site. Records of subsequent activities of the colony have not been found.

One of the three men who completed the tour—George C. Anderson—kept notes on the committee's travels, experiences and expenses. These jottings he expanded into a detailed journal, now in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society. It is a small manuscript volume, 4 x 7 inches, and inserted among its 190 pages are several sketches which the author evidently made during the tour. (*See facing p. 208 for reproduction of two of these.*) Anderson's photograph is a frontispiece for the volume. There is a dedication: "To Isaac Huffman. A Kind Gentleman and pleasant Companion. Through the continued changes and perplexities of

fifty-five days travel through the West, with the first Locating Committee of the Ohio Soldiers Colony And a Faithful Friend Since our return." The page is signed and dated: "Geo. C. Anderson, Sidney, O. Christmas day. 1872."

At the end of the day-by-day account there is a list of places visited, mileages traveled and expenses incurred. A table of contents completes the volume. Some of its headings have been incorporated into the journal as printed here, but the addenda are otherwise omitted.

A few deletions have been made. Although Anderson's frequent shift from past to present tense is sometimes confusing, the account is published without corrections.

II. THE JOURNAL, MAY 16-JUNE 7, 1871

According to a resolution passed by the delegates to the Ohio Soldiers Colony in convention at Columbus [in] April, 1871, the locating committee consisting of Maj. N. Bostwick, of Mt. Vernon, T. H. Ferrell of St. Clairsville, Isaac Huffman and J. T. McKittrick of Cinti. and G. C. Anderson of Sidney met at Cincinnati on the 15th of May following and perfecting their arrangements, left Cinti. at 3 o'clock P. M. on the 16th accompanied by Col. [James A.] Hill, Agt of the O[hio] & M[ississippi] R. R. who had kindly furnished us transportation to Kansas City and return.

[IN AND AROUND ST. LOUIS, MAY 17]

We took supper at Seymour Ind. Keeping our seats all night with but little sleep we arrived at St. Louis on the morning of the 17th at 6 o'clock transferring our baggage to the Mo. Pacific R. R. we accompanied Col. Hill to the Planters House where we partook of a breakfast such as we had never found at a public house before, after which the Col. took us to several R. R. offices introducing us to the Officials, that we might receive further assistance from them if necessary, after which he made us promise to take dinner with him at the Planters House at 1 o'clock P. M.

We then parted with him and as some of our party had never been in St. Louis before, we strolled around looking up the architectural, mechanical and business qualities of the City which we found to be very extensive. A fine view of the extent of the city is obtained from the dome of the Court House. Its growth since the close of the war has been very rapid. The most important improvement we saw was the building of the great piers for a bridge over the Mississippi making an unbroken chain of communication between the east and west, which will do away with (the most per-

plexing of all bores) the transfer. We reached the Planter's House in time for the Col's dinner which so far excelled the breakfast, that in our attempt to do justice to our Host's epicurean display failed to quit on time, and the consequence proved rather serious to one of the party.

At four oclock P. M. we left St Louis in company with Mr. Mirrick [H. D. Mirick], Gen'l Ag't of the Mo. Ka & Texas R. R. who very kindly agreed to furnish us with free passes from Junction City Ka. to Big Cabin, Indian Ter. and from thence to Sedalia Mo. Our route lay through a very fine country, for many miles we passed fine residences with highly ornamental surroundings. Large orchards were to be seen in all directions, and the best evidences of thrift were ever around us.

Arriving at Franklin at 6 oclock the usual announcement was made. "30 minutes for supper" Not feeling very hungry after such a stuffing as we had at St Louis, we concluded to invest in a cup of coffee and some biscuit which were being sold by some half dozen ragged urchins and as many female representatives of the 15th Amendment who were fully entitled to boast of the unadulterated blood of their African ancestors and who were fat, full of fun, and saucy, keeping all in the car laughing with their jokes. They appeared to be doing good business in competition with R. R. eating houses, furnishing a very good meal for 20 cents. Thus was fifty five cents each saved and five men made happy.

We were soon on our way, passing the time in pleasant conversation until 10 oclock when we retired to the sleeping coaches where we spent the night half awake and yet dreaming until daylight, when we arose about fifty miles east of Kansas City, enjoying a fine ride over beautiful prairies well improved with comfortable farm houses and barns, orchards and fields of grain. The meadows were dotted over with flowers of different hues, the scenery is grand, and we roll along with increasing interest until we reach the Mo. river, when the country becomes quite uneven. High hills rise up on our left while the river rolls lazily along it's low, sandy, and muddy looking banks to our right. The vegetation is very rank. This part of the country being too broken to cultivate successfully would be better adapted to stock raising.

[ARRIVAL AT KANSAS CITY, MAY 18]

We arrived at Kansas City on the morning of the 18th at 6.30 A. M. and proceeding down to State line put our baggage into the rooms of the K. P. R. R. Take breakfast at the Kaw Valley House and pro-

ceed to hunt up J. P. Devereaux Land Ag't for the K. P. R. R. After many delays and a great amount of running through the hot sun we found him. He very cheerfully gave us passes to Denver and return, agreeing to meet us at Denver if we would notify him when we would be there. This we promised to do. After which we took a survey of the city, which is perched high upon the bluffs overlooking the river and valley for several miles.

About three miles up the south bank of the river on an eminence stands Wyandotte in the State of Kansas. The dividing line between Missouri and Kansas is the Kaw or Kansas river, which empties into the Missouri about midway between the two cities. A person standing down on the levee, or at the R. R. Depot, does not see much of Kansas City. It is not until the bluffs have been climbed, and the streets running through steep and uneven grades have been traveled, that the vast improvements being made are seen. Immense structures are being raised in all parts of the city and the question arises[:] Will the future prospects of the city justify such an immense outlay of capital? Vacant lots in the business part of the city, sell at from \$5,000, to \$10,000 and some as high as \$15,000. Many of these require from ten to twenty feet of solid earth to be removed from their entire surface, in order to bring them to the established grade, and what is singular, the earth can be removed from one lot, leaving a perpendicular wall of earth from ten to thirty feet in height on the adjoining lot without caving. We saw houses perched on these high places, the persons occupying them were certainly high minded, as they looked down on their nearest neighbors.

We left Kansas City at 5.30 P. M. traveling up the Kaw valley through a very fine country. Passing Lawrence about sunset we had a good view of the town, memorable for the Quantrel butchery and the Lane tragedy during the pro slavery excitement,¹ enterprise and energy were visible in every direction.

[IN AND AROUND TOPEKA, MAY 19]

Arriving at Topeka at 9 oclock P. M. we stop at the Capital House, take supper and retire about 11 oclock.² Four of us in one small room. On the morning of the 19th we found Capt. Ferrell so sick that we concluded to stop until the next day. we called in a Physician who administered and left with him a quart or more of medicine, and instructed us if he was not better in the evening to

1. Probably a reference to the killing of Gaius Jenkins by James H. Lane, June 3, 1858, in a dispute over a contested land claim. The Quantrill massacre occurred on August 21, 1863.

2. "Capitol House, John Wilson proprietor, Sixth st., bet[ween] Kansas ave. and Jackson st."—*City Directory . . . of Topeka* (Topeka, 1871), p. 31.

let him know. After getting our friend comfortably situated, some of our party obtain passes for us over the M. K. & T. R. R. from Junction City Ka. to Big Cabin Indian Ter. and from thence to Sedalia, Mo. via Fort Scott. We also obtain passes from Topeka to Florence and return, over the A. T & S F. R. R. through the kindness of the Officers at Topeka.

Some of our party went out to look at a farm advertized for sale, in order that we might post ourselves in regard to land, it's price, cultivation &c. &c. We were interviewed by the Reporter of the Topeka Record who gave us quite a notice in the next days issue, saying we looked like men with the nerve to stand the hardships, and privations, that would nescessarily befall us, in the discharge of our duties. Our committee was organized by appointing J. T. McKittrick chairman, T. H. Ferrell sec'ty, and Maj. N. Bostwick Treas. After writing to our friends at home, we retire to our beds quite late.

On the morning of the 20th we find T. H. Ferrell so much better, that we conclude to resume our journey, and accordingly leave Topeka at 6.45 A. M. accompanied by Nelson Young a former resident of Cinti, and acquaintance of Mr. Huffman, but now a book keeper in the employ of the A. T & S F. R. R. Co. He was sent along as an assistant, and to give us any information in regard to the Co's lands, that we might wish, but we found him better versed in long stories, jokes, shooting &c, and a much better judge of whiskey than land, yet a real good fellow to camp out with who would fight off the blues with dry jokes, and a hearty laugh. Many times were we suddenly startled from our reverie by his shrill Shooboy! Shooboy!! as he would urge the ponies from a lazy walk to a full gallop.

We are running to the S. W. over a well improved country, particularly the counties of Osage and Lyon. The soil is not as deep as we have seen it along the Kansas River, but more broken, with limestone cropping out along the streams, which are generally well wooded with scrub elm and cottonwood. About Emporia there appears to be much thrift among the farmers, judging from their comfortable surroundings.

Nearing the terminus of the road at Florence, we find the comforts of the older settlers fast disappearing. We pass one residence dug in the side of a hill, with trenches around the top to keep the water from running into it. This was covered with the branches of trees, and "shingled mit straw." The front of this palatial residence, was composed of a cotton sheet, for the purpose of keeping out the sun, rain, wind and burglars. The proprietor was sitting

on a few poles near by, meditating no doubt on the probability of having to move West in order to escape the annoyances of civilization.

[IN AND AROUND FLORENCE, MAY 20]

Arriving at Florence at 3 o'clock P. M. in a very heavy rain, we were crowded into a small building, just being put up for a Depot.³ Between the noise of the workmen, and the garrulous voices of some dissatisfied persons, who had congregated there and were telling stories of rattlesnakes, hair breadth escapes, and horrible Indian atrocities, made one instinctively feel the top of his head to satisfy himself that all was well with his scalp. Their stories and the gloomy surroundings, caused by the rain, together with our uncomfortable condition, made some of our party wish they were home. The fact that a very sick lady was among the number of passengers, kept us from engaging in any hilarity, but we were yet novices. After waiting about two hours, the rain slackened a little, and we started out in search of a Hotel, having been informed there were two in the place. Walking two or three squares of stakes, tents, sheds, and wagon camps, through mud and water half boot top deep, we finally reached one,⁴ ordered dinner, cleaned the mud off of our boots, which was quite a job, as the soil is mixed with gypsum, and when wet is very sticky.

After washing and cleaning ourselves, our appetites seem to have increased, or were naturally inclined (by the wonderful stories we had heard) to partake of the surroundings, and on sitting down to dinner, we begin to inquire for buffalo meat, venison, bear-steaks and trout, and were very respectfully informed that we had not reached the hunting grounds of the Noble Red Men, and that we must necessarily content ourselves with what was set before us, and having been born in a christian country and taught in our youth to submit when we could not help it, we yielded to the force of the argument.

After dinner we walked out over the uplands south of the town, found many species of flowers, and the first prairie apples or buffalo peas we had ever seen. They grow upon a short stem in clusters and range in size, from a hazel nut to a common sized walnut, looking very much like a large gooseberry, and tastes like the

3. The town company was chartered in September, 1870, by Samuel J. Crawford, James D. Riggs, A. S. Johnson, Enoch Chase, and John Martin. Florence was named for Crawford's daughter. The line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad had reached this town on May 11, 1871.

4. This was probably either the Bibler House (Jacob Bibler, proprietor), on Fourth street, or the Florence Hotel (J. A. Pike, proprietor), according to advertisements in *The Railway Directory & Advertiser* . . . (Topeka, 1872), pp. 91, 93.

pod of the common pea. They are served as pickles and are good when properly prepared. Mr. Huffman practiced snipe shooting with his revolver, with some success. From the bluff we had a fine view of the country. Florence was laid out within the last two months, and buildings are going up like mushrooms. There are two or three groceries under tents, shops in the open air, a bank for loans and deposits under a shed,⁵ families living in wagons and horses and cattle anchored in the prairie.

On our return to the Hotel we find the place still more crowded by arrivals from the south and west by coaches. Among them we find a man by the name of Jaster in charge of the Sherriff of Monroe Co. Mo. who had arrested him at Wichita, for the murder of a boy named Gates, aged nineteen years. Jaster is handcuffed and looks like a very bad character. We here met E. C. Mendenhall of Cinti. who had been waiting here for us three or four days, and with whom our Chairman [McKitrick] held much secret conversation. Our party of seven slept in a small bedroom containing two beds. We changed the old saying of "three in the bed and one in the middle" to three in each bed and one on the floor.

[ON THE ROAD TO AUGUSTA, MAY 21]

The morning of the 21st was clear and the sun shone beautifully, but Florence was charmless amid the sea of water and mud. We hire a team of ponies and a springwagon for five dollars per day, and after laying in provision, cooking utensils, &c, start Southwest about 8 oclock A. M. traveling over high rolling lands, the soil appearing thinner than we had seen down the valley to Florence.

We saw no timber after leaving Florence, not even a shrub until late in the afternoon when we came in sight of the belt of timber skirting Whitewater Creek. About 2 oclock we came to a swale where we dug down and obtained water for ourselves and ponies. After several ineffectual attempts to start a fire with some wet fuel left by parties before us, we concluded to forego the pleasure of hot coffee and fried bacon, and wash our dry bread and raw bacon down with warm water from the swale.

After our ponies had grazed and taken sufficient rest, we proceeded on our way, passing many grazing ranches. One thrifty cattle dealer was raising six young Buffaloes. He had erected a very comfortable two story hewn stone dwelling. Here we filled our canteens with good water from a well. This family informed

5. The dry goods-and-grocery stores of John Wilhelm and T. K. McLean (*see ibid.*, pp. 92, 93) which were in existence in Florence in 1872 had probably been established the previous year. The bank was doubtless J. R. Swallow & Co's. Marion County Bank.—*Ibid.*, p. 93.

us that the country was fast filling up with settlers, and their advantages were consequently increasing. They had now to carry their grain only twenty five miles, where one year ago they were compelled to go fifty miles, and there were groceries now within five miles of them.

Striking Whitewater Creek late in the evening, we were compelled to follow it's course some time, before we could find a crossing, as the banks were too steep. Crossing it we camped on the south bank. The streams through this country are rather sluggish, with generally a lime shale or gravelly bottom, and steep precipitous banks, densely skirted with scrubby elm, cottonwood, sycamore &c. and abounding in raccoon, wildcat, wolves and rattlesnakes. Putting lariatts upon our ponies, we anchored them on the prairie, after which we cooked and ate our supper. Being tired with our first days journeying off of the railroad, we did not remain up until a fashionable hour, but laying down upon our rubber blankets, and drawing our woolen ones over us, we were soon fast asleep. We lay in the open prairie just outside of the belt of timber, and slept well all night, undisturbed by man or beast.

May 22d. This morning our blankets were very wet from the dew. We cooked and eat our breakfast, and were off at six oclock. Cattle were grazing around us on every hand. excepting an occasional herder who was galloping through the prairie gathering his scattered herd, we saw no person until we reached the valley lands, which seem to be the first choice of the settler. Arriving at Towanda⁶ about 10 oclock we met some persons who were going to start the next day on a Buffalo hunt, and insisted that we should accompany them, saying they were going over a portion of country which they thought would suit us. We finally agreed that after seeing the land Ag't. at Augusta, if we then concluded to go, we would meet them at Towanda the next morning about 9 oclock.

[ARRIVE AT AUGUSTA, MAY 22]

Resuming our journey, we arrived at Augusta at 3 oclock P. M.⁷ Here we find a town of some three hundred inhabitants, nearly all of which are land agents or sharks. We find men from every direction, race and color, taking claims, buying and selling land or trying to take advantage of some impecunious Preemptor. We are immediately surrounded on our arrival, and interviewed, as only people in this country know how to interview. However we are

6. Towanda, Butler county, had been laid out in June, 1870, by the Rev. Isaac Mooney.

7. The Augusta Town Company had been chartered in March, 1870. Seven months later, October 1, 1870, a U. S. land office was opened there.

not easily frightened, as our party are well armed. Messrs. Huffman and McKittrick are armed with breach loading Ballard rifles, Navy revolvers and knives, Maj Bostwick with a common hunting rifle, revolver and knife, Capt Ferrell with revolver and knife, Young with rifle and revolver and Anderson with Spencer rifle, revolver and knife and to guard against certain kinds of trouble, two or three of the party had an additional armament of bottles, our only remedy against snake bites.

There was a suit before the Land Agent at the time we were there, between a squatter and an actual settler, for a certain piece of land. At one time it looked as though there would be a general fight. Some of the parties placed their hands upon their revolvers, to draw them, but did not. After examining the maps, we were informed by the Ag't that the largest and best body of lands yet unoccupied, were in Sedgewick and Reno Counties, and that we had better examine them.

As our friends who had invited us to accompany them on the buffalo hunt, were going over that portion of the country recommended by the Agent, we held a meeting to decide whether to accept their offer, or proceed to the north-western portion of the State.

After mature deliberation we stood three for, and two against accepting the offer. We therefore start back at 5: P. M. to meet the hunters at Towanda at the appointed time. On the road back some quail and snipe were killed. We camped in the evening three miles north of Augusta, lariatte the horses and began preparing our evening meal. So eager were some of the party to have an extra supper, they cooked the birds without taking the insides out, or the feathers off, before they were cooked, darkness came upon us, and in eating, one person preferring the gizzards, found more gravel and sand than he could masticate, and the consequence was: he went to bed with a light supper. Poor Huffman! his visions of home that night were blasted. He dreamed he had been purchased by a Colorado mining company, and had been converted into a quartz mill.

[START WEST WITH BUFFALO HUNTERS, MAY 23]

We laid down under the broad canopy of Heaven, and after a good nights sleep we arose on the morning of the 23d much refreshed, and after an early breakfast, were on our way rejoicing. Arriving at Towanda we found our friends awaiting us. Transferring our baggage from our wagon, we divide it among their three wagons, leaving Nelson Young to return to Florence alone. From Towanda

we went west, stopping about two miles out at the residence of Mr. Priest, where the arrangements are completed and we started for the hunting grounds via. Wichita. On our way out we pass by the graves of two men who were murdered on the spot sometime before, by desperadoes whose only purpose was robbery.

Reaching Wichita ⁸ late in the afternoon, we purchased what provision would be wanted during our stay on the plains, as that was the last opportunity we would have until we should return: crossed the Arkansas river: passed up the south bank, and camped for the night about two miles above Wichita. Here we found plenty of fuel, the banks of the river being well wooded with cottonwood. After building a good fire, and the usual routine of supper, we laid down on our blankets: drew the sky over us, and were soon in the land of dreams. The wind raised during the night, and we awoke quite cold; got up early in the morning on the 24th, resumed our journey at 5:20.

Leaving the river, we travel due west over the finest country we have yet seen. A luxuriant growth of grass covers the whole country; flowers of different hues were sending forth a sweet fragrance: birds of fine plumage were warbling their sweet notes, and all nature seemed to invite us to locate here; yet we traveled on, Crossing Cowskin creek. We took wood enough into our wagons to cook our provision until we should return, as that was our last opportunity.

We stopped on Rattlesnake creek to feed our horses and take a cold lunch. While the horses were eating, some seated themselves on buffalo skulls to take notes; while others amused themselves shooting at the skulls with their revolvers. We spent sometime fixing our guns and getting ready for action as the many skulls seemed to indicate business. We are now among plenty of wild game, deer, antelope, prairie wolves, prairie dogs, gophers: Jack rabbits: prairie chickens: quail &c. &c.

[CROSS THE NINNESCAH RIVER, MAY 24]

Resuming our journey, we reach little NenaScah river in a very hard rain. We stop, remaining in our wagons until the storm has somewhat abated, when we started across. Finding the bottom a quick sand, and rather treacherous, we get out of the wagons and wade across the river, camping about a quarter of a mile west of the river, at the foot of a hill, that we might protect ourselves as

8. Wichita, on the Chisholm cattle trail, had been incorporated as a third class city in the month prior to the visit of Anderson and his party. But it had not yet taken on the boom town aspect that was to come in 1872 with the building of the Wichita & Southwestern railroad (later part of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad system) from Newton to Wichita.

much as possible from the high winds; on account of which we experienced some difficulty in starting a fire.

While supper was being prepared, some of the party took their guns: going out over the hills: looking for game. Some antelope were seen, but a shot could not be had, as they were very wild. A Jack rabbit was killed, which was about the size of a mule colt. The wind changed to the northwest, getting so cold that we had to draw on our overcoats, and blankets, and sitting around the fire, we passed the time in telling stories and wonderful adventures. Darkness coming on us and the boys not returning, we became very uneasy in regard to their safety, and began firing our guns in order to attract their attention. They came in safe however, and reported plenty of buffalo about three miles west of us.

The soil after leaving the Rattlesnake becomes more sandy, and along the NenaScah the sand has been blown into hills and ridges fifteen and twenty feet high. buffalo-grass, wild sage and devils shoestring are the principle kinds of vegetation. The bed and banks of the river are quicksand, with an occasional shrub growing where the sand was not too deep, they were very scarce however. Buffalo paths are seen in every direction leading to the water, many carcasses are strewn over the plain, some but recently killed, while the whole country is dotted with bleached skulls. We are outside of civilization, not a habitation within twenty five miles on the east, and on the west, none until we reach the Rocky Mountains. These are the hunting grounds of the Noble Red Man, and formerly belonged to the Osage Indians, the Government had given them land in the Indian Territory, in place of this reservation, and these lands were now for sale at \$1.25 per. acre.

We placed our wagons so as to form three sides of a square, and as we were on a low wet spot of ground, we crowded ourselves into the wagons to sleep. We found this a tight squeeze, and endeavored to take all the advantage of our structure we could, by putting a long man in one end of the wagon, while we placed a short man opposite him in the other, even then the feet of one would come in rather close proximity to the olfactory nerves of the other, and we were forced to spoon, or lay in the shape of a half closed pocket knife. When one got tired of laying on one side, he would have to awaken his companion, and at the words one, two, three, they would both flop over like a griddle cake. The wind blew very hard, and the rain beat in upon us all night. At times we thought the wagons would be blown over.

[BUFFALO HUNTING IN RENO COUNTY, MAY 25-26]

Spending a sleepless night, we turned out at daylight wet and cold, and after breakfast started westward on the warpath. We had gone but a short distance before we discovered two or three herd of buffalo grazing to the west and northwest. Four of our party started northwest, Bostwick, Huffman, Anderson and Priest; they traveled about two miles before they could form an idea of their number or appearance. When within eight hundred or one thousand yards of them our party divided in twos, and began crawling through the wet grass on their hands and knees in different directions. They had proceeded but a short distance before the buffalo discovered them, and ran off to the northwest.

Priest and Anderson then took a circuit of about three quarters of a mile, in order to flank them, as they were making their way to the main herd some two or three miles off. Not being followed closely, they stopped and began grazing again, after passing over a hill out of sight. Again coming in sight of them, we began crawling and singled out a very fine large black bull that was lying down. By the time we had reached a distance of some five hundred yards from him, the balance of the herd discovered us and ran over a hill out of sight.

The bull very leisurely got up and walked off towards them, not having seen us. We followed skulking with rapid strides, carrying our guns ready for use, trying to get within easy range. When he would stop, we immediately dropped flat upon the ground, and lay motionless, after taking a very scrutinizing survey of the surroundings, he would walk off again, and we would follow, keeping this up for three quarters of a mile or more, until we had got some three hundred or three hundred and fifty yards from him, when he discovered us, and began running. We raised to our feet, and Wilson Priest fired the first shot: striking him in the fleshy part of the rump: making him switch his tail and increasing his speed fully one half. Anderson then fired: breaking the animals thigh bone and bringing him to the ground. two more shots so enraged the animal that he raised to his feet and gave chase fully determined on annihilating the Ohio Soldiers Colony. But he was mistaken in his mission, for these brave boys having saved their country in her peril, were fully able to take care of themselves, and being filled with their old spirit of 1862-3 & 4 began looking around for a tree or telegraph pole to climb, or a hole in which to run and pull in after them, but not being able to see either, they suddenly

concluded that they did not like that part of the country, and that a colony could not be successfully located there, suddenly and rapidly started eastward. The buffalo being so severely wounded soon fell. Thus changing the opinion of the *Soldiers*, in regard to the country and their usefulness at home, and returning to the charge, with two more shots dispatched him.

Our firing soon brought the wagons in sight, and as there had been much discussion and speculation between the hunters and the members of the committee as to who should bring down the first buffalo, Anderson jumped upon the carcass and swinging his hat high in the air, claimed the victory and the honor of bringing down the first, and which subsequently proved to be the largest buffalo killed by the party, weighing about 2500 lbs. Skinning the animal we cut the flesh from the hump, the hams and other fleshy parts of the body, leaving the skin and all of the bones laying on the ground. In one and a half hours after killing, we had the flesh salted down in barrels, and were after more. So eager were the most of the party to kill a buffalo that caution was not used in selecting good fat animals, and the consequence was, that of eight killed, but two was salted down, as the balance were too old and poor.

Late in the afternoon we camped on the north fork of the Nene-Scah.⁹ The novelty of buffalo hunting had worn off, and we were tired. The next day was to be one of business, for we had concluded to furnish enough meat to load the wagons, if there were buffaloes enough in the country to do it. After completing our arrangements for the next day, and partaking of a hearty supper of roast buffalo which we thought the best meat we had ever eaten, owing to our long continued diet of salt bacon and to the fact that we had fasted since early in the morning which was enough to make even quail gizzards with their gritty contents palatable, we laid down upon the ground for the night, during which we had rain.

On the morning of the 26th after our regular routine of business, and a hearty breakfast we started out fully determined to furnish enough meat to satisfy our friends who had kindly offered us transportation, and who were now dividing their scanty provision with us, as we had failed to provide enough to last us during the trip, having intended to return to the settlements sooner. Many laugh-

9. In his journal, Anderson does not indicate how far west the search for buffalo took them. However, in the table of mileages and expenses at the end of the volume, he records the distance as 75 miles. And, in his table of contents, he gives the locale of the hunt as Reno county.

able incidents occurred during the day. One person getting the buck ague when about to fire at a buffalo and letting his gun go off at random in the air, was rather too good a joke. he however retrieved this action by shooting a buffalo in the eye, which we tried to make him believe was an accident. This we could not do, as he would invariably tell us the *Major* was a center shot. Some not getting out of sight of the camp for fear of being lost, gave a very laughable account with a stretch of the imagination of some fearful scene that had made their hair stand on end, and were unable to say how they reached camp in safety.

The height of interest was fairly reached at dusk when Priest and Anderson who had started out in the morning; were not seen all day and had not yet returned. Many conclusions were suddenly arrived at. Some that they had lost their way, and we would not see them until we reached the settlements. Others; that one had killed the other that he might rob him, and return home telling some great story of having been pursued by Indians and separated, and still another and which seemed to be the prevailing idea, that they had either been murdered or captured by the Indians, and advocated the necessity of going to the settlements, and raising a body of men to search for the missing ones, and kill every Indian they could find. Old Mr. Priest and Bostwick seemed to be the most sanguine in regard to the Indian theory, and were greatly excited.

Darkness coming on, a large fire was built, and parties were sent out in different directions to fire off their guns, finally a faint shot was heard up the river to the northwest, all eyes turned in that direction, when a flash was seen, followed by the report of a revolver, then still another, followed by a voice that all knew to be that of one of the men, supposed to be lost. They were soon in camp tired and hungry, not having eaten anything all day. They had traveled to the northwest some twenty miles; had come upon a herd of Indian ponies and soon after came in sight of an Indian camp. Not wishing to have their scalps adorn the belt of some warrior, or their teeth strung and worn on the necks of Squaws or Papposes as ornaments, or to be robbed of their clothing and guns, as a party before us had been. The circumstances of which were as follows. Some men who had been hunting all day camped near the river; being warm and tired they concluded to have a bathe, and stripping off their clothes, left them in the wagons with their guns, and while they were bathing in the river, a party of

Indians went to the wagons and carried off their clothing and guns. Not wishing these misfortunes to befall our two hunters, they changed their course, traveling through low lands and in deep ravines.

Reaching a high ridge of land, they saw a large herd of buffalo moving northward. Priest being anxious to capture a buffalo calf, proposed crawling up near the center of the herd for that purpose, as the herds in moving always keep the cows with their calves, in the center, while the front, flanks, and rear, are guarded by bulls. Skirmishers in herds of from six to twenty, were usually out from two to five miles on either flank, and on the approach of danger would run and give the alarm to the main herd. After crawling flat upon the ground, about three quarters of a mile or more without seeing a calf, they determined to bring down a full grown buffalo, and accordingly each picking out a fine looking animal, fired; when the herd stampeded.

A great rumbling noise fell upon their ears and rising to their feet, they were almost horror-stricken at the sight. An immense herd of buffalo were moving in solid column upon them at full run, and not more than five hundred yards distant. The first impulse was to run; retracing their steps down the draw, they had crawled up, but seeing they would not be enabled to escape in that manner stopped, and when the herd had reached a distance of about one hundred yards from them fired their guns over their heads, taking care not to fire low enough to hit any of them. The flash of fire, smoke and report of the guns had the desired effect of dividing the herd immediately in their front, the main herd passing to the east, while one or two thousand passed to the west, joining the main herd some four or five hundred yards to the north of us. They now saw the great danger to which they had been exposed, and thanked God for their escape. In crawling up the draw, or low depression of land, they were unable to see that they were immediately in front of a large herd grazing towards them. The firing of the guns had stampeded the whole herd, and they came near being trampled to death in consequence. Going upon a ridge they were enabled to see over a plain about three miles in width and ten or fifteen miles in length from north to south. This whole plain was covered with a mass of buffalo moving northward. As far as the eye could reach from north to south, this immense herd could be seen, and while they watched it an hour or more, they were unable to see any diminution in their numbers. Numbering four buffaloes and one antelope among their trophies, they began retracing their steps campward.

A difference of opinion arising as to the right direction to the camp, of about three points of the compass; they conclude to settle it by a view from a very high point of land, and on reaching the summit they could trace the NenaScah river by its sandy banks, and in the direction maintained by Anderson, they were enabled to discover three white objects in a triangular position on the bank of the river and from the center was seen curling a column of smoke, which they knew to be the camp, and starting down from the summit about 5 oclock, and traveling hurriedly; wading through sluices, marshes, and the river, reached camp about 9 oclock. Thus ended an adventurous day. McKittrick told many wonderful stories about the number of buffalo killed by him, but as he was not seen to kill any, and brought no trophies of his success to camp, due allowance was made for what he said, and he was credited with killing none. Mr. Huffman made good use of his time, bringing down several. Wilson Priest captured a young antelope which he valued highly and tried to keep alive by feeding it cornmeal gruel, which made it sick and caused its death in a few days. Eleven buffalo and one antelope were killed this day.

Just as we were lying down for the night a very heavy rain fell upon us, wetting our bedstead (the ground), bedding, and our clothes through to the skin, in consequence of which we spent rather a restless night. On the morning of the 27th we were up early, and after salting and packing away the meat, we started at 8:20 A. M. traveling some twelve miles to the southeast, killing two more buffaloes

[RECROSSING THE NINNESCAH, MAY 27]

Reaching the Wichata trail at the crossing of the NenaScah we presented rather a ludicrous appearance. Some of the party from constant wading of streams and traveling through the wet grass, had been sleeping with their boots on ever since leaving Florence, as they would not have been able to put them on again had they taken them off. Their feet were sore, and their boots being now dry, they wished to keep them so until they would reach Wichita. They accordingly prevailed on their more fortunate friends to carry them over on their backs. Thus might have been seen Anderson perched upon the back of his friend Huffman, carrying the boots, gun and accoutrements of Huffman, while his own gun and outfit finished out the load of about three hundred pounds. Huffman felt his winding way very cautiously, over the treacherous, sandy bottom of the river. Smiling all the while under this laughable load,



George C. Anderson's sketch of a buffalo herd
in Reno county in 1871.



Anderson pictured himself and companion being
chased by a wounded and enraged buffalo.

CIRCUS AND MENAGERIE.

MAKE WAY FOR THE EMPEROR! STAND ASIDE FOR THE BOSS!

The Bismarck of Showman in America is Coming!!

SAVE YOUR MONEY FOR THE MASTADON OF MERIT.

OLD JOHN ROBINSON'S

First Grand Triumphal Tour of the States West of the Mississippi,
Will Exhibit in Topeka on Thursday, June 1, 1871.



WAIT FOR IT! WATCH FOR IT! AND GO AND SEE IT!

THE ONLY REAL MENAGERIE AND FIRST-CLASS CIRCUS ON THE ROAD.

Twenty-five Gold and Crimson Cages, Drawn by Beautiful Matched
Cream and Dappled Horses. All the Circus Retinue--Biggest
and Best Parade evers on the Public Streets.

TWO MONSTER PAVILIONS,

One exclusively for the Menagerie! The other expressly for the Circus, both adjoining and connected together, but only one price of admission, and one Ticket admits you to both Menagerie and Circus.

Don't confound this with any small show or Menagerie, but bear in mind that old JOHN ROBINSON, the Boss, is triumphantly marching on, and will positively exhibit in Topeka, Kas.

Don't confound this gigantic organization with the Yankee Robinson which traveled this country in past times, nor with the James Robinson, or with the so called John W. (Galsburg, Illinois) Robinson, who had a wheezy crew of old hair starved beavers, for it is in no way, shape or manner connected with either or any of them, but is the old original John Robinson of Cinch-nati, Ohio, 65 years of age with 40 years of experience as owner of a Menagerie which he has spent years of toil and vast sums of money to bring his monster Menagerie and strew to the high state of perfection which it now assumes to be, the challenge champion show of the world.

Remember the day and date. Do not Forget that we are coming with an Avalanche of Talent. Wait for us.

This advertisement (considerably reduced) from the *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, May 24, 1871, announced the circus which Anderson described as "the best we had seen for several years."

which just for the fun of the thing would have smiled in turn to have been thrown headlong into the water, by an unlucky step of the carrier.

After crossing the river in safety we stopped to feed the horses and take some refreshments. Thence traveling eastward our progress was rather slow. The wagons being loaded with about 2000 pounds of clear meat, each. At night we camped on the bank of buffalo creek. This was a beautiful night; the moon shone brightly; the air was cool and invigorating, and our party felt in joyous spirits; sitting around the fire laughing and joking until 10 o'clock, when we retired to our ground mattresses, and had a good nights sleep.

On the morning of the 28th we had a very heavy dew, almost equal to a rain. After our usual breakfast of chickory coffee, buffalo meat and sour bread, we were on the road at 6:45. Traveling eastward we see some of the finest land we have yet seen; deep, rich, black soil covered with a luxuriant growth of grass. The hills of black earth thrown up by the gophers, attest to the depth of the rich soil. After crossing the east branch of Buffalo Creek, we found four poles laid on the ground, forming a square of ten feet. This was the foundation of a house. One of the poles had written upon it "Claimed by Henry Owens May 15th 1871."¹⁰

Nearing Cowskin Creek a large herd of Texas cattle passed us going up the Park City trail.¹¹ Some of the party enjoyed themselves shooting rattlesnakes. Arriving at the Arkansas river at 11 o'clock, we double teams on each wagon, and crossed with much difficulty. The river being swollen from the recent rains, made the crossing hazardous; we had to pull at the wheels to help along, and keep the horses from stopping.

[ARRIVAL AT WICHITA, MAY 28]

Arriving at Wichita we took a prodigious lunch or farewell banquet with our friends at a grocery, liquor and provision store. After which, with a hearty shaking of hands and many good wishes for their future welfare, we part with them regretfully. Though three of them were rough and uncouth in their manners; yet they possessed warm hearts; while all would join in trying to secure our comfort even at the sacrifice of their own. Jacob Cruse, who was quite a brick, and who claimed to have lived with the Indians many years, received three dollars for hauling our traps. The others

10. This was Dr. Henry Owens, long-time resident of Sedgwick county.

11. Park City, 10 miles northwest of Wichita, was platted in 1870. It declined after losing out to Wichita in the county-seat contest, and within a decade had ceased to exist as a town.

would receive nothing. Cruse claimed to have seen the burial place of the celebrated war chief Black Kettle,¹² and said it had been robbed of its blankets and costly robes, by some marauding whites while he was there. He appeared to be about half Indian. His choice of portions of the buffalo which he cooked and ate, were not calculated to inspire us with feelings of refinement. From the first buffalo killed he secured a peculiar raw hide whip, with which he belabored his poor mules most unmercifully at times.

John Edwards, another one of the hunters was a mixture of Spanish and American. he could speak the English, Spanish, French, German, and several of the Indian languages; had traveled through most of the countries on the globe; was quite talkative, and a very interesting as well as a good natured fellow.

We stopped at the Southern Hotel; spread our blankets, coats, &c on the grass to dry and air as they were getting quite musty, it having rained every day since leaving Towanda with one exception. We also tried to dress the buffalo scalps, we had secured as trophies of our success. The heat had begun to tell on them; they had a very unsavory smell; the hair was slipping from them, and as soon as they were exposed to the air, the blue bottle flies held a carnival, and began decorating the scalps with their peculiar ornaments. We rubbed them with alum and salt, but finally gave them up in despair, and gave them away. Huffman only, holding on to his, which he afterwards got home in safety.

[WICHITA AND ITS BUSINESS]

We then take a stroll through the town. This being the Sabbath day we were rather astonished to see nearly all the business houses open, and doing a larger business than on any day during the week. There is one church in the place in which they have preaching semi-occasionally.¹³ There is an occasional sermon preached at the old Mission which was built for a fort, and trading post.¹⁴ It was formed of round logs placed on their ends, in double rows, and covered with logs, a ridge pole ran through the center to give it the desired pitch. This was shingled with sod, and covered to the depth of twelve or fifteen inches, and on this, grass and weeds were growing luxuriantly; many herds of cattle passed here today. The herders are usually Texans, Mexicans and Greasers, and the hardest set of men we had yet encountered; every one carrying a huge bowie knife;

12. Gen. George A. Custer and Seventh cavalry troops attacked Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes on the Washita river, near the Antelope Hills, in present Oklahoma, on November 27, 1868. Black Kettle was killed in the battle.

13. The First Presbyterian church had erected a frame building in the fall of 1870.

14. Probably St. John's Episcopal church.

a brace of Navy revolvers; large spurs with bells tingling from their heavy cavalry boots; rawhide breeches with the hair on. They were swearing drinking and doing much as they pleased. From five to ten of these fellows usually accompanied a herd. From fifteen to twenty thousand head of cattle passed through this place every week. Three fourths of the business houses here keep whiskey to sell. There is one paper published here called the *Vidette*, the morality of which is rather questionable.¹⁵

Owing to great competition in all kinds of business, groceries, and goods of all description, could be bought as cheap here as at home. The Hotel was kept by a young man from Cincinnati. The moral portion of the community were trying to raise the morals of the place; having hung some half a dozen men in the last year or eighteen months.¹⁶

We left Wichita on the 29th at 10:30 A. M. in wagons going to Florence for goods. The drivers having been on a protracted spree, were tapering up in the usual manner, by taking a drink every fifteen or twenty minutes, consequently not very clear in the head; lost their way, and after wandering around over the prairie until night, camped on the bank of Whitewater, west of Towanda. After supper Huffman and Anderson went fishing for *trout*, but did not even get a *shiners* nibble. After trying until dark to get the fish to bite at our salt bacon without success, we very naturally concluded that the fish had been put in their little beds, and we had better be turning into ours. Returning to camp, we were soon preparing our beds on the ground. The wind was blowing a perfect gale. The drivers, who were old frontiersmen laid a blanket on the ground, then spreading their wagon cover over the blanket, they proceeded to undress for bed in the most approved christian style, and were soon snugly at rest between the blankets and wagon covers. They informed us that they always retired in that manner, and for fifteen years, one of them had never slept in a house. In the winter, and during stormy weather, when they could not sleep on the ground, they slept in their wagons.

[PLUMB GROVE, MAY 30]

On the morning of the 30th we were on the road at 6:30 stopping at Plumb Grove for dinner.¹⁷ Plumb Grove is a flourishing village

15. The Wichita *Vidette*, earliest newspaper in Sedgwick county, was first issued on August 13, 1870.

16. Recorded evidence does not seem to support this statement about the number of hangings in early Wichita.

17. Plumb Grove is now an extinct location. During Frederic Remington's brief stay in Kansas, 1883-1884, he lived near Plum Grove and visited it frequently.—See Robert Taft, "The Pictorial Record of the Old West—Remington in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 16, p. 123.

in Butler County, numbering two inhabitants—man and wife—, and consisting of a one story building, twelve by fourteen feet. In this building was one dry goods store; one grocery; one hardware store; one stove and tinware, and the Post office. Going rather suddenly into this business place we somewhat astonished the natives; judging from their looks. After purchasing and eating our dinners and resting our teams we resumed our journey to Florence. Our teamsters laying in a fresh supply of the *overjoyful* at Towanda, soon lost their way again, and we went straying over the prairies not reaching Florence until after dark, in a drenching rain; went to a different Hotel from the one we had stopped at on our former visit here, and spent the night on the floor. For which privilege we paid one dollar.

[LEAVE FLORENCE FOR TOPEKA, MAY 31]

Left Florence for Topeka on the morning of the 31st at 6:15 in a hard rain; where we arrived at one oclock P. M. T. H. Ferrell did not stop but continued on homeward, fully of the opinion that locating the Colony was an impossibility and withal he was quite homesick. He was a clever hearted fellow, but was taken sick soon after starting, became depressed in spirits, and remained unhappy as long as he was with us and growing more so each day. Nelson Young met us at the depot, and directed us to a private boarding house; where we gave ourselves a good washing, and doffed the dirty clothes that we had worn without changing since leaving here on the 20". After completing our toilette and eating dinner, a meeting of the committee was held. G. C. Anderson was chosen to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of T. H. Ferrell. It was ascertained on our arrival here that no money had been sent to defray our expenses further; we concluded to wait a few days for some, and in the meantime write and telegraph to headquarters for some. In the evening, Nelson Young came around and gave us an account of his troubles after leaving us at Towanda. He lost the way, and after wandering around over the prairie until ten oclock at night, he stopped, and picketed his ponies; having but one match in his pocket, he was fortunate enough to kindle a fire from that. He roasted two snipe, which we had killed in the morning and had left in the wagon when we parted from him. These without any salt, and one cracker, constituted his evening meal, which he relished very much, having eaten nothing since early in the morning. He laid under the wagon with no covering. Shivering and in dread, with the wolves howling around him, he spent a sleepless night. In the morning he picked the bones of the

snipe, and started northeast. Meeting with some travelers, he found that he was five miles farther from Florence than when he started from Towanda on the previous morning. Changing his course to the northwest, he reached Florence at night, very hungry and nearly worn out, and was compelled to pay five dollars extra for keeping the team out one day longer than was agreed upon when we hired them. Each one of the committee refunded to him their share of these extra expenses, except McKittrick, who said he would do so before he left, which I think is very doubtful. Being tired we retired early. During the night a very heavy rain settled the dust and cooled the air.

[JOHN ROBINSON'S CIRCUS IN TOPEKA, JUNE 1]

June 1st the morning was fine and clear; the air cool and invigorating. John Robinson's Circus and Menagerie moved gorgeously through the streets amid an excited throng of people who had congregated from all directions to have a good time and see the sights. We went to the show in the evening; the best we had seen for several years. [See advertisement reproduced with this article.]

June 2d. The weather was very warm. We conclude to have group photographs taken of ourselves, with our guns and buffalo trophies. After a meeting of the committee;—there still being no money sent us;—we conclude to prosecute our duties westward, each bearing his own expenses. This was too much for McKittrick. He proclaimed violently that the Colony had acted in bad faith with him, and he did not propose to pay out his money for the benefit of others. . . . He therefore . . . concluded to return home. . . . Mr. Huffman was now appointed chairman. The committee being now reduced to three, their business can be pushed forward with better feeling and less expense.

We then box some trinkets with our guns and send them home, Mr. Huffman only retaining his Ballard rifle. After considering that we would be on the road on Sunday if we started before Monday, we conclude to wait until then. In the afternoon we visit the different land Agencies. The National Land Co. making the most favorable offers, we conclude to look over some of their lands along the K[ansas] P[acific] R. R.

[STATE HOUSE, TOPEKA]

We visit the Capital building situated on an eminence about three quarters of a mile from the river, and commanding a fine view of the surroundings for several miles. When completed it will be a beauti-

ful edifice. One wing has only been erected.¹⁸ It is built of magnesian limestone, brought in large blocks from the quarries near Junction City. These blocks were placed on an ordinary sash saw mill, and sawn into blocks of any desired size. When first taken from the quarries this stone is soft, and is easily sawn, or carved into the most difficult designs, and becomes hardened by exposure to the air.

Portraits of the most prominent men, who have figured in the history of Kansas from its first territorial government to the present time, are painted on the walls of the Legislative Halls. Very fine business blocks are being erected on some of the principle streets, and Charitable institutions are being pushed forward. The Citizens can justly point with pride, to a commodious free school building, where the schools are conducted by an efficient corps of teachers.¹⁹ An iron bridge of great length, spans the Kansas river connecting the City proper, with North Topeka where the K. P. Depot is located.²⁰

[THE KAW AND POTTAWATOMIE INDIANS]

The Morning of the 3d was beautiful. Van Amburgh & Co's Menagerie & Circus show here to day.²¹ The crowd appears larger than on Thursday. Indians are to be seen coming from every direction to see the great lion tamer and his pets.

The Kaw Indians especially attract attention. They are dressed in the true Indian costume; buckskin moccasins and leggings; cotton breechcloth, and strings of beads complete their toilette; occasionally we would find one able to sport a gaudy colored blanket, in which they would wrap themselves; while great drops of sweat would roll down from their brows; marking longitude, rivers, and boundary lines through the highly colored maps on their faces and bodies. The Kaw ladies and gentlemen ride astride, with stirrups very short, which gives them a very awkward and uneasy position. Squaws had their Papposes wrapped in heavy woolen blankets and lashed to their backs. The little fellows were bare headed, and

18. Work on the east wing of the State House was begun in 1866. In January, 1870, the legislature first occupied the structure, though the wing was not completed until 1873.

19. Probably Lincoln school, erected 1870-1871.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 545.

20. This Kansas avenue bridge had been completed in 1870.

21. "The great Van Amburgh show arrived in town with all the wild beasts in a healthy condition. . . . The town was stuffed full of people long before the hour for the parade, and hundreds visited the corner of 8th and Kansas avenues before the hour for the performance to inspect the monster tent and the town of tents about it. . . . The crowd is the largest ever in attendance on a menagerie or circus in this city."—*Kansas State Record*, Topeka, June 7, 1871. The advertisements read: "Van Amburg & Co's Mammoth Menagerie and Seigrist's Great French Circus." They also stated: "The year 1871 sees Van Amburgh & Co. on the road for just one-half century."—*Ibid.*, May 31, 1871. Admission was 75 cents for adults and 50 cents for children under ten.

appeared quite contented. They would gaze curiously at everything they saw; neither laughing nor crying, or showing any signs of uneasiness whatever.

The Squaws wore their hair long, letting it hang down over their shoulders, and backs. The men shave their heads on each side, leaving a strip of hair running from the forehead to the back of the neck; this strip is about three or four inches wide, and the hair is kept about three inches long, standing erect, excepting the scalp lock, some three or four inches square, and left to grow as long as it will. This on State occasions is plaited and stuck full of feathers, highly colored rags and ribbons; their faces, arms and bodies were painted with Vermillion, Ochre and Paris-green. All having three or four slits cut around in the rims of their ears, and in them were twisted iron and brass ornaments. Being armed with bows and arrows, they presented quite a warlike appearance. The men and boys spend much of their time shooting at nickels, getting all they hit, they usually take great pains in trying to miss none. They sell bows, arrows and whips; usually asking one price and sticking to it. . . .

The Pottawatomies are civilized and dress as the citizens do. They have a Catholic Mission and schools in their reservation. All are too fond of fire water; many were arrested and taken to the lock up for drunkenness and disturbance; they are very noisy when drunk. The Pottawatomies have received patents for their lands, and are now selling them to the whites.

On the morning of the 4th Maj. Bostwick started early to look at the country north of Topeka. Huffman and Anderson attended church morning and evening. Bostwick came in at eleven o'clock at night.

[LEAVE TOPEKA, JUNE 5]

We walked over to the Depot at two o'clock A.M. June 5 and took the cars for Denver. Passed Fort Reily before day-light. we ate a little, *poor* breakfast for *much* money at Saline City.

Passing Abeline we saw Buffalo Bill at the Depot;²² he is tall, slender with long, black hair hanging to his shoulders. From a belt around his waist, hung two navy revolvers and a large bowie knife; being marshal of the town, he moved around with an air of authority; a terror to all evil doers. The council of Abeline were to decide some very important measure, at an appointed time, the majority of whom, wishing to shirk their duty in regard to the

22. Anderson meant "Wild Bill" Hickok. James Butler Hickok had been made marshal of Abilene on April 15, 1871, less than two months before Anderson and party saw him there.

question, did not put in an appearance, consequently there was not a quorum present. Wild Bill being equal to any emergency, went out into the Gambling houses and saloons, and carried members of the council on his back, until he had got a quorum, when they proceed to business.

At Fort Harker we saw a platoon of soldiers, target shooting.²³ Here we find a very neat looking fort, in the midst of a not very fertile plain; stacks and ricks of old hay, dotted the immediate vicinity of the fort which had been cut for horses and cattle and had not been used. A few groves could be seen around, but vegetation was growing shorter as we proceeded westward.

Passing on beyond Wilsons Creek we see the graves of three men who had been killed by the Indians last year. Seven section men were working on the track, their guns were laying on a hand car some thirty or forty yards from them. The Indians crept up the bed of the creek within a short distance of them and fired from behind the bank, killing three men; before the survivors could reach their guns, the Indians had fled.²⁴

Twenty five miles further on, we strike the lands that the Agent of the National Co. at Topeka, had requested us to examine, and he was satisfied we would immediately locate. A glance at these lands satisfied us that we would not. The grass was but four or five inches high, and dying for want of rain, which only falls semi-occasionally. For successful farming, irrigation would be necessary, the want of streams within reasonable distance renders this impossible consequently a Colony could not succeed here.

We stopped at Fossil Station.²⁵ Here a Colony had located about two months before. their opinions in regard to success appeared to be divided.²⁶ All agreed in saying they were afraid they would suffer for want of rain. They had planted some corn, and potatoes, which was just coming up. Many of the people were living in holes dug in the ground, which were covered with sheets and blankets. But few shanties had been erected.

23. Fort Harker, first established as Fort Ellsworth in 1864, was moved about three miles in 1867 to the site (present Kanopolis) near the approaching railroad. Soldiers were stationed at the post until 1873.

24. Anderson was misinformed about this Indian depredation. See next footnote.

25. Fossil Station (present Russell): "Up to the spring of 1871, a station and water tank were all the buildings that existed where this thriving town now stands. A 'dug-out' still remains where the brave Dutchman lived who tended the tank, and in which he defended himself and family, and the section men who survived the assault on one afternoon in May, 1869, from a band of Indians. The graves of two of the men who were killed by the redskins may be seen on Main street; a small stone marks the spot, with the inscription: 'John Lynch, of New York, and Alex. McKeever, of Canada—Killed by Indians May 28th, 1869.' The first settlement of Fossil—or Russell, as the postoffice is called—was made by the Northwestern Colony in April, 1871. . . ."—*Weston's Guide to the Kansas Pacific Railway* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1872), pp. 71, 72.

26. The Junction City Union of May 13, 1871, reported the recent settlement on Fossil Creek of the Northwestern Colony—an organization of Wisconsin people, with B. Pratt, president; O. P. Reed, vice president; C. B. Dickinson, secretary; and C. B. Steward, treasurer.

From this point west the stations are all guarded by U. S. soldiers. These stations are only for watering, coaling, and dispatching, and usually consist of a water tank, coal platform, and a box car converted into a telegraph office. The soldiers occupy a frame building, around which are built earth-works. Within this enclosure, underground passages lead to underground forts outside of the earth-works. These forts rise from eighteen to twenty four inches above the ground; are covered with logs; upon which adobe is laid in such a manner as to prevent the water from soaking through, when the rains fall,—(which is very seldom)—and also make it bullet proof. Just above ground they are pierced with port holes enfiladed between, making a very secure fortification against the Noble Red Man. There is usually a fort on either side of the barracks.

We dined at Ellis. Before reaching Sheridan a hard storm came upon us; the wind almost turned the train from the track. The lightning was terrific, many telegraph poles were torn to splinters. At Wallace the train stopped for supper. Mr. Frank Ford of Denver, Col. (a very agreeable gentleman, and with whom we had spent most of the day) invited us to take lunch with him, which we did; thus making the receipts at the supper table four dollars less.

Continuing our journey, we retire about eleven oclock at night, being quite comfortable we soon fall asleep, but awake about two oclock very cold; wrapping ourselves in our blankets, we again lay down and sleep until five oclock.

June 6" we get up, and going through our usual ablutions, seat ourselves at the windows, and take a view of the scenery. To our right we see a white cone shaped hill apparently about fifteen feet above the horizon, with smaller ones dotting along from the north-west to the south-west, at which extremity one rises twenty five or thirty feet. We are asked by Mr. Ford if we could form an idea of the distance we were from them. We told him from three to ten miles. He informed us we were from seventy five to one hundred and fifty miles distant, and that we were fifty miles from the nearest foot hills, which were not yet in view. The tallest peak to our left was Pikes Peak, to which the gold excitement carried many thousand disappointed fortune hunters. The two tallest on our right were Long's Peak and Greys Peak. The peaks of this whole range of the Rocky Mountains are covered with snow, and present the appearance of a general wash day among the mountaineers. The air is so clear small objects can be seen a great distance.

[ARRIVE AT DENVER, COLO., JUNE 6]

Arriving at Denver at seven oclock A.M. we are piloted to the Carr House. After breakfast we proceed to the Post office where we receive our first letters from home; after which we take a walk westward towards the mountains. Crossing Cherry Creek and Platte river we see many cosy residences among the groves, dotted along the foot hills. Large trains of wagons are continually on the road to and from the mountains loaded with provision for the miners and wood and lumber from the mountains. The intense heat and continual columns of dust soon cause us to retrace our steps. We visit the Woolen factory, fur and game stores, &c. In the afternoon we were introduced to Col. [Cyrus W.] Fisher Gen'l Sup't of the Denver Pacific R. R. formerly of the B & I. R. R. of Ohio, who kindly furnished us with passes over his road and return, also, gave us all the information he could in regard to lands &c.

Having no clean shirts, handkerchiefs or linen coats to put on, we visit the Chinese laundries for the purpose of having washing and ironing done. There was some difficulty in convincing the Proprietors of our great necessity for clean clothes; consequently we were compelled to visit several before being able to find anyone who could have it done in time. We finally made arrangements with Wang Shang.

The Chinese quarters are in the northeastern part of the City. . . . The men usually carry on laundries and are very industrious. . . . We found laundries carried on by the following named persons, Ung Sang; How Chong; Sam Waugh; Fung Lee; Sing Lee; Waugh Lee; Sam Lee; Win Lee; Wang Shang; Ye Kee; Ching Wy; Lee Paugh; Hom Lee; Ye Lee.

There was a tea and tobacco store kept by one Fee Tang who was married and had his family with him. We bought a few articles of him, after which he took a book, pot of paint, and brush, and made a string of hieroglyphics, which may have been an account of the articles sold, or a condensed history of China; or "what I know about farming," but if we had been hunting game, and found such writing as that on the ground, we would have brought our guns to our shoulders expecting to bring down a Turkey the next instant. Ah Sin is the only female name we heard of and from the description given of her, the name and character harmonize well.

In the evening we listened to a street lecture and illustrations by the Lightning Calculator. After which we visit the Denver Theater

to hear the play of the Serious Family. We arose on the morning of the 7th after the best nights rest since leaving home. Here we had clean beds and good board. The nights being cool we could sleep comfortably with three or four heavy covers over us. We took our washing to Wang Shang who gave us a receipt for the same in Chinese hieroglyphics.

[To Be Concluded in the Winter, 1956, Issue.]

"Holding Down" a Northwest Kansas Claim, 1885-1888

Edited by KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER

I. INTRODUCTION

THIS article is a section of the reminiscences of Catherine Wiggins Porter. In chronological order, portions of the story already published are: "A Little Girl on an Iowa Forty, 1873-1880," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Iowa City, v. 51 (April, 1953), pp. 131-155; "Winter Evenings in Iowa, 1873-1880," *Journal of American Folklore*, Menasha, Wis., v. 56 (April-June, 1943), pp. 97-112; "School Days in Coin, Iowa, 1880-1885," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, v. 51 (October, 1953), pp. 301-328; "By Covered Wagon to Kansas, 1885," *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, 1941; and "Building a Kansas 'Soddy'—1885," *Kansas Magazine*, 1942.

Catherine Wiggins was born November 5, 1873, in Page county, Iowa, near Clarinda, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James W Wiggins, with whom in 1885 she came to northwest Kansas. She began teaching school at the age of 16, and in 1895 moved to Sterling in order to attend Cooper Memorial (now Sterling) College, from which she was graduated in 1898. She then taught in Rice county schools until her marriage to Ellis K. Porter on June 17, 1902. Mr. and Mrs. Porter made their home in Sterling for many years and reared a family of five sons. Mrs. Porter died January 7, 1952, in Glendale, Cal.

The narrative begins immediately upon the arrival of the Wiggins family at their Graham county claim. Catherine was 11 years of age and her brother, Sam, 15. Another brother, David Lincoln, 17, remained behind in Coin, Iowa, to work in a pharmacy.

II. THE REMINISCENCES

We were up early on the morning of June 26, 1885. Breakfast over, the tent was pitched, the cover removed from the wagon, and everything we had brought with us carried into our new abode. Then father was off to Lenora to bring the household articles which had been shipped by freight—tables, chairs, cupboard, cooking stove, bedsteads and bedding, tubs, clothes, etc.

That was a long hot day. The sun shone as only a Kansas sun

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can shine. There was no shade save that of the tent and the tent grew unbearably hot. The water we had brought from the spring the morning before was all gone before the afternoon was half over and I, although a big girl, eleven years old, proved myself a poor sport, crying because I was thirsty. Mother finally had my brother Sam go to a pond in a draw some rods away and get water, which she strained through a cloth and used to make coffee, which, after it had been allowed to cool, we all enjoyed. There were many errands in town to take father's time and he did not return until it was near dark. The coyotes had set up a fearful howling which sounded like humans in desperate agony, and I thought the cry was that of Indians giving a war whoop and was frightened indeed. My brother, who didn't take kindly to being left with the women, saw that I was an easy mark to tease and assured me that it *was* Indians. When my mother discovered that I was really frightened and not just pretending she quieted my fears, but I was glad indeed when father came.

The next day the cook stove was placed in the tent, a side being raised so that the stove pipe could stick outside, but the stove refused to draw and smoke was added to heat to increase our discomfort. There was nothing to do but go to Lenora for lumber to make a cook shack. It was built, sides and roof, of broad boards stripped with batting, and was about six by seven feet—just large enough to hold a cook table and the stove with the stove pipe going through the roof; the floor was the sod. The shack was placed close to the tent, which became our dining room and bed room.

This arrangement proved satisfactory until the evening of July 4. We had gone to Lenora for the day, taking a lunch. We listened to patriotic speeches—I recall only a man making many gestures and talking in a loud oratorical voice—and father and mother mingled with the crowd, hearing stories of experiences in Kansas. I recall a woman telling mother of an Indian raid in Decatur County a few years before.¹ I didn't listen to the story; I didn't want to hear it. I had heard enough to know that I was again very much afraid of the Indians.² That night a fearful storm came up, the

1. On September 30, 1878, Dull Knife's Cheyennes, who were attempting to escape across Kansas to their Northern homes from a reservation in the Indian territory, killed 18 men and boys in what is known as the Oberlin or Sappa creek massacre.—Paul I. Wellman, *Death on the Prairie* (New York, 1934), p. 233.

2. That an episode of seven years previous should have aroused in an 11-year-old girl such a fear of Indians may seem ridiculous to the present-day reader. Seven years, however, is a short period in human memory—Pearl Harbor, as I write, is nearly 15 years distant and yet fresh in the memories of many. Moreover, on this very Independence day of 1885 Geronimo was on the warpath in Arizona; the Ghost dance craze, the death of Sitting Bull, and the last battle with the Sioux—the Wounded Knee affair—were still five years in the future; and in the Indian territory just south of Kansas were hundreds of war-

ridge pole of our tent broke, and the rain poured in. There was danger of the entire tent coming down on us, so we scrambled out and into our little cook shack where we spent the night as best we could in chairs, on the table, in all sorts of positions, and wished for the morning. The first thing was to mend the ridge pole and get the tent back into position, and then father was again off to Lenora for lumber for another shack, which was ten by fourteen feet and served as living room, dining room, and bed room; the tent—which mother by this time had named “The White Elephant”—was used as a sort of storage room. The two shacks provided comfortable living quarters until fall, when we built our “soddy.”

The summer, so far as I was concerned, was long and tiresome—nothing to do, no one for a playmate, no books, newspapers, or other periodicals save the *Coin Eagle* and *The Midland*, a United Presbyterian weekly published in Omaha. I got desperately homesick for Coin and pled to be allowed to go back and keep house for my brother David, but of course that was out of the question.

One short-lived bit of amusement was furnished by a little jack rabbit which my brother Sam and I caught after a hard chase—he was just a wee thing or we could never have captured him. We put a cord around his neck and lariatied him out. We also dug a cave for him, building a soddy over it. He became quite tame, running to meet us and eating weeds from our hands. His mother came to see him every day, and one morning when we went to feed him all we found was a broken string. Evidently “mother love had found a way.” I wondered many times if she freed him of the blue ribbon I had tied about his neck. I was always allowed to go with father to the spring, two and a half miles away. Indeed that was a family occasion and we went about twice a week. We would bring a barrel of water at a time and empty it into another. In a short time the water would be anything but cold, but it was wet, and after a while we became rather used to it or at least didn’t complain. Water for the team and for laundry purposes was provided by the pond which, so far as I recall, never went dry.

Often in the evening, just before dusk, we would get into the wagon and go rabbit hunting, always with success. At this time of the day the rabbits—jacks and cottontails—were out in such

rriors who had been on the warpath less than a decade before and who could easily be imagined as attempting to emulate Dull Knife in the not distant future. In fact, in this very summer of 1885, an Indian scare caused settlers in Comanche and Clark counties, southwestern Kansas, to organize militia companies, appeal to the governor for troops and arms, and in some cases stampede toward Topeka.—Angie Debo, ed., *The Cowman's Southwest, Being the Reminiscences of Oliver Nelson, Freighter, Camp Cook, Frontiersman in Kansas, Indian Territory, Texas and Oklahoma, 1878-1893* (Glendale, 1953), pp. 245-250.

numbers that they hardly needed to be hunted. Rabbits, indeed, were our main meat supply. We had a few chickens, but they were kept as a nucleus for a future flock. Fresh meat of other kinds was scarcely ever on the table, since there was little if any refrigeration even in the stores and by the time meat had been brought seven miles through the heat its flavor would be questionable. We did, however, buy the most excellent salt whitefish, of which I have never since seen the equal—very large, eighteen inches long and an inch thick; after soaking and slow frying they were delicious. We bought a half-keg of them and the keg was of no ordinary size. . . .³

In the blizzard [of January, 1886] thousands of cattle were lost and died. There were no large herds of cattle in our particular part of the country, but farther north the cattle wintering on the range "drifted" southward with the storm into the draws which were level-full with snow, couldn't get out, and froze to death.

At last came spring, and the country was again covered with the beautiful buffalo grass. The wheat made a wonderful showing; we and our neighbors believed that we had reached the Promised Land. Father, who had been in excellent health ever since we came to Kansas, named our claim Mount Nebo. But there was one thing lacking—school, and my parents didn't propose that my education should end with the Fourth Reader, so they made arrangements with some acquaintances from Iowa near Edmond that I should go to their country school, taught by their widowed daughter-in-law Mrs. Jennie Black, and stay at the home of the Delos Beans, another Iowa family.

It was on Monday, May 3, 1886, that father took me to school. On the way, as usual, we sang, and I had cause to remember one of the songs:

I will sing you a song of that Beautiful Land,
That far-away Home of the Soul,
Where no storms ever beat on that glittering strand
While the years of Eternity roll.
Oh that Home of the Soul, in my visions and dreams
Its bright jasper walls I can see,
Till I fancy but thinly the veil intervenes
Between that fair city and me.⁴

3. An account of the remainder of the summer, including breaking the sod for corn and wheat; of the fall, in which building a sod house was the great event; and of the winter through the blizzard of January, 1886, appeared under the title "Building a Kansas 'Soddy'—1885," in the *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, 1942. Consequently those months are omitted here. The narrative begins again with the aftermath of the blizzard.

4. By Ellen Gates, nee Huntington, of Elizabeth, N. J.—John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, 1908), p. 1565.

On Thursday a neighbor came for me with the news that my father was dead. He and my brother had gone to a neighbor's to get a corn planter and were in high spirits, singing as usual on the way home. He retired early so that he might be up and at work as soon as possible the next morning. Mother had finished warping a web of carpet and had sponge to set for bread. She had just extinguished the light when father began to breathe rather hard and strangely. Before she could light the lamp and call brother, he was gone. When the doctor arrived he pronounced it apoplexy. He was 43 years old.

For me some of the light faded out of the world with him and it has never been quite the same since. To me, my father was perfect and there was nothing else I desired when I could go about with him, my hand in his. Later we endured many privations and went through some hard times, but nothing comparable to the grief and suffering of those days. Mother was stunned; she went mechanically about with a white stricken face, and there was little in the so inadequate funeral service to give her consolation. We had seldom been able to go to church, so the minister, a Congregationalist I think, was a mere stranger. There was no one to lead the singing save a neighbor girl, who could not carry it through. The Psalm she was trying to lead was one of father's favorites, the 40th:

I waited for the Lord my God,
And patiently did bear,
At length to me he did incline
My voice and cry to hear.

He took me from a fearful pit
And from the miry clay
And set my feet upon a rock
Establishing my way.

He put a new song in my mouth
My God to magnify,
Many shall see it and shall fear
And on the Lord rely.

Only when the Grand Army men fired their salute over the grave did my mother find relief in tears. My older brother came from Iowa for the funeral but was able to remain only a few days.

Our financial problems now became acute. My brother—only sixteen—shouldered as much responsibility as he could, going on with the farm work, planting corn, planning for harvest, doing the best he knew how. Not knowing Kansas ways we built a granary for our wheat which cost more than the wheat was worth, for it was so poor that it had better have been left standing in the field.

Brother was discouraged, and no wonder. The sensible thing appeared to be to sell the team and farming implements the next spring and get a job on some farm. Mother applied for a Civil War widow's pension, but her application was refused, since the doctor who had attended father during his illness in Iowa, and who never seemed to have any sympathy with a soldier's rights or needs, had made affidavit that the typhoid fever contracted in the Civil War had nothing to do with his later sickness. Mother also applied for a dependent child's pension for me, and that too was refused on the same grounds. The widow's pension of \$8 per month and the child's of \$2 would have made a tremendous difference to us.

I scarcely know how we did manage to live. Our house in Coin brought us in a little after repairs and taxes were paid. My older brother sent us what he could spare of his meager earnings in the drug store. The younger brother did his full share by working at anything he could get to do—laying sod, haying, anything—and often taking his pay in meat or other food. Sometimes it would be in wheat, from which we would pick the bad grains and grind the remainder in the coffee mill for gruel. For coffee, mother carefully browned the wheat in the oven and then ground it in the mill. Sometimes brother would help a neighbor to butcher and take for pay some backbones or spare-ribs. Mother wove an occasional web of carpet, sometimes taking part-pay in a piece of meat or two or three chickens, and sometimes in worn-out clothing which she would convert into carpet rags and weave into a carpet which she would sell for 35 or 40 cents a yard. The web might be 15 or 20 yards, which would mean real riches, and she could stretch a dollar to an unbelievable length and breadth. But a hog we had been fattening died and our rations were consequently again cut short. Jackrabbit often appeared on our menu.

Many times my brother walked to Lenora with a pound of butter to sell for ten cents and with the money buy a spool of thread, a two-cent stamp, and three cents worth of barrel-salt, or some other frugal purchase. He gathered cornstalks, made them into bundles, and brought them into the kitchen, where he chopped them into stove-lengths with a corn-knife and ricked them up for kindling for the cow-chips or "rosewood"⁵ which was our principal fuel. We gathered these cow-chips into piles on the prairie and sometimes found when we went for them in the wagon that someone had stolen them. There was a right and a wrong way to stack cow-

5. "Western Kansas Coal."—*Early Northwest Kansas History* (Selden, n. d.).

chips. They had to be built up in a cone-shaped pile, in such a manner as to allow the air to circulate through them and keep them dry. On rare occasions we bought a little coal, and while we still had the team we sometimes bought one of the cottonwood or box-elder trees along the creek for about \$1.50 and cut it up for firewood, carefully preserving the brush, of which there was a great deal, for kindling.

Mother sent me back in the fall for a three-months' term to the little country school which I had been attending only two days when my father died, while she and brother remained on the farm. While at school my shoes wore completely out, as shoes will do; mother went to the Boston Store and bought me, on time, a two-dollar pair. They weren't very pretty but they were shoes. I don't know how they were paid for but paid for they were, probably with carpet. I came home some time in December, 1886, or January, 1887. The school really hadn't amounted to much—a mixture of text-books, many classes, and little system. It was, however, in this school that I learned some new songs.

One, entitled "The Boston Tea Party," began:

There was an old lady lived over the sea,
And she was an island queen;
Her daughter lived in a far countree
With an ocean of water between.⁶

Others were:

THE BLUE JUNIATA

Wild roved an Indian girl, bright Alfarata,
Where sweep the waters of the Blue Juniata. . . .⁷

SEMINOLE LOVE SONG

O come with me and be my love,
For thee the jungle's depths I'll rove,
I'll pierce the cocoa's cup for thy wine
And haste to thee if thou'lt be mine!⁸

6. The "old lady," of course, was Britannia, and her daughter, America. I cannot recall having seen this song in any publication and should welcome further information.

7. "The big song hit of 1844 was *The Blue Juniata*, by Mrs. Marion Dix Sullivan."—Sigmund Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America* (New York, 1948), p. 101. For complete texts, see Arthur Palmer Hudson, *Folksongs of Mississippi* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936), p. 210, and Sigmund Spaeth, *Weep Some More, My Lady* (Garden City, N. Y., 1927), pp. 98, 99, which also gives the music.

8. A longer version, under the title of "The Indian Hunter," is included in Vance Randolph, *Ozark Folksongs* (Columbia, Mo., 1950), v. 4, p. 297. The prefatory note, however, which identifies this song with "The Indian Hunter," a poem by Eliza Cook with music by Henry Russell which was published in New York, 1836-1837, is inaccurate; Eliza Cook did write a poem so titled but it was of an entirely different character.—Albert Tolman and Mary O. Eddy, "Traditional Texts and Tunes," *The Journal of American Folklore*, v. 35 (October-December, 1922), pp. 375, 376. The original of "Seminole Love Song" was probably a poem by Calder Campbell which appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book*, November, 1840, and which, after being set to music in 1850, was variously known as "The Burman Lover," "The Little Canoe," and "Ossian's Serenade."—John Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*, 12th ed. (Boston, 1948), pp. 395, 396; Spaeth, *Popular Music*, p. 97.

BILLY BOY

Oh where have you been, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
 Oh where have you been, charming Billy?
 I've been to see my wife, she's the joy of my life,
 She's a young thing and cannot leave her mother.
 Did she bid you to come in, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
 Did she bid you to come in, charming Billy?
 Yes, she bade me to come in, she has dimples in her chin,
 She's a young thing and cannot leave her mother.
 Did she set for you a chair, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
 Did she set for you a chair, charming Billy?
 Yes, she set for me a chair, she has ringlets in her hair,
 She's a young thing and cannot leave her mother.
 Can she make a cherry pie, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
 Can she make a cherry pie, charming Billy?
 Yes, she can make a cherry pie quick as a cat can wink her eye,
 She's a young thing and cannot leave her mother.
 How old is she, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
 How old is she, charming Billy?
 Twice six, twice seven, twice twenty and eleven,
 She's a young thing and cannot leave her mother.⁹

Billy Haferland, the architect of our sod-house, had sold out to an old man, an ex-Californian named Kline or Cline, who lived with a nephew, Charley Dixon, and according to my brother Sam was distinguished by his possession of a racing mule and by his artistry in making biscuits and dumplings and in cooking game of all kinds. It was in his house that my brother first ate prairie dog which "tasted just like a young cottontail rabbit or squirrel and was good."¹⁰ From him my brother learned a song which he sang frequently during the winter of 1886-1887.

Roll the old chariot along (3 times),
 And we'll all jog along behind.
 If the devil's in the road we will roll it over him (3 times),
 And we'll all jog along behind.¹¹

9. A few of the versions of this very popular and wide-spread old play-party song are in B. A. Botkin, *The American Play-Party Song* (University Studies, v. 38, Nos. 1-4, Lincoln, Neb., 1937), pp. 145, 146; John Harrington Cox, *Folk-Songs of the South* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), pp. 484-488; Emelyn Elizabeth Gardner, *Folklore From the Schoharie Hills* (Ann Arbor, 1937), pp. 208, 209; Hudson, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-280, 290; John A. and Alan Lomax, *American Ballads and Folk Songs* (New York, 1934), pp. 320-322; Louise Pound, *American Ballads and Songs* (New York, 1922), pp. 231, 232; Dorothy Scarborough, *A Song Catcher in Southern Mountains* (New York, 1937), pp. 296, 297; Mary O. Eddy, *Ballads and Songs From Ohio* (New York, 1939), pp. 117-120.

10. Letter from S. T. Wiggins, January 24, 1940.

11. Carl Sandburg, *Always the Young Strangers* (New York, 1952), p. 310, says that this song was used by the Salvation Army in Galesburg, Ill., presumably in the early 1890's. For text and music see Sandburg, *The American Songbag* (New York, 1927), pp. 196, 197. The refrain of the Sandburg version is: "And we won't drag on behind." More similar to Mrs. Porter's version is one, without music, in Emelyn Elizabeth Gardner and Geraldine Jencks Chickering, *Ballads and Songs of Southern Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1939), p. 287: "And we'll all tag on behind."

I also remember a fragment of another song which I think Sam learned from another neighbor, John Mix or Mick, though it may have been brought from Iowa by our neighbor Mr. Coleman, whose wife was mother's cousin.

We're goin' down to the parson's,
Now Liza you keep cool.
I ain't got time to kiss you now,
I'm busy with this mule.

Whoa, I tell you! Whoa, I say!
Keep your seat, Miss Liza Jane,
And hold on to the sleigh!

Watch dis mule a'goin',
Goodness, how he can sail!
Just watch his ears a-floppin',
And see him shake his tail.

Chorus: ¹²

There was another song that everybody sang—perhaps whistling to keep up their spirits—"The Little Old Sod Shanty on the Claim." The chorus was:

Oh the hinges are of leather
And the windows have no glass
And the board roof lets the howling blizzard in,
And I hear the hungry coyote as he sneaks up through the grass
To my little old sod shanty on the claim.

It began:

I'm getting rather lonesome now, while holding down my claim,
And my victuals are not always served the best,

but the singer has faith in the country and so writes a proposal to a girl back east, which she turns down because she doesn't want to live in "a little old sod shanty." Then, in his mind's eye, he prospers and builds a "brownstone front," which "she" would be glad to share, but he will have found some more worthy girl.¹³

We merely existed during that winter of 1886-1887—no money, no place to go either with or without money. Yes, there *was* a wedding,

12. Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, *Negro Workaday Songs* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1926), p. 180; Odum and Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs* (Chapel Hill, 1925), pp. 235-237; Newman I. White, *American Negro Folksongs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 174.

13. Mrs. Porter's memory telescopes into a single song the original "Little Old Sod Shanty on the Claim," which has been so often printed, as in Sandburg, *The American Songbag*, pp. 89-91, and Pound, *op. cit.*, p. 165, that to include it here is hardly necessary, and two sequels: "The Answer to 'The Little Old Sod Shanty on the Claim,'" in which the homesteader's Eastern girl "gives him the mitten" and suggests that he marry an Indian girl, and "Answer to the Answer of Sod Shanty on the Claim," in which "the dreams of glory" emphasized in Mrs. Porter's recollections of the song or songs. The more interesting of the two sequels—and the only one which I have at hand—is "The Answer to the Answer," which I include in an appendix. My copy was printed on the back of a photograph of a sod shanty, and was issued by A. A. Forbes, photographer, McCracken, who also issued copies of the other "sod shanty" songs in similar form.

to which I was invited, but I didn't go because I had nothing fit to wear.

Another family from Coin, the Pattersons, settled about a mile from us in the fall of 1886, so we now had three neighbors within a mile, the others being the Colemans and the Shorts.

Finally spring came, and the team, good old Sam and Fan, together with the farming implements, were sold for two cows, a calf, and \$113 in cash. The money was used to finish paying father's funeral expenses and to put down a well—an absolute necessity, since now we had no team or wagon for hauling water. The well was bored with a six-inch bit and was 119½ feet deep.¹⁴ The water was brought up in a long narrow galvanized-iron bucket, four inches in diameter, which had a valve in the bottom through which the water came into the bucket. The bucket was brought up either by a pulley and rope or by a large windlass turned by hand. It was hard work, but the water was very cold and delicious. Our neighbors made about as much use of the well as we did, and teamsters would often stop for water for themselves and their teams.

As soon as the well was down, brother started looking for a job of a more permanent nature than those he had previously had. In the fall and winter of 1886-1887 he had driven a four-horse team and freighted coal for a Mr. Cochran from Lenora to the new town of Hoxie which was then being moved from the site of old Kenneth.¹⁵ His work had not been steady and so he was on the claim for greater or lesser periods. In the fall of 1886 he had a big fight with a prairie fire which had been started by some careless campers. Neighbors were busy protecting their own homes, hastily plowing fire-guards, so that he was all alone in his fight. Mother brought buckets of water from the pond as fast as she could and he dipped gunny sacks into the water and with them finally pounded out the fire, though it got part of the stalks in the corn-field and only lacked a few rods of reaching the granary.¹⁶ While I was at the little country-school and Sam was freighting coal, our neighbor and cousin Nerva Coleman stayed at night with mother. Now in the spring of 1887 Sam went to work for Hi Bernard on a farm 14 or

14. Everett Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier* (Lincoln, Neb., 1954), pp. 265, 266, discusses various types of wells on the High Plains, including the bored well which in the 1870's cost \$1.00 a foot. The Dick volume is the best single work describing social life in the region and during the period of Mrs. Porter's narrative.

15. Hoxie, in central Sheridan county, had its beginnings in a village named Kenneth situated three miles north. When in 1886 the Missouri Pacific railroad made plans to come through the county (but it never did) the settlement was moved to the route of the projected railroad and renamed for a railroad vice-president.—*Kansas: A Guide to the Sunflower State* (New York, 1939), p. 334.

16. See Dick, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-220, for descriptions of prairie fires.

15 miles northwest of Lenora and five miles south of Clayton. He worked nine-and-a-half hours per day at \$15 per month. When this work was over his employer was unable to pay cash, and brother had to take an iron-grey three-year-old broncho at \$75 as part-pay, selling him the next spring for \$25. In the winter of 1887-1888 he worked for a dairyman named Green, three or four miles southeast of Lenora, milking cows night and morning, beginning at 4 A. M. Then in the spring of 1888 he went to Jennings, Kan., and got work as a laborer at \$1.50 for a 10-hour day with the firm of Grace & Hyde of Chicago, who had the contract for building all the Rock Island depots from Norton, Kan., to Colorado Springs, Colo.

From the spring of 1887, then, mother and I were alone on the claim and there wasn't much to relieve the monotony. We had our chickens, some hogs, and the calf and two cows to care for. The white cow was named Lily, and the other, a long-horned creature, mixed red, white, and a bit of black, I named Nellie, because she looked like a girl of that name in Coin. Since we had no fence, the cows had to be staked or lariatied out where they had a good range of grass, and they had to be watered from that 119½-foot well. We would fill two or more tubs and all our buckets, then bring the cows to the well, and draw water as fast as we could in an attempt to keep up with their thirst. Then they had to be taken back to grass and re-staked. By the time we had accomplished this little chore we would both be almost exhausted. When they were put into the barn for the winter the work became easier.

We made considerable butter, during the warm weather keeping it and the milk cool in a trough in the sod milk-house, and this, together with eggs, helped buy groceries and the material for our scanty wardrobes. We often went to town with our neighbors, but it was sometimes necessary to get our produce to town while it was still fresh and when no neighbor was going. By this time the main-traveled road ran near our house instead of on the ridge a quarter of a mile west as previously, and there would be several teams passing during the day. Mother and I—usually both went—would get ourselves ready, take whatever we had to sell down to the road, wait for some farmer or teamster to come along, and ask for a ride—or would be offered one. We were the "hitchhikers" of 1887-1888. It never occurred to us to be afraid and never by the slightest word or deed was one of these men other than a gentleman. In later years mother would say: "Surely the Lord took fear out of our hearts." On reaching Lenora we would arrange a meet-

ing-place for the return-trip, usually at Barbeau's or The Boston Store, and arrive home safe and sound.

Chickens and eggs had to be saved to buy sugar, salt, beans, soda, molasses, coal oil, feed for chickens, hogs, and cows, etc., but we always had enough to eat—bread and butter, and lots of "thickened milk," which was prepared by heating the desired amount of milk nearly to the boiling point and stirring into it flour which had been mixed smoothly with a little cold milk, boiling the mixture from three to five minutes while stirring constantly, and salting and peppering to taste. Prepared in this way it was used for gravy. By omitting the pepper and adding a little sugar—or, still better, a little nutmeg or vanilla—it became a dessert. We must have had other things to eat during that period, but somehow almost the only thing I can remember is the thickened milk. We walked two and a half miles to gather chokecherries, wild grapes, and plums. The cherries were 99 percent skin and seeds, but they made a spread. The plums and grapes were very good when we could sweeten them with sugar rather than sorghum. We made these trips in the early morning or in the evening, thus putting half the journey in the cool of the day. We tried to raise a garden, but a few hot days made an end of it, as there was no water except from that 119½-foot well.

Our diet now seems monotonous if not inadequate, but we knew that we were well off compared to other people in earlier years. The Yokums, who lived on Spring creek where we used to get our drinking water before we sold the team, had been so near starvation some years before our arrival that Mrs. Yokum went out into the cornfield, gathered the nubbins which remained after harvest, ground the kernels in a coffee mill, and with the bread made from this meal ate stewed wild plums *without sweetening*!¹⁷ It makes my spine prickle even now just to think of it.

In the spring or early summer of 1887 the neighbors, led by mother, decided to have a three-months' school, since there were about ten children of school age within a mile or two. There was no school-house, so mother offered our "sitting room" and we obtained a teacher, Maud Hargrave. She boarded with us, going home Friday evening and returning early Monday morning. We had only such books as had been brought from Coin, and while the time spent may have kept us somewhat "school minded" we didn't

17. I can remember being told—whether by my mother or someone else—about a Kansas pioneer in this general period who for a time lived on "sand rats and cane-seed biscuits."—K. W. P.

learn very much. There were, of course, no desks, and one of our doors was the "black board."¹⁸

Since mother and I were alone on the claim I have greater reason to remember the blizzard of 1887-1888 than the more important storm of the winter of 1885-1886. A cloud came up suddenly out of the northwest, resembling an immense windrow of tumbleweeds of unbelievable size and extent, rolling over and over with tremendous rapidity. As the cloud rolled the colors changed—white, blue, green, black. The cows and calf were safe enough in the sod-barn, but the half-grown hogs had little protection—only a pen of four-inch unplanned boards with a shelter of weeds, long grass, fodder, and such material over one corner. Mother hit on the plan of pulling our tent over the pen and fastening it under the corners so that it couldn't blow away. Anyone who has ever tried to control that much muslin in the gale of a blizzard knows we had a real job on our hands. We finally succeeded, but not before it had once gotten away from us and had engulfed both mother and the pigs. After the feat had been accomplished this episode was pretty funny, but had the hogs been full-grown it might have been tragic.

The storm lasted the remainder of the afternoon, all night, and until evening of the next day, when we were able to get out and tend the stock—milking, drawing and carrying water to the cows and hogs, cutting hay from the stack and bringing in shocks of fodder for the cows, feeding the pigs and chickens. We frosted our fingers, but considered that of little consequence.¹⁹

One of our neighbor girls, Janet Coleman, was married in the winter of 1887-1888 to John Vawter. The Coleman house, always neatly kept, was made as attractive as possible and a very nice wedding supper was served to about two dozen guests; I distinctly remember the delicious watermelon preserves. The couple settled on a claim near Oakley and by hard work, keen management, and good luck made quite a financial success. The minister who performed the ceremony had been brought a distance of 20 or 25 miles, probably from Fremont.²⁰ He and his wife stayed all night with us

18. See Dick, *op. cit.*, ch. 23, for a detailed description of school on the Great Plains in this period.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-230, describes the blizzard of January 12, 1888, although, rather curiously, no mention is made of the historically far more important blizzards of 1886 and 1887 which virtually destroyed the Plains cattle industry.

20. Fremont, in west central Graham county, is now Morland. It was organized in 1886 and named for the famous explorer, general, and first Republican presidential candidate, but when the railroad came several years later it was renamed for a railroad official.—*Kansas: A Guide to the Sunflower State*, pp. 332, 333.

and I was fascinated by his method of conducting family worship, which we never omitted. He stood in front of the stove and repeated from memory the 22nd chapter of Revelation, beginning "And he showed me a pure river of water of life clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb," clear through the 21 verses without hesitating, concluding with a uniquely worded prayer. This preacher was the widely known Uncle Jack Langley, for many years a circuit rider in western Kansas, whom we were to meet in his own congregation in Fremont in the summer of 1889.

From the summer of 1885 to 1888 several new families had moved into our section of the country but of the Coin folk only one family, the Colemans, remained, and their children are living on that same farm today. During those hard years many people "proved up, mortgaged, and got a loan," which was never paid, and "went east to their wife's folks." The reasons may be put in one word—Drought;²¹ they simply couldn't raise enough to live on. Some, who struggled through, became, on the other hand, pretty "well off" from the increase in the price of land, for crops eventually began to be raised and the cattle industry became important, since stock could winter on the buffalo grass except when it was covered too deeply by snow. This grass, when it hadn't been grazed too closely, was often cut and stacked for the winter, and many more stacks were provided by the longer variety growing in the "draws." But only those who could get hold of some cattle were able to benefit from these circumstances.

Looking back from a distance of over half a century I think our greatest hardship was not the monotony, inconveniences, hard work, lack of money, and things of that sort, but rather the utter futility of it all. We were getting nowhere—merely existing—and it was this state of things which caused mother many an anxious hour. But sometimes misfortunes become blessings, and this was the case when our house in Coin burned to the ground early in 1888. It was insured for \$450, all which was collected, and again mother determined to have me in school. So she decided to build a house in Lenora and rent the claim, which we had "proved up on" that spring

21. In the early 1880's, as a result of a succession of wet years, farmers crowded into the semiarid Great Plains region in numbers greater than it could normally support. During subsequent years drought caused a recession of the Great Plains frontier line. The greatest decline in population took place in the early 1890's. In 1885 Sherman county had a population of only one person to ten square miles; in 1886, three persons to one square mile; in 1889, nearly six per square mile; during the next four years there was little increase and by 1896 the population was down to four per square mile—a little more than it had been ten years earlier.—Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston, 1931), pp. 341-343, quoting the 21st annual report of the U. S. Geological Survey, pp. 681-683; Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893* (Boston, 1924), p. 553; Dick, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

at the Oberlin land-office.²² We used all the lumber from the granary and that, together with the \$450 insurance, was enough for a one-story house, 24 feet square, hip roofed, and with a full basement. The sitting room was 14 feet square, the kitchen-diningroom 10 by 14, a bedroom 10 by 10, and two small bedrooms each 7 by 10. The house faced the south. The basement was not plastered but had well-built stone walls and a floor of wide boards. The foundation was high enough to permit windows in the basement, which contained a coal bin and storage space for fruit as well as furnishing an outlet for things not needed upstairs. Mr. Gatlin of Coin, who had come out to Kansas in 1885 at about the same time as father, was the carpenter.

We rented the claim, which we now called the "homestead," to Mr. Cameron. We also sold some of our chickens and all our turkeys to a man known as "Speckled" Johnson, living a few miles away, who was credited with at least one notch on his gun and had a reputation as a "bad man." One cannot well catch chickens or turkeys on a limitless range during the day, so the purchasers came after they were settled on the roost. Mother lit the lantern, we went out to the chicken house, caught the birds, he paid the bill, and the transaction was completed—another time when it seems we might have been afraid, but weren't. The Camerons had to move in with us before our house in Lenora was finished. They bought some guineas, and it was a source of great amusement to see them following mother about as closely as chicks the hen, the reason being that she was wearing a dress which in color and figures closely resembled the feathers of a guinea.

Brother was still working for Grace & Hyde, so our neighbors "moved" us to Lenora well in time for school, which opened in September. We felt pretty "grand" in our new house.

22. How Mrs. Wiggins was able to "prove up" on the claim in the spring of 1888, after a residence of three years or less, is perplexing; in fact, that she actually did so is doubtful. According to the amended homestead act of 1872, the homesteader was able to obtain full title to his claim only after five years residence and demonstrating that he had made certain improvements, such as a house, cultivation, etc. Since James W. Wiggins filed on his claim in April, 1885, his widow's period of "legal residence" in the spring of 1888 would have been only three years. However, as a Union veteran who had been invalided out of the service, he could subtract from his residence requirements the entire nine months for which he had enlisted.—Roy M. Robins, *Our Landed Heritage: the Public Domain, 1776-1936* (Princeton, 1942), p. 216; Dick, *op. cit.*, p. 119; *Iowa Journal of History*, v. 51, p. 132; letter, Robert W. Richmond, state archivist, Kansas State Historical Society, September 10, 1953, to K. W. P. But even with this allowance the Wigginses would not have fulfilled their residence requirement until July, 1889. Probably Mrs. Porter's memory erred and, although they left the claim in 1888, they did not actually prove up on it until the following year. Residence requirements were liberally construed; homesteaders were permitted to be absent from their claims for as long as six months at a time and sleeping on the claim for a single night was sufficient to re-establish residence. Furthermore, according to a circular of March 1, 1884 (letter from Prof. Thomas LeDuc, department of history, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, September 23, 1953, to K. W. P.), cultivation by a lessee or agent would fulfill the residence requirements: "If the land is cultivated in good faith, the law will be regarded as substantially complied with, although the widow and children may not actually reside on the land."

APPENDIX

ANSWER TO THE ANSWER OF SOD SHANTY ON THE CLAIM

I'm not looking half so seedy since I made my final proof
 And my bill of fare is now not quite so tame,
 And though Sal gave me the "mitten," I'm more than satisfied,
 With my little old sod shanty and my claim.
 I read her letter o'er and o'er, it made me feel quite sad,
 For I never thought she was up to such a game;
 But I'm happy now as ever as I lay me down to rest,
 In my little old sod shanty on the claim.

O, I've made my final proof, I'm as happy as a clam,
 And I'm on the road to wealth if not to fame.
 And I wonder if Miss Sally doesn't wish she'd stuck to Sam,
 And his little old sod shanty on the claim.

The other day a railroad man came looking 'round this way,
 And in private shyly took me by the arm.
 "We are going to run a line across the country here," said he,
 "And we want to build a town upon your farm."
 The bargain is completed and lots are selling fast,
 And the place is not now looking just the same.
 I've lots of tin, and soon will build a splendid brown stone front,
 Just beside my little old sod shanty on the claim.

No doubt she would be happy now to make the sacrifice,
 Since she finds these wealthy men do not propose,
 And the buggy rides grow scarcer as she's growing up in years,
 And her cheeks their wonted tint begins to lose.
 But since I've commuted I'm happy and I'm gay,
 And of course I've sought me out another flame,
 And she's not afraid of coming down to burning twisted hay,
 In my little old sod shanty on the claim.

Although my new found treasure may spend my ready cash,
 And make me toe the mark when she gets mad,
 Yet an Indian Miss would hardly suit my elevated views,
 And I'd hate to have a half-breed call me "dad."
 Now if Sall don't want to be the mother of my heir,
 She will have no one but herself to blame,
 For the prairies are prolific and she'd better stay away,
 And leave Sam in his shanty on the claim.

A Footnote to the Pottawatomie Massacre, 1856

Edited by ROBERT W. JOHANSEN

I. INTRODUCTION

ON the night of Saturday, May 24, 1856, a group of armed men led by Old John Brown appeared among the settlements near Dutch Henry's crossing, where the California road crossed Pottawatomie creek in eastern Kansas. Five of the settlers, James P. Doyle and his two sons William and Drury, Allen Wilkinson, and William Sherman, all Proslavery in their politics, were summoned by the group from their cabins. The next day their mutilated bodies were discovered, lying where they had fallen, murdered in cold blood.¹

Allen Wilkinson was the most prominent of the five victims. He was postmaster for the settlers along the creek, a member of the Kansas territorial legislature and a part-time member of the territory's judicial branch. The following letters, written by a brother-in-law of Allen Wilkinson, Henry James, describe Wilkinson's situation along the creek and the details of his murder. A native of Illinois, James had contemplated moving to Kansas territory. He visited Wilkinson late in April, 1856, just a month before the massacre and was favorably impressed with the country. During this visit Wilkinson transferred his land claim to James.

After the massacre Mrs. Wilkinson abandoned the land and returned to her former home in Tennessee. James gave up his own plans to move to Kansas and the land fell into the hands of a third party. Mrs. Wilkinson returned to Kansas in the fall of 1857 in an attempt to reinstate her claim to the land but was not successful. In the second of the two letters, James urged Sen. Stephen A. Douglas to help secure a grant of land for Wilkinson's widow and children in compensation for the land lost in eastern Kansas. He also used the opportunity to present his own case for a similar grant.

The first letter has been reprinted from the file of the *Alton* (Ill.) *Weekly Courier* in the collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield; the second is a part of the "Stephen A. Douglas

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The author wishes to acknowledge the aid of a grant from the University of Kansas General Research Fund in the location and transcription of these letters.

1. The Pottawatomie murders and their aftermath have been exhaustively studied by James C. Malin in his *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, 1942).

Papers" in the University of Chicago Library and is here reprinted with the permission of that institution. The original spelling of the second letter has been retained.

II. THE LETTERS

GREENFIELD, ILL. June 16 [1856]

To the Editor of the Alton Courier:

Dear Sir: I see in the *Courier* of last week that you deny the statement made by the *Missouri Republican*, relating to the murder of Allen, [*sic*] Wilkinson and others, on Pottawatomie Creek, Kansas Territory. In order that you and your readers may be convinced of the truth of that statement, will you be so kind as to publish the enclosed letter. The following is a copy:

SHERMANVILLE, K. T., May 28.²

HENRY JAMES: Respected "Sir": I sit down, by the request of Mrs. Wilkinson, to inform you of her sad bereavement. On Saturday night, the 24th inst., they were aroused by some persons demanding admittance. They requested Mr. Wilkinson to dress himself. Four men, to them unknown, asked him if he would surrender?—He replied he would. Mrs. Wilkinson asked them to let him stay with her; told them that she was sick; but they gave no heed to her entreaties. She then asked them what they were going to do with him. They replied he is our prisoner; when two of them went before and two behind him, and conveyed him away, which was the last time she ever saw him. The next day he was found in some bushes murdered. Four others shared the same fate. It appears that eight men went to the house of Mr. Doyle, and enticed him and two of his sons out of the house. At the entreaties of Mrs. Doyle they left her youngest son, about 15 years of age.—They next came here, and then went on to Henry Sherman's and called out four men, inquired their names, and took William Sherman off with them. Dutch Henry was not at home. A meeting is being held to-day to prevent further outrages, and to take measures to ferret out the perpetrators of the deed.³ Mrs. Wilkinson has been sick with the measles. They turned Sabbath day, and she is doing as well as could be expected under the circumstances. The neighbors will do all in their power to make her comfortable. She wishes you to come on as soon as you receive this letter, or write to her and let her know if you cannot come, as she wishes to settle her affairs to leave as soon as possible.

Yours respectfully,

In behalf of MRS. WILKINSON.

Mr. Allen Wilkinson was a brother-in-law of mine. He moved to

2. Shermansville was located a few miles southwest of Osawatomie at the ford of Pottawatomie creek known as Dutch Henry's crossing, on land occupied by Henry Sherman. Apparently no town was ever laid out, although a post office was established there in 1855. Allen Wilkinson had been the postmaster.

3. The indignation meeting of the settlers along Pottawatomie creek was actually held on May 27, indicating that the letter, although dated May 28, was probably written the day before. After denouncing the massacre, the settlers, "without distinction of party," pledged themselves to aid in bringing the guilty parties to justice.

Kansas Territory from Tennessee last November, one year ago.⁴ He was the second settler on Pottawatomie Creek.⁵ He was a member of the Legislature.⁶ I was at his house last April; left there for home on the 23d of April; all was quiet there then.

Respectfully yours,
HENRY JAMES.

CARLINVILLE [ILLINOIS] January 18 - 1858

TO THE HON S. A. DOUGLAS

Dear Sir

in 1854 my brother in law moved to Kansas Teritory he was the Second Settler on pottawattamie creek he wrotee to me describing the Beauty of the Country and fertility of the Soil in April 1856 I went to see him and was pleased with the Country I Bought his claim he being a poor man had no other way of raising money to pay for his land when it came into market he was to buy the adjoining claim with no improvement but a log cabin which he could get for a Small Sum. his improvement tha[t] I bought of him about 40 acres brok and under good fence a log cabin Smoke house and a good hewed log house nearly finished a good old Indian orchard of about 40 bearing trees Some of them grafted he was to have part of the crop that year and remain on the place till I came he planted a piece of corn for my use which was the last work he ever done which was on the 23 of May. a month previous to this in April I was there bought his claim paid part down he gave me a Quit claim deed and my intention for a preemption rite which I sent to Mr Calhons office⁷ and the money to pay him as law directs then I left the teritory for home in Illinois

4. Allen Wilkinson thus apparently moved to Kansas territory in November, 1854. The "Tract Books" of the General Land Office cite February 1, 1855, as the date of his settlement in the Pottawatomie creek area. Wilkinson's whereabouts between November, 1854, and February, 1855, have not been determined. Although Wilkinson migrated from Tennessee, his home had earlier been in Illinois. Louisa Jane Wilkinson, his wife, was a Tennesseean.

5. Wilkinson was not the second settler on Pottawatomie creek, if the dates of settlement on the land entries be taken as guides. For a list of settlers along Pottawatomie creek, with their dates of settlement, *see* Malin, *op. cit.*, pp. 760-763.

6. Wilkinson was elected to the lower house of the territorial legislature on March 30, 1855, the first legislative election in Kansas territory.

7. John Calhoun, a former resident of Illinois and a close friend of both Lincoln and Douglas, had been appointed surveyor-general of Kansas and Nebraska territories by President Pierce. Calhoun received declarations for pre-emption rights at his office in Wyandotte before the Lecompton land office opened in April, 1857. No record of the pre-emption right James mentions, however, has been located in the land records (U. S. Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska, "Correspondence: Deputies' Reports and Miscellaneous, 1856-1858," Kansas State Historical Society; Jane F. Smith, Interior Section, National Archives, to the author, April 29, 1955). The lands in eastern Kansas were not ordered into the market by President Buchanan until 1858. In anticipation of this order, many land

now Mr Douglas I must let you know who I am 20 years ago I lived in Carrolton Green County I worked with Mr Scott at Tailoring I had the honor of an introduction to you by Mr Scott I afterwards Settled in Greenfield Shook hands with you there a time or two when you and Mr Browning⁸ were there you use to Send me congressional dockuments for which I return you my thanks my brother in law then lived in Greene Cty and taught School—

now to return to my Brother in law was murdered on the 24 of May at midnight by the Old Brown and company he and old Mr Doyle and his two Sons and a Mr Sherman known as the Pottawatomie Murders you know all about it for you have read Mr Oliver miner report to congress⁹ his name Allen Wilkenson a pro-slavery man he was a member of the first legislator Judg Cato was at his house he and his Clerk Mr Huchinson and the debety marshal holding Court for Franklin County¹⁰ they can testify to our trade &c in consequence of civil war in the teritory my wife would not go where her Brother was murdered So we moved to Missouria we did not like there we moved back to Ill.

when they murdered my brother in law the[y] took his onley horse and other things they broke up the widow and his 2 little boys General Whitfield¹¹ took her in charges raised money for her and helped her and her 2 little boys to her Fathers in Tennessee the claim was a valuable one. it is now in possession of a Stranger¹² now Mr Douglas would it not be write to ask congress to grant her and her 2 little Sons the claim they once lived on if it is not entered

claimants, like Wilkinson, sold their claims; others sought to evade the pre-emption law by signing their claim over to a local money lender or land speculator.—See Paul Wallace Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca, 1954), p. 103.

8. Orville H. Browning, a resident of Quincy, Ill., was active as a Whig in local Illinois state politics. In 1861 he was appointed to fill out Douglas' unexpired senate term after the latter's death.

9. Mordecai Oliver, a Whig representative from Missouri, was the minority member of a three-member congressional committee appointed to investigate the troubles in Kansas. The committee was in Kansas at the time of the Pottawatomie massacre. The two Republican majority members, John Sherman of Ohio and William A. Howard of Michigan, refused to look into the affair on the ground that it was outside the committee's jurisdiction. Oliver dissented from this decision, conducted an independent investigation of the massacre, and presented the testimony to congress in the form of a minority report.—*House Reports*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess. (1855-1856), No. 200, pp. 68-109, 1132-1188.

10. Associate Justice Sterling G. Cato of the Kansas territorial supreme court held circuit court for Franklin county at the house of Henry Sherman in late April, 1856. Allen Wilkinson had been appointed district attorney *pro tem* for the session. Cato was to open court in near-by Paola, Lykins (now Miami) county, on the Monday following the massacre.

11. John W. Whitfield was at this time serving as Kansas territorial delegate in the house of representatives. In 1853 Whitfield had been appointed Indian agent to the Pottawatomie Indians, and in the following year was elected as a Democrat to represent Kansas territory in congress.

12. According to the "Tract Books" of the General Land Office, John Stroup filed claim to the Wilkinson land on May 12, 1857, citing February 14, 1857, as his date of settlement.

and paid for I am not posted whither the land Office is open to enter preemption writes or not—¹³ her husband was her Support and he is taken from her his two little Sons are promising little boys their names Harvey and Archey now congress Could grant them a piece of land to each one and not miss it. it would help and console them much but never repay for the loss of a husband and Father and not onley give them a piece of land but to Mr[s] Doyle and all other widdows that lost their husbands in that war—and as to my Self I have had nothing but bad luck Since I Started to the Territory I am an old man my trade has gone down and I am badley worsted by the loss Sustained would it be presumtious in me to ask congress to Grant me a piece of land—the Government would never miss it—but it would help me and mine much in my declining years to the grave.

my brother in law was a friend of yours he was a firm Democra^t as to my Self I have allways been a Democrat if you wish to know about me I will refer you to Mr Burk of this place, or the prominent men of Greene County I did think of writeing to the Hon Mr Harris ¹⁴ but if you have time and I am worthey of your attention will you please inform me what to do or how to proceed. I have voted for you and Mr Harris and if I live I expect to vote for you for the next President. we have had publick meetings Sanctioning your Course in Congress there is a Great reaction Creating in your favor all over the State and likewise all over the Union you Sir are aprised of all of this—¹⁵

respectfley and Fraternalley your humble Servant
HENRY JAMES

P S I can Send you copeys of all the letters that the widdow Sent to me relating to the murder of her husband and the Deed of the land he gave me and likewise my letter to the Alton Courier which the Editor published ¹⁶ the black republicans published that those 5 men was engaged in hanging a free State man and like

13. The land office at Lecompton opened after James had left the territory. He was probably unaware at the time he wrote this letter that the office had opened to receive pre-emption rights.

14. Thomas L. Harris was a Democratic representative in congress from Illinois, residing in Petersburg, Menard county, Ill.

15. Reference is here made to the course followed by Stephen A. Douglas in the United States senate in the struggle over the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton, or Proslave, constitution.

16. See above, Henry James to the editor, June 16, 1856, *Alton Weekly Courier*, June 26, 1856.

wise Gov Garys Book ¹⁷ about Kansas tells nearley the Same tale I refer you to the widow[']s affidavit and Mrs Doyle in Mr Oliver report he was taken from the Side of his Sick wife at the midnight hour and Murdered in cold blood the letters will testify to the truth

H. J.

17. James probably refers to John H. Gihon's *Geary and Kansas, Governor Geary's Administration in Kansas, With a Complete History of the Territory Until June, 1857* (Philadelphia, 1857). Gihon was private secretary to Gov. John W. Geary. In his book Gihon dismissed the Pottawatomie massacre in one short paragraph (p. 87), concluding: "The excuse given for this act, is, that the persons killed were there assembled to assassinate and burn the houses of certain free-state men, whom they had notified to quit the neighborhood. These five men were seized and disarmed, a sort of trial was had, and in conformity with the sentence passed, were shot in cold blood."

James A. and Louie Lord: Theatrical Team— Their Personal Story, 1869-1889

JAMES C. MALIN

I. THE LOUIE LORD LEGEND

THE memories of older people are curiously woven with fact and fancy, the relevant and the trite. Recalls from their past are peculiarly unpredictable, but are sometimes significant. In 1903 the Atchison public had an opportunity to see the famous temperance play "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." The *Daily Globe*, October 27, commented:

No temperance lectures for Atchison people. There was scarcely a handful at the theatre last night, to see "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." It is a very old play; so ancient that it is new to the present generation of theatre goers. Louie Lord used to do the drunkard's wife in this play, in the days of old Corinthian Hall, and is mentioned in the poem by which Gene Field immortalized that play house.

Three points in this short paragraph were true. "Ten Nights" was an old play, so old it was new; Louie Lord did play the drunkard's wife in Corinthian Hall; and Eugene Field did "immortalize" Atchison's Corinthian Hall in a poem. Beyond that the paragraph bristles with questions. The poem appears in Eugene Field's *Second Book of Verse* (Chicago, 1892) but neither Louie Lord nor "Ten Nights" is mentioned. If the allegations made by the *Globe* are true, they must have appeared in the original newspaper version of the poem and have been edited out for the book edition of the collected poems. The present author has not been able to locate the original version and place of publication in order to verify these points.

But what is more relevant to the present theme was the stimulus this *Globe* paragraph gave to the recall of memories by another oldster among Kansas journalists, Frank Montgomery, formerly of Hill City and several other places, but in 1903 with the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*. His long reminiscence was printed by his paper, October 30, 1903, with the title, "When Louie Lord Starred":

The Atchison *Globe* bestirs the memory of ancient Kansans with a reference to Louie Lord, once a famous Kansas actress. Louie Lord, with her husband and company were to the small towns of Kansas what Henry Irving and Ellen

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Terry are to the British theater—the zenith and perfection of dramatic art. Before Louie Lord, however, there was Louise Sylvester, who played such towns as Leavenworth, Lawrence, Atchison and Topeka, seldom going to the small towns of the state, and failing, of course, to become a provincial idol, or to rival Louie Lord in the affections of the great common people.

This was only Montgomery's opening paragraph, but it set the tone. Louie Lord was the particular star of his memories and all revolved around her: "Mrs. Lord was not a beautiful woman, but she had a glorious head of hair." So remarkable was her golden halo that doubts were rife about its naturalness, but these were set at rest, he recounted, in Hays when a hotel fire drove all occupants out in their night attire and Mrs. Lord was seen descending a ladder, the

great masses of hair hanging below her waist. . . . But the catastrophe which decided the hair question "was also the source of considerable idol breaking among the youth of the town. . . . When her belongings were tumbled from her chamber, almost the first thing which came to view was a fat woolen sock, which she had been knitting for her rheumatic husband.

And Mr. Lord. He was the leading man with his talented wife. He reminded one of Bottom, for he could roar like a lion or roar like a sucking dove. There are Kansans with gray on their foreheads who would go all the way to New York if they could hear Mr. Lord once more in his *Rip Van Winkle*. The awakening scene where he cried, "O my ka-nee, my ka-nee," was worth more than a trip to New York—It was worth a trip to Europe, and his performances with the Dutch dialect, being an Irishman himself, were something wonderful.

Touching upon the plays rendered and the acting ability of Louie Lord, Montgomery reminded his readers that:

The actors of thirty years ago in Kansas, were brave beyond conception. They would storm the heights of a Shakespeare play with the same intrepidity with which they skirmished in the fields of simple melodrama. *Desdemona*, *Portia*, *Topsy*, *Lady of Lyons*, were to Louie Lord such a small tax on her versatility that she passed from one to the other with no effort at all. To be sure, certain super-elegant people might complain that her *Lady Macbeth* was attended with too much of the gay abandonment of *Topsy*, but to the great common people this was only an additional source of pleasure, for they could be sure always that they were seeing the star.

In closing Montgomery made two points. First, "By the time they left the stage they were in comfortable circumstances, or rich for actors." For a long time, Mrs. Lord had a profitable cattle ranch down in Southwest Kansas. She had business sense as well as dramatic talent." And the second conclusion, lest he had damned his heroine by faint praise asserted: "And if this brief review has conveyed the impression that she was not really an actress, such

is not the intention of the writer, for she played some parts with great ability. But probably there never was an actress on the American stage who essayed so many roles—going fearlessly at them whether they fitted her talent or not.”

Could it have been that Montgomery's memories were still biased by a youthful jealousy of the husband of his heroine? A large part of his “facts” were wrong as well as much of his interpretation. The Lords were distinctly better than the average of the traveling theatrical troupes who played to Kansas audiences during the 1870's and 1880's. In fact, they ranked among the best of their kind. At least two other husband-wife theatrical teams were fully as good, if not better, the Plunketts, and the Kendalls. Both of these teams did more with Shakespeare than the Lords. But no one ever referred to Mrs. Plunkett by her first name, nor called Mrs. Kendall Julia. Montgomery missed badly the key to the Lord's success over so long a period—that James and Louie Lord were complementary numbers. Neither was a success without the other. Montgomery missed another significant fact about early Kansas theatre—several individual young actors and actresses who played in the West during the same time rose in their profession to better things. And another point might be made in order to round out the perspective. Several dramatic stars of the first magnitude pieced out their careers, after their decline had set in, by playing to the smaller towns of the West, and bringing to these isolated audiences, unquestionably, a touch of the greatness that had once been theirs in Europe and in New York.

Some critical attention must be given to the legends that grew up around the name of Louie Lord, particularly those recounted by Montgomery. First, the Gibson House fire at Hays occurred Sunday night, January 12, 1879, not 1875, and the Lord troupe was present. None of the printed accounts mention the Louie Lord incident, but admittedly, that does not prove that it did not occur. However, the fire did give rise to a number of good stories. According to one writer, the blaze was started by a candle without a candlestick, the occupant of the room having gone to sleep reading. One young man, in helping to save clothes, carried out a bundle, “when lo! it contained a baby, left by its mother in her excitement.” The Stockton *News* editor, having had some experience with Hays hotel accommodations, was inspired to a wholly different kind of anxiety: “Only think of the untold suffering of bed-bugs in that old, time-honored (?) relic of antiquity.” Charles Chapin, a mem-

ber of the Lord troupe, lost about \$75 worth of his wardrobe in the fire, and a benefit performance was given in his honor.¹

Two of the Louie Lord legends have the southwestern Kansas cattle tradition as their locale: "At Caldwell . . . [she] played for two weeks [and when she left] a delegation of cattlemen followed her and brought her back for an additional week. [She had the same experience] in Dodge City, where she played three weeks [without a break]." ² Also, on a different theme the same source alleged that: "She opened more opera houses in the kerosene circuit in Kansas than any other woman." Like most "good stories" that partake of the quality of folklore, none of these cases has yet been documented. Whatever kernel of fact there may have been in their origin, the increment of legend, as folksay, came to dominate.

The Caldwell story kernel of fact was a week's run at that place, February 12-17, 1883, which the town people liked so well that Lord was asked to return for the week beginning March 5, when the town would be host to a stockman's convention. This program was announced, apparently, before the Lords left Caldwell, and the object was to provide entertainment for the visiting stockmen. To be sure, the town liked Louie Lord, but it was Jennie Woltz who gained the sensational publicity when, literally, she stopped the show on the second night: her "rendition of the song 'When the Leaves Begin to Fade' was superb, and pleased the audience so much that the play had to stop until she favored them with 'The Last Rose of Summer.'" And as for Mrs. Lord and her stock ranch—"J. A. Lord, proprietor of the Louie Lord combination, has turned out to be a stockman. . . ." ³ That comment referred to his Meade county activities, which is getting ahead of the story, but in any case, there is no evidence that Mrs. Lord ever visited Meade county, or ever took any interest in the livestock there.

Note should be made of the fact that all of these commentaries reflected the verdict of men. What was the reaction of women to Mrs. Lord—"woman's inhumanity towards a woman?" Thus far no record has been found. A teen-age girl's thrill is available. At the age of 78 or 79, Louie F. Jones (Mrs. H. Llewelyn Jones) of Meade, wrote: "I remember seeing Louie Lord and Mr. Lord in Wellington in 1879 or 1880. They put on what to me, a young girl

1. *Hays Sentinel*, January 18, 25, 1879; *Russell Record*, January 23, 1879; *Stockton News*, January 16, 1879.

2. A *Wichita Beacon* story cited, with erroneous dates, by George Meltzer, "Social Life and Entertainment on the Frontiers of Kansas, 1854-1890" (Master's thesis, University of Wichita, 1941), p. 172.

3. *Caldwell Post*, February 15, 22, 1883; *Caldwell Commercial*, February 15, 22, March 8, 1883.

of fifteen, shows, that were supreme. Their opera house was a court room,—bare dirty walls—their scenery crude and their stage a low platform curtained off with cheap curtains strung on a wire.”⁴ A middle-aged woman whose husband was infatuated by Louie might not have been so genuinely enthusiastic.

Frank Montgomery had represented, however, that the Lords “made friends with the people. Every night was made a social affair, and often the townspeople invited them to dinner. Not infrequently the last night was made the occasion of speeches, and the star and her husband would be presented with some substantial token of the town’s appreciation.” While such wording as “every night” was obviously an exaggeration, certainly, on occasion, something of the sort did happen. At Clay Center: “After the performance of the historic and classic play, *Damon and Pythias*, . . . the members of the Order of Knights of Pythias called upon LOUIE LORD and made her a fine present as a slight token of their appreciation of her superior dramatic talent.”⁵

On December 3, 1878, the Lord Company opened at Wamego for a week’s engagement, but on Saturday, Louie became ill and could not perform. On Tuesday, December 10, the announcement was made that the troupe would remain in town during the week and if Mrs. Lord recovered sufficiently a performance would be given. The illness was so severe that the company departed Sunday for Abilene, the local paper asserting again as earlier that “Louie Lord is certainly the queen of the Kansas stage.” And in bidding them farewell, the editor was evidently sincere in saying: “During their two weeks stay in our city they made many friends who wish them well in their Bohemian life; they seem almost like Wamego folks.”⁶ Louie’s illness was reported by one source as lung fever, but another alleged that it was a result of excessive physical and emotional strain occasioned by her debut in the role of *Lecretia Borgia* at Junction City, November 23. S. S. Prouty, editor of the *Junction City Union*, insisted, prior to the performance, that: “It is a difficult *role* to assume, but Louie Lord, is equal to the task,” and after her long illness at Wamego, he admitted that the role taxed her too severely. Yet he believed that she would make a national reputation in the role and that: “The play brought out the best dramatic acting ever witnessed in Junction City.”⁷

4. Mrs. H. Llewelyn Jones to James C. Malin, dated Meade, Kan., February 5, 1943.

5. *Abilene Gazette*, December 13, 1878.

6. *Wamego Semi-Weekly Tribune*, December 3, 7, 10, 14, 17, 1878.

7. *Junction City Union*, November 16, 23, December 14, 1878; *Manhattan Enterprise*, December 13, 1878.

At Paola, December 18-23, 1876, the Lord troupe played for the week to increasing audiences: "Their plays have been well selected and of characters that contained much useful moral instruction, while contributing to the infinite amusement of those present. The chief attraction of this troupe is Louie Lord, who plays her parts so naturally that one almost forgets that he is witnessing a representation of life and manners, but fancies that it is all genuine reality." The suggestion was thrown out that an extra performance might be offered on Monday of the following week. That is what happened, "given for the benefit of the Paola Library . . . a complete success. There were between sixty-five and seventy-five dollars taken in at the door, fifty dollars of which were given to the theatrical company, leaving a handsome little profit for the Association." The play had been "Dora" an adaptation from the poem of Alfred Tennyson—"that prince of living poets."⁸

Another form of tie between the Lord family and Kansas communities was recruitment from them of new members of the company. Among these were C. E. Chapin, of Junction City, Rose Ashmead, of Ellsworth county, Mr. and Mrs. William McCollister, and Clair Patee, of Manhattan. Also, Charles Taylor, while not technically a resident of Peabody prior to his association with Lord, became temporarily identified with that place through his friendship with the editor of the *Peabody Gazette*. The *Hutchinson Herald* commented that Lord was "a perfect master of his profession," having come up in theatre from the bottom, and "having sustained in his time nearly every famous artist that speaks the English language. He is a teacher and a most rigid disciplinarian, known to the profession as such. Each member of the company is a gentleman or lady with all that that implies."⁹ His long record would appear to bear out substantially that fulsome praise.

In the *Junction City Union*, March 23, 1878, S. S. Prouty, the old Kansas Free-State radical, insisted that the stage could be made a powerful agent of reform and that Lord appreciated that fact. The *Star-Sentinel*, Hays, October 12, 1882, approved also the Lord theatrical policy:

The LORDS are recognized in all the cities and hamlets of Kansas as essentially a Kansas institution, and for this reason are ever welcomed and always patronized. . . . Our citizens may confidentially look forward to a week of rational, enjoyable amusement, as it is well known that this Company rigidly

8. Paola *Western Spirit*, December 22, 29, 1876.

9. *Junction City Union*, November 23, 1878; *Ellsworth Reporter*, January 9, 1879; *Hays Sentinel*, January 18, 1879; *Manhattan Enterprise*, October 4, 11, 1878; *Peabody Gazette*, December 14, 1877, March 8, April 9, May 17, 1878, March 7, April 4, 1879; *Hutchinson Herald*, December 29, 1877.

exclude every low epithet or immoral idea from their histrionic work. They have made friends and a reputation by it, that invites to their exhibitions minister[s] and members of the church as well as the more secularly inclined.

The two decades under consideration, no matter how they are viewed, were in a man's world. Women were essential, of course, but their status in society was circumscribed. In a pioneer population the younger males exceeded the statistically normal proportion, and this excess, particularly the unattached part, afforded a number of problems. Although statistical analysis of audiences is not possible, a conclusion seems justifiable that men provided the largest contingent at the box office. The press agents for the better shows were only too well aware of the general prejudice against the theatre and gave special assurances to attract the patronage of women. Also, Saturday afternoon matinee bills were frequently, if not usually, selected to attract women and children and were so advertised. The unusual efforts only underscore the central facts. Even making the necessary allowances for exaggeration in publicity, the impact of Mrs. Lord upon this man's world was something to be reckoned with. To a large part of the people the theatrical profession was suspect in any case, but during her 20 years of dramatic performance in Kansas, with its glowing tributes accorded her by men, the record reveals no hint of personal scandal ever being linked with Louie Lord's name.

II. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE LORDS TO KANSAS, AND AN OVERVIEW OF THEIR THEATRICAL ACTIVITIES, 1869-1885

The winter of 1869-1870 marked the first invasion of Kansas by the Lord dramatic team. Railroads made it possible. Prior to the coming of railroads, water navigation provided communications and the Mississippi valley, especially that part of it west of the river, faced southward and the New Orleans gateway. The Missouri valley depended upon St. Louis as the way station. Already prior to the Civil War railroads making connections with the Atlantic seaboard were challenging the New Orleans dominance. After the war, Chicago as the great rail center of the North American land-mass reoriented the whole outlook of the interior of the continent. Chicago displaced St. Louis and New Orleans. This shift in orientation applied to the entertainment field as well as to commerce in commodities. Eventually, through the same instrumentalities, New York took over similarly and exercised a virtual theatre monopoly. But in 1869, using Chicago as their base, the Lords were following the railroads into the West. Under a water com-

munications regime, the river was closed by ice during the winter months; railroads were available to serve the traditional nine-months theatrical season, which included the winter.

In 1869, when the Lords first played in Kansas, the only railroads were between Atchison and Wyandotte, Leavenworth and Lawrence, and from Wyandotte west. The Lords entered Kansas from Chicago, playing along the route to St. Joseph, then they visited Atchison (6 days), Leavenworth (7 days), Lawrence (6 days), Topeka (10 days), and back to Lawrence (3 days). The following year they extended their territory west to Junction City, and used the new Santa Fe line from Topeka to Emporia. They were not in Kansas in 1871-1872, but in 1872-1873 the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf railroad took them to Fort Scott in addition to the other cities. They missed the drouth-grasshopper year of 1874-1875, and the two seasons 1879-1881. The rail net was extended during the 1880's and the boom carried population into the western third of the state. As support appeared to justify routing, the towns farther west on the Union Pacific and the Santa Fe were included. The troupe might go west on one road, staging across, and returning east on the other. In the season of 1876-1877, after playing the eastern part of Kansas, they invaded Texas, following the Katy railroad across the vacant Indian territory to the Kansas founded town of Denison, Tex., and southward. This venture does not appear to have been repeated. In the season of 1884-1885 they invaded New Mexico, and it was there that Mr. Lord died, January 16, 1885.

The tours which carried the Lords westward from Chicago along northern railroads are not included here, and neither are their activities in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere. A bare mention should be made, however, of the fact of those appearances, because they represent attempts to break into "Big Time." A record of a few has been found. In May, 1874, J. A. Lord was stage manager of the Bowery Theatre in New York, having joined the company May 7, and for the week beginning June 1, Louie Lord was the star, playing "Lady Audley's Secret," "The Hidden Hand," "Ireland as It Is," and "Our Gal."¹⁰ During the theatre season of 1879-1880 the Lord company was to have toured Kansas, but at the last minute leased the Lyceum (formerly the Globe) Theatre in Chicago, Louie Lord the star. The local press in Kansas said that Lord reported that Mrs. Lord was suddenly taken ill of typhoid

10. G. C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, v. 9, p. 431; T. Allison Brown, *A History of the New York Stage* (New York, 1903), v. 1, p. 159; *New York Times*, June 1, 3, 5, 1874, advertisements.

fever, but according to the Chicago *Daily Tribune*, September 7, she was playing "Divorced" at the Lyceum. A later report credited Lord with leasing the Folly Theatre, Chicago.¹¹ In June, 1881, Louie Lord was reported playing again, a summer season, at the Lyceum Theatre in Chicago.¹²

Another aspect of transition in both social organization and the nature of the theatre had a bearing on the fate and the adjustments of the Lords—a shift from emphasis upon the star to emphasis upon the play. In their first tour of Kansas, 1869-1870, the Lords presented at least 15 different plays, and on the second season, 1870-1871, some 20 additional titles, ranging from Shakespeare's "Othello" to "The Funny Family," a farce. In a ten-day run in Topeka, on the first tour, no play was repeated. The next season, in three series, they played in Topeka a total of 24 shows, and presented 21 different plays, the other three shows being repeat performances. By 1879 about 20 additional plays and farces had been added to the repertoire, while others had been dropped. By the early 1880's the Lords met the specialized one-play company as a competitor, also theatre circuits, both of which contributed to their elimination from competition in the large cities. In small towns the one-play principle would have meant one-night stands and high transportation costs. The small places were not so sophisticated as not to accept the multiple-play company as satisfactory. Louie Lord could have the attention of an audience in "Othello," "She Stoops to Conquer," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Dora," or "Lady Audley's Secret." But by the 1880's, while maintaining a multiple-play status, Louie had to make concessions and specialize, limiting her offering to a few plays and giving emphasis to those especially written for her, or pieces of her own composition.

Copyright had not been a controlling issue at the opening of the 1870's, but in the 1880's the best protection was to own the copyright. Lord had settled one infringement suit for a reputed \$1,000. He wrote two plays on which he held the copyrights, and two others were written by other hands but were copyrighted in his name. One of Louie Lord's most noted plays was written by Scott Marble, "The Linwood Case," and was copyrighted by Lord in 1883. Mrs. Lord's own play "The Editor" apparently was not copyrighted.¹³

11. *Peabody Gazette*, August 29, September 5, 1879; *The Dickinson County Chronicle*, Abilene, September 19, 1879.

12. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, June 30, 1881.

13. Scott Marble copyrighted 72 plays.—Library of Congress, copyright office, *Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States, 1870-1916*, 2 volumes (Government Printing Office, 1918).

A more detailed study of the plays and of the organization of traveling theatre is reserved for a separate article.

When the Lords first came to Kansas, in December, 1869, the organization was billed as the J. A. Lord Dramatic Company of Chicago, or some variant of that title. Mrs. Lord was the star, but Mr. Lord received a substantial recognition which assessed honors fairly evenly. The dramatic critic of the Leavenworth *Daily Commercial* was completely captivated, however, by Louie and went into ecstasies—"She is a beautiful blonde, possessing fine stage presence, a melodious and effective voice and unmistakable dramatic abilities of a high order"—"the 'fair one' with the golden locks, Louie Lord,"—"the display of blonde hair which she afforded in 'Jenny Lind' should be more frequently seen, as its beauty would greatly delight the boys and arouse the ire of the chignon headed ladies. It almost rivalled Godiva's 'rippled ringlets to her knee'"—"Last night the wealth of her golden hair was exhibited to the delighted audience"—"As Lady Audley, the bewildering *blonde*, unscrupulous as lovely—she surpassed herself."¹⁴ This was the one and only time in Kansas that Mrs. Lord's golden hair received rave notices. How the dramatic critics were kept under control is not known, but her person was seldom the subject of comment in other papers in 1869 or later. The company publicity placed the emphasis upon dramatic artistry, the character and quality of the acting rather than personal intimacies or extraneous matters. At Topeka the verdict was that Mrs. Lord appeared "to the best advantage" in parts requiring "great physical and mental force; in portraying the stormier passions of the human heart. . . ." ¹⁵

During the season of 1873-1874 the Lords appeared as stars under the John Whitely Combination and in 1875-1876 the Olympic Troupe. In 1876-1877 the name Louie Lord Combination was used, but the next two years the original name, J. A. Lord Dramatic Company reappeared most of the time until January, 1879, when a combination was made with the W. P. Hall Superior Dramatic Company. From 1881-1885 the regular name was Louie Lord Dramatic Company. More and more, as time passed, adverse notices of Lord's acting became more frequent and outspoken, and February 14, 1884, the *Saline County Journal*, Salina, announced that J. A. Lord had retired from acting and would devote his whole time to management. One adverse critic insisted that he excelled "in nothing but Rip Van Winkle, and Col. Sellers."¹⁶

14. Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, December 21, 23, 24, 29, 1869.

15. *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, January 14, 1870.

16. *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, June 4, 1878. The part of Colonel Sellers was in the dramatized version of Mark Twain's *Gilded Age*.

During the theatrical season of 1878-1879 Lord responded to the lure of the west Kansas plains and made plans for disbanding the company early and making his location. Because of friendship between the editor of the *Peabody Gazette* and C. W. Taylor, a member of Lord's company, that paper, March 7, outlined the spring plans—Wellington, Winfield, and then Wichita where the company would break up, and Lord would go west to take up land. This item was picked up by the *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, March 11. The schedule did not turn out quite as stated but the disbanding of the company did take place at El Dorado. The *Walnut Valley Times*, March 28, of that place announced:

The company will close a season of eight months . . . at this place, and Saturday morning depart for their several homes to enjoy a vacation of four months. Mr. Lord goes to locate a colony in Kansas, and locates a ranch of five thousand acres himself for stock raising. Louie Lord goes to her home in Chicago, where she pays taxes on \$20,000 in real estate. How many traveling managers can show a record equal to that of Mr. Lord? Talent and good management tells the story.

None of the first stories explained where Lord was locating or why he chose Meade county, but by a peculiar coincidence that area received a sudden publicity because of the salt sink which occurred in March. The land he selected was then described in the press as within four miles of the salt sink. The announcement was made also that he would soon bring out from the east a large family to locate in Meade county, a colony of Canadians settling under his management.¹⁷ The several news items were in general terms and did not provide specific data. The facts, so far as they were accurate, provided the beginning, however, of the legend about his or Louie's large ranch in southwestern Kansas—some said near Larned, but that location was probably derived from the fact that the United States Land Office for southwestern Kansas was then located at Larned.

On February 11, 1882, the Junction City *Union* insisted that Mr. and Mrs. Lord were

enthusiastic Kansans. The only place they travel, or play outside of the large cities, is in Kansas, and the inducement is not so much the quantity of shekels to be gathered here, as that they love our climate and scenery. They own a section of land in Meade county, on which they have a quantity of stock, in charge of some relations, located there in the same business. Mr. Lord thinks Meade county a perfect paradise. It is gratifying to know that in addition to being well-fixed otherwise, they have a "ranche" upon which to rusticate.

17. Dodge City *Times*, March 29, April 5, 12, May 10, 31, 1879; *Ford County Globe*, April 8, May 6, July 8, 1879.

In the spring of 1883, again Lord cut short the theatrical season, arriving in Dodge City the first week in April on his way to "his cattle ranch in Meade county, where he will put in several months of his leisure time."¹⁸ It should be noted that in no case cited did Mrs. Lord spend the summer in Meade county.

On Christmas night, 1883, in Atchison, Mrs. Lord performed in "The Linwood Case" a Scott Marble play written especially for her. The *Champion* said, December 27, that the effectiveness of the play "could be safely inferred from the quiet of the balcony. . . ." The dramatic critic then, with substantial accuracy, indulged in a recapitulation of the Kansas career of the Lords, especially Mrs. Lord:

More interesting than the play were the Lords themselves, who are really historical personages in Kansas. It is at least fourteen years since they began to appear before Kansas audiences, and thirteen years ago they opened Corinthian Hall with "Dora, or the Farmer's Will." They have since played, we believe, in every Kansas town which contains a building sufficient for the purposes of a dramatic performance. Mrs. Lord, as she appeared on the stage last night as "Margery Dore," did not look a day older than the "Dora" of 1870, and in all the years Kansas people have always found her the same careful, painstaking and accomplished artist, and vastly better than a dozen stars we could name who forage all over the United States. The Lords, however, seem content to stick to Kansas and their friends. They have invested a portion of their means in lands in Meade county, and may retire to their far western estate some day. They are making a tour now which will pretty much cover Kansas. . . . In a couple of months they will revisit Atchison and appear in a new play written by Mrs. Lord herself.

This was not intended as an obituary, but it summed up James A. Lord's career appropriately and slightly more than a year before such an article was necessary. But unlike obituaries, this editorial was printed while the subject was still in a position to appreciate the tribute.

III. JAMES A. LORD'S DEATH AND THE SETTLEMENT OF HIS ESTATE

During the fall of 1884, after playing through Kansas—Abilene, Salina, Ellsworth, Larned, and Dodge City—the Lords went west into New Mexico. Concerning a five-night stand, playing to crowded houses, the Dodge City *Cowboy*, December 6, 1884, asserted that: "Mrs. Lord is one of the most popular actresses on the American stage, and Mr. Lord is one of the most successful dramatic managers on the road. He has a good company and good plays. He is one of the few theatrical men whose word can be depended

18. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1883.

upon." The record is not complete about the plays presented, but from those specified at other towns on the route, the Dodge City series must have included "A Member of Congress" and "Madcap Peg" (Peg, the Witch of Ruby Farm), both credited in the papers to Louie's own composition, with "Pygmalion and Galatea," "The Danites," and "Divorce."

In Socorro, N. M., after playing on January 15, 1885, Lord was taken ill, and the next day was dead. Mrs. Lord disbanded the troupe and returned by way of the Santa Fe railroad to Chicago for the burial. The Dodge City papers got some of the details during the train stop there for division servicing, January 19. The *Globe Livestock Journal*, Dodge City, January 20, extended its sympathy to Mrs. Lord, Dodge City's "favorite actress." The *Kansas Cowboy*, January 24, through its editor, the veteran Kansan, S. S. Prouty, presented the following:

Mrs. Lord is one of the most popular actresses on the American stage. She received her dramatic training from her husband. She was a school mistress in Chicago when she first met her dramatic lord. She took a fancy to the stage and Lord. She was an apt pupil and scored a success from the start. Lord was a good theatrical man and knew all about the business. He could instruct, but on the stage he could not fascinate. He knew this. He was keenly aware of the fact that his wife was the brains and soul of the Lord dramatic company. He appreciated her worth and sang the praises of her merits whenever opportunity offered. Mrs. Lord is young and now that she is free, pretty and rich, the dramatic world is before her to conquer. We predict that she will be the acknowledged empress of the stage before she reposes.

The *Abilene Reflector*, January 29, had this to say: "We trust that he made a graceful exit from this world. He wasn't much of an actor, but he was a square, genial sort of man and deserves a respectable place in the memories of our people." The *Junction City Union*, January 31, added to its prior tribute:

Mr. Lord was one of the first theatrical managers to regularly visit Kansas with a company. Away back in '68 and '69, Mr. Lord and Louie played for a week at a time in old Brown's Hall. . . . There is scarcely a town in Kansas large enough to patronize a theatrical entertainment where he did not visit. He was by birth a Canadian, but came to the United States when a very young man, and served in the Union army. He was an exemplary and honest man, greatly devoted to his wife, "Louie," who always accompanied him. Some years ago he invested in lands in Meade county, though he made his home in Chicago. . . .

The only really unkind reference to Lord came from the *Winfield Courier*, November 4, 1886, upon the occasion of Mrs. Lord's return to that town for the first time after her husband's death: "Formerly she was menaced by a jealous husband who persisted in playing

lover always, whether adapted or not. He shook off the mortal coil a year ago, and it seems to have been a blessing for Louie's theatrical success."¹⁹

At Chicago one person more or less, made no difference. The *Daily Tribune* and the *Daily Inter-Ocean*, January 22, 1885, carried identical announcements of Lord's death:

In Socorro, New Mexico, January 16, James A. Lord theatrical manager and actor aged 55 years.

The funeral will take place from his late residence, 231 South Sangamon St., Friday, January 23 at 9:30 A. M. Services held at St. Patrick's [Catholic] Church, thence by cars to Calvary Cemetery. Friends of the family and profession invited.

New York, Boston, Quebec, and Montreal papers please copy.²⁰

James A. Lord had made a will, dated Chicago, May 21, 1881, by which he left to his "beloved wife, Louisa M. Lord" and "to her alone and exclusively,"—"all I own and possess on Earth." In order to settle the Kansas portion of the estate this will was probated in Meade county.²¹ The story of the settlement involves a number of problems, a part of which cannot be explained fully from materials available. The first delay grew out of the rapidly changing political boundaries of western Kansas counties. In 1883 Meade county's brief independent existence was canceled out, the area being divided between Ford and Seward counties. This is probably the explanation of part of the confusion in the Kansas press about the location of the Lords' holdings, it sometimes being said that they were in Seward county. In 1885 Meade county was re-established with its present boundaries and much enlarged beyond the limits of the county as of 1875-1880. In the explanation of delays in probating the will, her lawyer, Arthur D. Rich, of Chicago, explained to the probate judge, in a letter of August 7, 1886, that Mrs. Lord had applied in June, 1885, at the office of the probate judge of Ford county at Dodge City, but had been advised to wait until the Meade county organization had been completed under the new law and then to probate the will there.

In the meantime other difficulties presented themselves. James A. Lord and Louisa M. Lord had no children, and none were named in the will, but a son of James A. Lord, by an earlier marriage, applied, May 28, 1886, to the probate judge, using the name of Edward

19. Other Kansas comments were by the Dodge City *Democrat*, January 24, 1885; Dodge City *Times*, January 22, 1885; Newton *Kansan*, February 5, 1885; Atchison *Daily Champion*, January 23, 1885; Atchison *Daily Globe*, January 31, 1885.

20. Acknowledgment is made here to Prof. Bessie Pierce, University of Chicago, for having her staff make researches for Chicago material on Mr. and Mrs. Lord.

21. Unless otherwise stated, all of the original documents relating to the settlement of the estate of James A. Lord are to be found in the office of the probate judge, Meade county. Case No. 12.

M. Colgan, to settle the estate of James A. Colgan, and an administrator had been appointed and proceedings begun. Then, in August, 1886, the probate judge received a letter from Edward M. Colgan, dated July 31, and another letter dated August 5, signed by two names in one hand, "Edward M. Colgan or Edward M. Lord." In the first of these letters the writer referred to his earlier action under the name of Colgan, but

now I find my father has always, that is for the past thirty (30) years, used his professional name Jas. A. Lord and discarded the family one of Colgan. naturalized and voted as Jas. A. Lord. his entry papers at the Land office are entered as Jas. A. Lord. Now there is a will made by him in favor of his wife Louisa M. to be presented for probate. now Mrs. Lord is willing to *give me* a deed of the *whole estate in Kansas* as she does not care about it. the moment the will is approved by the court in Kansas. now in that case what shall I do. I want it settled with the very least trouble and expense. can the papers I signed be changed to the name of Lord instead of Colgan. Mrs. Lord is perfectly willing that the claims against [it] by William Colgan be paid. . . .

The second letter, signed with the double signature explained: ". . . I have no objections whatever to the Probate of the Will. I am quite willing to trust Mrs. Lord to deal fairly and liberally with me." ²²

The son's letter had referred to his father's naturalization as a citizen of the United States. That legal transaction had been completed at Salina, November 29, 1881, and had been necessary to qualify him to complete the patent to his homestead entry at the General Land Office. The proceedings recited that he had been born in Canada, that he had produced in court his discharge papers from the United States army dated March 5, 1863, that he had given proof of residence in the United States more than five years, and in Kansas more than one year.²³

The exact nature of Lord's residence in Kansas, of more than one year, as specified in the naturalization proceedings, is not clear. He had entered his homestead and a timber culture claim in 1879, and in 1880 was present when the United States census was taken, June 11-16. In the census he was listed as 41 years of age, married, and born in Canada of Irish born parents. He was credited with ownership of 320 acres of land, 40 acres of which were improved, and valued, together with improvements, at \$720. The improve-

22. Both of these letters were dated at Chicago, 319-39 Street, near Westworth Avenue. The capitalization and punctuation in these letters were quite individualistic.

23. *Final Naturalization Records* (1881-1903), Saline county, 1881, v. C, p. 9.—Fourteenth Judicial district of the state of Kansas. The fact that Lord had been naturalized in Salina was mentioned by the *Salina Herald*, February 21, 1884. The present writer wishes to thank Marion Klema, of Salina, for finding the naturalization record in the office of the district court and for making a copy for present purposes.

ments of 1879 were listed as worth \$125, machinery at \$50, and livestock at \$200—two horses, three milk cows, two calves dropped and two purchased, and 11 chickens. Although no agricultural production was returned, the editor of the census records inserted in red ink a nominal production of \$12. Probably, almost certainly, Lord had spent only his summers in Meade county, devoting his time during the theatrical season to his profession, and leaving the care of his holdings in Meade county to his relatives. According to the United States census, the Colgan clan consisted of single young men, apparently all cousins, his nephews, and all like himself were born in Canada of Irish parents—John R., 25 years; John E., 27 years; John, 27 years; William, 18 years.²⁴ Lord's age as given in the census record did not agree with the obituary notice of 1885. Apparently, the census record was 10 years too young, with a birthday falling between January and June, 1829.

The long letter of Mrs. Lord's Chicago lawyer, dated August 7, 1886, brought together the most complete statement of facts in one place about James A. Lord, the family, and the estate. He enclosed the original will, together with two photographic copies, the letter of Edward M. Colgan or Lord, dated August 5, stating that he had no objections to the probate of the will, and a brief résumé of Colgan-Lord family history:

Mr. Lord's original family name was James A. *Colgan*. He was first married under that name and his only child Edward M. bears that name. His first wife died in 1861, & he married his 2d wife Oct. 18, 1864 under the name James A. Lord. It may be necessary to explain that he went into the theatrical business in Boston in 1855 and then for obvious reasons assumed the stage name of Lord & since that time has been known both on the stage and off only as James A. Lord. He enlisted in the army in 1861, was naturalized, and has always voted under the name of Lord. In all business transactions, in buying and selling property, he has used that name. He entered the homestead claim to land in yr. county and executed his will as you see by that name. In fact I am advised he has not used, or been known in business or otherwise by any other name since 1855. Under these circumstances I hardly think an *alias* will be necessary in the probate of the will.

These facts about Lord's acting career beginning in 1855 would seem to confirm the probable date of his birth as the spring of 1829. Thus he would have been 51 in June, 1880, or 55 in January, 1885, or 56 if he had lived until June, 1885. According to this calendar, in 1855 he would have been 26 rather than 16 years of age upon entering the acting profession, and 32 rather than 22 when

24. *United States Census, 1880*.—Ms. agricultural schedules, and film copy of population schedules at Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

his first wife died and he enlisted in the Union army. In October, 1864, when he married Louisa M. Simms, he would have been 35. Louie's age has not been determined, but as a Chicago school teacher in 1864, she may have been 10 to 15 years younger than her husband. Her family name has been established only tentatively by the fact that Willard E. Simms, comedian in the Lord Dramatic Company, was referred to as her brother.

But to return to the probate proceedings in Meade county, the probate judge permitted the substitution of names as requested, James A. Lord for James A. Colgan, and the continuation of the administrator already appointed under the former name.²⁵ The inventory of the estate listed personal property (19 head of cattle) at \$169, the homestead at \$700, and the tree claim at \$330. The homestead had been patented September 30, 1882, lots 3 and 4 and the east half of the southwest quarter of section 30, township 31 south, range 27 west of the Sixth principal meridian, a total of 153.67 acres. The tree claim, the northwest quarter of section 31, adjoining the homestead on the south, was not patented. But, according to the agreement between Mrs. Lord and Edward M. Lord, the estate relinquished rights to the latter and that fact was stated in the first annual report of the administrator. To complete the record, however, Edward Lord did not complete the tree claim title and no patent was ever issued to him. In fact, the relinquishment to him had no legal status under federal land laws. The patent to that quarter was eventually issued to Robert A. Brannan, October 12, 1900, on homestead entry.²⁶ Eventually the Lord property was all sold and settlement made, Mrs. Lord receiving \$241.45, for which she executed a receipt, February 1, 1890.

IV. LOUIE LORD, 1885-1889

After Mr. Lord's death, in January, 1885, Mrs. Lord appears to have retired from the stage, not only for the remainder of that season, but for the whole of the season of 1885-1886. In the fall of 1886, however, she was back on the road with a company of her own. Her advance agent was none other than her stepson, Edward M. Lord, and her manager, Clair M. Patee of Manhattan. The information about her activities in the interim of retirement is circumstantial except that her advance publicity stressed the point of

25. The affidavits of death of James A. Colgan or James A. Lord, were filed under both names, giving the death date as January 16, 1885. The affidavit of identity and substitution of names was approved by the probate court and filed December 26, 1887.

26. Office of Register of Deeds, Meade county, numerical index, "Record B," p. 185, and "Homestead Patent Records B," p. 114.

her return to the stage after some two years, and local commentary added its variations.²⁷ The *Beloit Gazette*, January 7, 1887, reported that "her return to the stage, after an absence of considerable time, is hailed with pleasure. . . . She is stronger . . . than ever. . . ." So favorable a verdict was evidently good advance publicity and was used in that fashion in *The Dispatch*, Clay Center, January 12, 1887, to advertise the engagement there for January 14 and 15. It confirmed the opinion of the *Ellsworth Democrat*, December 9, 1886, that: "Louie Lord is much improved this season, after her two years rest."

Another aspect of publicity was the emphasis upon Mrs. Lord's past record as a favorite actress of the several towns in which she was billed to play. The *Washington Republican*, December 31, 1886, remarked: "Probably of all the ladies who have played in Kansas hers alone is the only name that would guarantee a house without additional advertising."²⁸ The *Abilene Chronicle*, December 3, 1886, said that: "It is only necessary to announce their arrival here to secure an old time crowd to welcome them."

The Louie Lord Dramatic Company played during November and December, 1886, and early January, 1887, in Caldwell, Winfield, El Dorado, Salina, Brookville, Ellsworth, Russell, Abilene, Manhattan, Washington, Concordia, Beloit, Minneapolis, Junction City, and Clay Center. Their reception was uniformly favorable and largely enthusiastic. The plays featured were: "The Linwood Case," "A Modern Godiva," "A Member of Congress," "Madcap Peg," "The Banker's Daughter," and "Forget-Me-Not." The first four of these were represented as written expressly for or by Mrs. Lord, and had been in her repertoire before. At Winfield, November 12, the company celebrated Mrs. Lord's birthday anniversary, but, as the *Daily Courier* of that date put it neatly: "Of course the modesty of girlhood demands that we stop here—without figures."

A feature of the season that was unusual to the Lord tradition of emphasis upon acting only, was special exploitation of Mrs. Lord's wardrobe. At Salina, the *Republican*, November 27, stated that in preparation for her coming the stage was getting a new carpet "so she can wear her handsome wardrobe." The *Abilene Daily Gazette*, December 17, concluded that: "The wardrobe is undoubtedly the finest that has been displayed on a stage in this city," and the

27. *Washington Republican*, December 31, 1886, said, erroneously, "after a retirement of several years."

28. Variants of this are found in the *Abilene Chronicle*, December 3; *Ellsworth Reporter*, December 9; *Russell Record*, December 16, 1886.

Mercury, Manhattan, December 22, rendered the verdict that her costumes ". . . are alone worth the price of admission."²⁹

The press notices of the performances of the company as a whole, and of Mrs. Lord in particular, were never more glowing. Such an exception as the *Daily Gazette*, December 19, after the Abilene performance, was only relative, but possibly significant: "Louie Lord leaves us, with not so favorable an impression as on former occasions." Although Abilene audiences were small, the *Reflector*, December 23, made an issue of the quality of the acting: "Especially we desire to speak of 'Forget-Me-Not.' Miss Lord could not have more powerfully presented this *title role* had the same been written for her. She was simply perfect. The audience was spell bound from beginning to end." The eulogy included Mr. Simms, and closed: "Our citizens are seldom treated to genuine acting, but in Louie Lord and Mr. Simms they will see nothing better from any talent that makes Abilene a stopping place."

At the close of the highly successful, four-day engagement, of the Louie Lord Company at Salina, the *Saline County Journal*, December 9, 1886, announced that the troupe would return in March next. But within the next few days a peculiar series of rumors came into circulation that confused the whole scene. First, the Clay Center *Daily Times*, December 11, printed the following: "The news just reaches us that Louie Lord, the greatest of all great emotional actresses, has again married and is now Mrs. Carter. Her liege 'Lord' this time is her leading man and is something like fifteen years her junior. Glory Hallelujah! \$75,000 do work wonders." No confirmation of this marriage story has been found. On the contrary, the probability of its validity is virtually eliminated. Her leading man was Lincoln J. Carter, and his youthful appearance had been the subject of unfavorable comment on the ground that one role required an older man.

Carter (1865-1926) was indeed a young man—just a few months less than 22 years, but with one play in production in Chicago already to his credit. According to his approved biographical sketch, his first marriage occurred in 1899. He was a prolific playwright of the melodramatic or sensational type of play, and after purchasing the Criterion Theatre in Chicago, in 1900, he was also a producer.³⁰

29. At Hays, on October 19, 1882, the *Star-Sentinel* commented about Louie "making five changes of elegant dresses; but, she always dresses well and neatly." This emphasis as of 1883 was unusual.

30. The *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, v. 20, pp. 402, 403; Library of Congress, copyright office, *Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States, 1870-1916*, 2 volumes (Government Printing Office, 1918), consult index under Lincoln J. Carter. "The Circus Queen" was not listed among his copyrighted plays, nor among those listed in the biographical sketch in the *National Cyclopedia*.

Soon another report was in circulation that J. A. Simon had purchased a half interest in the company. This was definitely not true.³¹ The Junction City *Union*, January 8, 1887, announced "with pleasure" the coming of "the celebrated actress and lady, Louie Lord" on January 13: "All should attend, as this will be the last chance, she being about to retire from the stage, to see this talented and gifted actress."

Mrs. Lord herself dispelled a part of the confusion by a letter to the Abilene *Daily Gazette*, which was summarized in that paper January 14, "on next Saturday [January 15] she will cease to be a member of the company under the management of C. M. Pattee, who continues on the road with Miss Lord's brother, W. E. Simms, as the star of the company. Miss Lord will go to Chicago, where she will organize a new company, and secure dates (over the old route) to produce a number of new plays."

The relations of the Lords with Patee were of several years' duration. Almost by coincidence he might appear to have been their evil genius. Clair M. Patee (1858-1930) was born in Kansas, or Missouri, March 6, 1858, his father Dr. Elephalet L. Patee settled in Manhattan, where this elder son became a printer. With A. L. Runyon, father of Damon Runyon, he established the Manhattan *Enterprise* in 1876, but left it January 24, 1877. In 1884 he and J. J. Davis founded the Manhattan *Mercury*, Patee leaving it February 11, 1885, to join the staff of the Topeka *State Journal*. Between these ventures he worked at various jobs mostly connected with printing. In 1878 he made what appears to have been his first contract with the entertainment world—during the illness of the advance agent of the Andrews Bell Ringers, a period of two or three weeks, he served in that capacity.³²

But before relating the first contact between Patee and the Lord Dramatic Company, a slight diversion is necessary. During the early months of 1878, the troupe suffered internal dissention which gained unpleasant publicity. The discontented man-and-wife team, Harry C. and May Seymour, insisted Mr. Lord wrote the publicity, including the critiques of the performances for the local press, for

31. *Kansas Blade*, Concordia, January 7, 28, 1887.

32. *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka, 1916), p. 275, and files of the *Enterprise* and the *Mercury*; *Enterprise*, September 26, 1877, March 20, April 3, 10, May 1, 1878; "Kansas State Census, 1875," Riley county, Manhattan, p. 74, gave his birth place as Missouri; *Lawrence Journal-World*, July 11, 1930, gave his birthplace as Kansas, and his birthday as March 6, 1858. The 1875 census listed Patee as 18 which would make the year of his birth 1856 or 1857 instead of 1858.

the glorification of Mrs. Lord. An episode at Dodge City illustrated the point. The play was "Divorce" which the *Times*, February 2, 1878, praised: "Mrs. Lord performed the leading part, and though in poor health, gave great satisfaction. She goes into the spirit and soul of the character, and the swelled optics and the occasional drops of overflowed emotion that coursed down many a fair and harder cheek, was an evidence of the work the actress had done. . . ." But the *Times* apologized for the amount of detail about the performance, and turned to a satire on Mr. Lord's conduct:

It was Mr. Lord's speech, and not a dissertation on the show, we had intended giving. But we will be pardoned for making serio-dramatic entertainment for the edification of those who heard Mr. Lord's great speech of thanks, delivered before the performance of the last act in *Divorce*. Mr. Lord had much to be thankful for, though the illness of Mrs. Lord detracted from the performances of four nights of the engagement, yet he heartily thanked the people of Dodge City for their liberal patronage, notwithstanding Mrs. Lord's indisposition. He was profuse in his thanks to many of our citizens, who had aided him in his wife's severe though not serious affliction, and to the urbane Sheriff and County Board he was grateful for the use of the hall, and though the omission of the star for four nights, he was especially thankful to Mr. Conner, who had been unremitting in his efforts as ticket agent, which is the more pleasing as the people were deprived of Louie Lord's presence four nights of the engagement. The gentlemanly Mayor and town Council had his hearty thanks, and could they have had the undivided pleasure of witnessing the leading character on the stage, whose four nights absence was sincerely to be regretted. Notwithstanding he hoped the people of Dodge City would continue to live on cattle, but he begged pardon he meant cattle trade, and on the return of spring, when May flowers are in bloom, and the hectic flush on the cheek of the star disappeared, he would spread the boards again. Mr. Phillips had taken deep interest in the show and many thought he was the proprietor of the troupe, but he was thankful to him and to the proprietors of the Dodge City House for their uniform attention to the troupe and the star thereof, and during her four days illness from which the people of Dodge, whom he hoped would go to heaven, were deprived of the pleasure of her performances.

During October, 1878, the Seymours left the Lords and organized their own company, with Clair M. Patee as advance agent. Before the end of November, however, the company collapsed, the Seymours leaving Salina and unpaid bills between two days to escape process servers. Patee took a job as foreman of the *Saline County Journal's* press room.³³ It was just after the reorganization of the Lord company that Mrs. Lord was ill in Wamego, the attending physician being Dr. Patee of Manhattan. A few weeks later, Clair Patee was traveling as advance agent of the Lord Dramatic Com-

33. *Salina Herald*, October 26, November 23, 1878; *Saline County Journal*, Salina, November 14, 21, 1878; *Weekly Democrat*, Salina, November 14, 21, 1878; *Dickinson County Chronicle*, Abilene, November 8, 1878; *Abilene Gazette*, November 22, 1878.

pany.³⁴ He was with the Lords during the season of 1883-1884, and now was again with Mrs. Lord in 1886-1887.

Between 1884 and 1886 Patee had met and married Vivian Allen, of Lawrence, a newspaper woman, who, in 1886, turned actress in minor parts. This is the same man-and-wife team who, in 1903, in Lawrence established the first western moving picture theatre—but that is another story.

At Clay Center on January 14, 15, 1887 (Friday and Saturday), the Louie Lord Dramatic Company under Patee's management made its last appearance, and a new organization, the Clair Patee Comedy Company, was announced. The *Evening Times*, January 17, gave praise to both. The final play of the old group was "Forget-Me-Not":

It is a wonderful play, and in the hands of the leading artists of this company was made to partake of a reality almost painful in its intensity at times. Miss Lord appeared at her best and right along with her and dividing the honors was pretty little Edith Arnold as *Alice Gurney*. It is a very hard character to sustain, but Miss Arnold never weakened in the least from the first to last. It is safe to foretell for her a brilliant future for she certainly has talent, youth, beauty, strength and ambition to commence the struggle. Mr. Carter, the "leading man," as Sir George Colby played very artistically at times, but still throughout with an air of abstraction and inattention hardly polite to actors or audience. There was a bare suspicion in his tired and oft repeated movements that his collar band was frayed about the edges and was sawing its way into his dorsal vertebra. Mrs. Patee made a faithful and amusing *Mrs. Follensbee* and showed herself competent for much better parts. The company dissolves here, Louie Lord going to Chicago where she will organize another company and star the larger cities of the east. Mr. Carter also resigned and started for Kansas City Sunday, the balance of the company with the addition of J. W. Carner as comedian, went to Belleville and from there will make the principal towns north and west.

A second article was devoted to the new organization, although much of the substance was repetition:

The company is almost as strong in every respect as was the old, and in some particulars very much better. J. W. Carner is a comedian second to none who travel in this part of the state and with the brilliant young Simms, who is Mrs. Lord's brother, will make a team hard to beat. They can force people to laugh whether they want to or not. Miss Edith Arnold is to be the "leading lady" and with her charming face and figure, and unmistakable ability, will completely fill the vacancy left by Mrs. Lord. She is young, pretty, vivacious, active, unmarried, and will soon be as much of a favorite and in the same direction as was Louie Lord years and years ago. . . .

In the first article Louie Lord had received her praise. In the last mentioned, Edith Arnold received her praise. Whether or not

34. *Manhattan Enterprise*, December 13, 1878; *Peabody Gazette*, February 28, 1879; *Salina Herald*, March 1, 1879; *Sumner County Press*, Wellington, March 6, 1879.

intentional, in being enthusiastic about both, the contrast cut deep as brought out in the phrase "as was Louie Lord years and years ago." The ruthlessness of youth in their climb to the top of the heap! In effect, even their kindness was unkind—no cruelty is more merciless than that inflicted inadvertently by kind friends.

Most of the stories of other papers followed the main outline of these communiques as printed in the *Clay Center Times*, but the detail varied in accuracy. With few exceptions, all ignored Carter, possibly because he was virtually unknown in Kansas, while most of the other members were old friends to theatre goers.³⁵ On the business end, Edward M. Lord, Mrs. Lord's stepson, continued with Patee as advance agent.³⁶ Much of the publicity for the Patee Company emphasized that it was the reorganized Louie Lord troupe, with practically the same cast. The *Salina Herald*, January 20, 1887, was explicit: "The company remains practically the same as when last here with the exception that Mr. Carner is added and Mrs. Lord left out."³⁷

On the surface, at least, there was no indication of friction involved in the break up and reorganization of the components into two new companies. Still, the departure of Mrs. Lord and her leading man Carter to head a new company may have concealed fundamental differences either personal or policy-wise. The Patee organization emphasized two comedians, but the plays were for the most part out of the Lord repertoire. Louie Lord had made her reputation as an emotional actress. The separation of brother and sister, Willard Simms and Louie Lord, may have been intended to allow broader scope to both. The only unfavorable implication associated with the dissolution publicity was the derogatory comment about Carter's final performance at Clay Center. At any rate, Carter did become Mrs. Lord's manager.

In 1886-1887 Kansas and the West as far as the Pacific Ocean were experiencing the most fantastic phase of the Great Boom of the late 1880's. In spite of a bad crop year in 1886, optimism ran wild. Nearly every town of any importance was projecting new manufacturing plants, boring for oil, or gas, or coal, or some mineral,

35. *The Dispatch*, Clay Center, January 19, 1887; *Abilene Reflector*, January 20, 1887; *Salina Herald*, January 20, 1887.

36. *Concordia Kansas Blade*, January 21, 1887; *The Dispatch*, Clay Center, January 19, 1887.

37. *Beloit Gazette*, January 21, 1887; *Saline County Journal*, January 27, 1887; *Salina Republican*, January 29, February 5, 1887.

Patee continued to operate a theatrical company over the next two seasons, adding, in 1888-1889, such attractions as a female band, and the raffling of jewelry to ticket holders. His road show was brought to a sudden close at St. Joseph, in April, 1889, when he lost everything in a theatre fire.—*Junction City Union*, February 23, 1889; *The Mercury*, Manhattan, March 13, 20, 1889; *Saline County Journal*, February 28, March 7, April 11, 1889.

promoting new public utilities—electric light plants, street railways, gas plants, water plants, street paving, telephone systems, opera houses (by which was not meant music, but halls for theatrical and other entertainments, and public meetings). But the Great Boom was already, although unrecognized by most, in an advanced stage of deflation, with complete collapse in the offing. And the weather was co-operating in the oncoming disaster by short crops or complete failures over most of the years of the decade 1886-1895. Possibly the split-up at midseason into two companies by Louie and Willard was an aspect of this Great Boom psychology, or if other and strictly personal reasons were at the bottom of the division, this boom spirit may have encouraged both to go their separate ways before differences produced an explosion that would be bad for business. If the boom influence entered in any degree, however, it was an instance of bad business judgment.

LOUIE LORD, SUPPORTED BY

THE L. J. CARTER DRAMATIC COMPANY, SPRING, 1887.

Mrs. Lord must have arrived in Chicago sometime Monday, January 17, 1887, following her last performance at Clay Center on Saturday night. How long she was occupied in assembling the new company and where they first played together is not established, but Louie Lord appeared in Wichita on February 9 at the Crawford Opera House for a four-day run, which was extended to six days. At the moment Wichita was enjoying the peak of her boom—she boasted unashamedly of being the "Athens of America" with three universities, two colleges, and two academies. Subscription papers were being circulated to raise funds for a season of opera music with well-known singers. That part or most of these boasts were only prospective did not bother Wichita, where, supposedly, all things were possible and to be projected meant to be assured as though already in being.

The publicity for Louie Lord was badly managed. Apparently the Crawford Opera House and the *Beacon* were engaged in mutual boycotting, the break coming only in March which did not help Mrs. Lord. Her presence in Wichita was not mentioned in the *Beacon*. The *Eagle* did only slightly better, and she was given limited attention in the amusement column. A short biographical sketch of Mrs. Lord's career was presented: "Miss Lord's first appearance on the stage began in the old school of the legitimate, appearing as a member of the stock company of the Indianapolis theatre. Afterwards she made a very successful starring tour

through the large eastern cities and opened the present season with a new play and the company which last night appeared at the Crawford." Certainly part of this, at least, was misleading. In the critique of the performance of "Forget-Me-Not," the *Eagle* considered that: "Miss Lord gave a most successful representation . . .; she has a splendid physique, makes a fine stage appearance, her voice is good and she has a magnificent wardrobe." Mr. Carter, her leading man "was a finished actor and was several times greeted with applause." On the last night "Miss Lord and her leading man, Mr. Carter, were at the end of the third act recalled before the curtain."³⁸

An engagement at Winfield, February 18, 19, 1887, afforded much of interest to the personal story of Mrs. Lord. The advertisement announced: "Louie Lord, the accomplished and favorite artist supported by an entirely new and carefully selected support, with new and elegant costumes and the latest and most popular plays adapted to the company." Elsewhere the support was referred to as the L. J. Carter Dramatic Company. Whatever the form, however, it was Louie Lord's show. The first play was "A Member of Congress" which the *Daily Courier* said was presented to "a fair house," but: Miss Lord is out of place in "star" parts. She might make a fairly acceptable soubrette in a fourth class variety show. She is not original in any particular and last evening especially in the last act she imitated or attempted to imitate Mrs. W. J. Florence, her costume being almost precisely the same as used by Mrs. Florence as the English widow in "Our Governor." Louie's support is good, in fact above the average. The Arncliffe of L. J. Carter was a neat piece of work and well carried. Mr. Carter will yet achieve a higher position in his chosen profession. The Calif Dunscome of Mr. Cotton, was fair, but he sadly needs training. He is on the school-boy exhibition order. The Captain Honeywood of Mr. Ashton was clever and he makes a very acceptable dude. The other male parts were fairly well taken. The Mrs. Monstressor of Miss Nevada and the Betsy of Miss Bradbury were exceedingly poor, in fact simply sticks. "American Born" tonight.

Quite different was the verdict of the dramatic critic of the *Daily Visitor*:

Last night the opera house was well filled with an audience of our best people. . . . Nothing can be said of the performance except the same old story: it was perfect. Louie Lord as Cecelia Dunscome was the same finished actress that we have always seen her. In her part last night she simply carried the audience by storm. There is no actress visits our city who so universally pleases all classes as she does. Her support is very good and we are glad to see that she has a better company than when here last. Mr. Carter, Mr. Colton Covert, Ashton and Pringle all played their parts well. Miss Bradbury and Miss Nevada

38. Wichita *Daily Eagle*, February 6, 9, 13, 16, 1887.

are fair, although the latter does not dress her part in "Member of Congress" as elaborately as it should be.

Likewise the *Daily Visitor* considered the second night's play "American Born" "a strong one and the whole company was perfect in their interpretation of the piece." The *Daily Visitor* printed a letter from L. J. Carter, manager for Louie Lord, commenting on the *Courier* article. When shown to her, "Mrs. Lord only smiled." But Carter wished "every person in the state of Kansas could see that article as it would show what judgment the poor boy who wrote it has." After all, the leading papers of the west recognized Mrs. Lord as "an actress, and acknowledged artist,"—"But the people are the judges, the people who flock to see her in every city and town in Kansas. From the capital down, they recognize her as an artist and pay their money to see her." He then presented the figures on the advance reserved seat sale at Winfield; for the first night 48 tickets, but for the second "(mind you, after what the *Courier* says was a vile performance) the sale amounted to 127 reserved seats." Carter revealed himself as not quite tactful even if such a public letter be admitted as desirable. A better defense and with more propriety came from elsewhere.

The *Saturday Evening Tribune* took its contemporary to task and on high grounds that went beyond the level of personalities or of mere entertainment:

The *Courier's* unkind criticism of the Louie Lord Company was uncalled for, to say the least. Louie Lord is a great favorite with the play going people of Winfield, as has been evidenced at every appearance here of her company, by the good attendance given; and the *Courier* insults those people who attend repeatedly, when it makes such a severe criticism as was that of her appearance here last week. We know not the motive that prompted the criticism, but predict that it was not altogether because of a thought of its being merited. Possibly Louie Lord's plays have too much of a lauding of the good and noble traits and qualities of man and woman. Her plays may not have enough sensation and low vulgarity in them to please the *Courier*. We think the *Harper Sentinel* perhaps hits the key note to the *Courier's* distaste for Louie Lord and her plays. . . .

The *Harper Sentinel's* defense was more explicit and besides defending Mrs. Lord as an actress, entered into a defense of her theatrical philosophy and policy as well as providing an interpretation of its own of the role of theatre in the history of human culture:

It has been one of the great misfortunes of the theatrical profession that it has furnished a field wherein unprincipled persons could obtain a livelihood, and by their disgraceful conduct have injured not only one of the greatest arts of mankind, but many worthy and deserving people. The stage, when in the hands of legitimate and conscientious artists, is a most powerful educator; it is

the art gallery of humanity; each character is but a painting representing the righteous instincts, the evil traits and the pure motives we find in the world. The entire forming a picture pleasing to look upon, yet impressing the observer with its teachings, enabling him to better judge the characters he meets in the great drama of life. In saying this we refer only to the pure and legitimate drama, where a wild story of right and wrong is portrayed, and not to the sensational trash, presenting only the triumphs of a fugitive from justice over morality and law abiding humanity. . . . In her negotiations with authors for new dramas she has been positive in her rule not to accept a play which contains a single syllable or sentence which could offend the most fastidious or depend upon sensational climaxes for its success. Prominent managers have said, "Mis. Lord, the people want sensation, and you are making a mistake in refusing to comply with their wishes." The lady's answer has invariably been "The public want amusement, and the more interesting, pure and elevating you can make it, the greater good you will do, and your endeavors will be sustained by society and an appreciative and admiring public." Whether the lady is right or not is evidenced by her exceptional prosperity, and her ability to aid benevolent institutions and worthy causes with financial assistance.

There would seem to be no room for doubt of the *Sentinel's* sincerity in the foregoing editorial and after events did not detract from it. Mrs. Lord played in Harper immediately after the Winfield engagement and the *Sentinel* editor commented on the play "A Wonderful Woman," the slim audience and admitted: "The play was not very enthusiastically received—in short the accomplished actress did not appear at her best in either of the plays presented here. There is no doubt as to her ability and many were highly pleased with her acting, but she did not please the theatre going public generally as well as usual we think."³⁹

Six different plays were mentioned in the reports on the Louie Lord tour of the spring of 1887: "Fedora," "American Born," "A Wonderful Woman," "A Member of Congress," "A Modern Godiva," and "Forget-Me-Not." The first three named were new to Louie's list of plays so far as the present record goes.

THE SEASON OF 1887-1888

The record of the season of 1887-1888 in Kansas is sketchy. During October, 1887, Louie Lord played in Manhattan and Junction City, and during January, 1888, in Concordia and Belleville. The reports in the press were so brief that only two plays were men-

39. Winfield *Daily Courier*, February 15, 17-19, 1887; *Weekly Courier*, February 17, 24, 1887; Winfield *Daily Visitor*, 16, 18-20, 1887; Winfield *Saturday Evening Tribune* (weekly), February 26, 1887; Harper *Sentinel* (weekly), February 26, 1887. The Harper *Sentinel* editorial in defense of the theatre was quoted in the *Tribune* from the Harper *Daily Sentinel*, but that issue is missing from the *Sentinel* files, thus the only copy available is this reprint.

Louie Lord's tour extended to north central Kansas and included Beloit, Washington, and Concordia. The weekly papers of those places, the *Gazette*, *Republican*, and *Register* for April, 1887, reported only briefly, and little beyond the advance publicity.

tioned by title: "Forget-Me-Not" and "Circus Queen." The Junction City *Union* reported satisfaction: "All of her plays are of the highly emotional order, and are well written and presented. Her company is the finest seen here this season; are splendidly costumed, and her scenery, special by Hoyt, New York, completely fits every situation." The emphasis upon scenery by Hoyt was a far cry from the Wellington setup—"their scenery crude and their stage a low platform curtained off with cheap curtains strung on a wire." Not only had Louie Lord grown older, but Kansas had changed and its demands were greater and its tastes more critical even in the face of the Great Depression that was closing in with devastating thoroughness.

The winter of 1887-1888 was the second during which a large part of the grassland was swept by destructive blizzards and bitter cold. Scheduled to play at Concordia, January 14, the company failed to arrive in time for the performance because of disrupted train schedules. The engagement was postponed accordingly to January 26, "provided trains run or the walking is not too bad." The play was "Circus Queen."

Only a fair audience breasted the intensely cold wind, but they should [have] hugged the fire and escaped the agony. The piece is a new one, the production of the manager of the company, L. J. Carter. It will probably never be the equal of "Idonia."⁴⁰ In the first act the audience is left expecting something startling to develop in the second, but which falls very flat. The third as well be left out of the play as the hashed up mess of stuff in the scene from the circus is sickening. Mr. Simms makes the most of his character as do the rest of the company, but the dialogue is neither witty nor heavy. We would advise Miss Lord to strike the "Circus Queen" from her role.

The foregoing criticism was from friends, and the plea to Louie to drop the "Circus Queen" was made out of concern for an admired heroine. The paragraph revealed also that brother and sister were together again. Apparently Simms had only completed the preceding season with Patee. The extraordinary severity of the winter had added its bit to the effects of drouth and depression. That attendance was not up to expectations was no unfavorable reflection on Mrs. Lord and her company. Clay Center had built its opera house as a part of its boom climax, and at the end of the first season, 1887-1888, admitted that it had been poorly patronized.⁴¹

40. "Sidonia" was L. J. Carter's successful play, first produced in Chicago at the Academy of Music in 1886.

41. *The Mercury*, Manhattan, October 19, 1887; Junction City *Union*, October 22, 1887; *Kansas Blade*, Concordia, January 13, 20, 27, 1888; *Belleville Telescope*, January 5, 1888; *The Dispatch*, Clay Center, April 25, 1888.

THE SEASON OF 1888-1889

During the season of 1888-1889, Mrs. Lord was back in Kansas, as the publicity put it: "supported by Carters Superb Company." They had been at Belleville for three days in January and were back for two days in December, 1888—"one of Belleville's favorites." Next she was in Concordia for two performances—"Louie's reputation is sufficient guarantee that she gave satisfaction. Her manager Mr. Carter is a thorough gentleman and added another long list of friends to the many he already had." The plays were "This Man's Wife," and "Wonderful Woman." The *Concordia Empire*, December 20, 1888, provided something more in the way of comment than the usual formalities: "The audiences at Louie Lord's plays last week were the smallest she ever had in Concordia. It is not that Louie is less popular, but opera money is not very abundant, and a circus or a show of a grosser order is required to bring out the crowd." This verdict is important and significant of the less tangible damage done by the prolonged depression of that period. As was intended, it was more than a comment on Mrs. Lord. If it were a single, isolated rationalization, it might be ignored, but statements of this general character were cumulative. They carried with them, however, a peculiar undertone of tragedy for a star whose light was fading and her long record of resistance to demands for "grosser order" of theatre. But the *Minneapolis Messenger*, after Christmas, noted that: "The Louie Lord Dramatic Company is again in Kansas, and giving entertainments." Regardless of the official title of the Carter Superb Company, to seasoned Kansans, interested in the traveling theatre, the old name stuck.⁴²

In February, 1889, Mrs. Lord was in southern Kansas. At Garnett, February 5, she was billed to present the "Wonderful Woman," but the after comment mentioned only "The Editor," and the company was referred to as "The Louie Lord Musical Comedy Company." The record is incomplete, but circumstantially there would appear to have been a reorganization. Certainly, there was a change of program. At Eureka, El Dorado, and Halstead, only "The Editor" was mentioned in the press, and apparently the company was operating on a one-night stand basis, which imposed extra-heavy overhead costs.

The advance publicity at Eureka had this to say of the play:

"The Editor, or fun in a Country Newspaper Office," written by Mrs. Lord herself, and [is?] said to be one of the most humorous pieces ever put upon

42. *Belleville Telescope*, December 6, 1888; *Kansas Blade*, Concordia, December 14, 21, 1888; *Concordia Empire*, December 6, 13, 20, 1888; *Minneapolis Messenger*, December 27, 1888.

the stage. There will be plenty of funny situations, music, dancing, special scenery, pretty faces and gorgeous costumes. The latest songs and dances introduced throughout the entire comedy. On the occasion of her appearance here six years ago, Mrs. Lord gave the most complete satisfaction, and we have no hesitancy in assuring the public that the performance to-morrow night will be a highly pleasing one.

Afterward, the *Messenger* was more than pleased:

Louie Lord is a wonderful actress and her company is the best all through that has visited Eureka for five years. Mrs. Lord's genius is sufficient to make a straight backed chair as hard as the rock of Gibraltar seem soft as a silk plush divan, and under the influence of her magic the importunities of the pop corn vender resemble the soft wooings of an houri. People forget to clamor for better Opera House facilities when under the influence of her entrancing power, and we hope she may come often to Eureka.

At El Dorado the advance publicity emphasized that: "The musical selections introduced in Louie Lord's new play 'The Editor' are pronounced gems," also that: "Louie Lord has never played to a poor house in El Dorado and from the present indications she will keep up the record." The play to be presented by the "favorite actress" was represented as

an entirely new Musical Comedy. . . . In producing this play Mrs. Lord has surrounded herself with a capable company and intends making this the effort of her life. The play was written expressly for Mrs. Lord and in presenting it neither time no expense has been spared. The production deals with the trials and tribulations of the average newspaper man, and might be termed fun in a newspaper office. Incidental to the play are a number of choice musical selections from the late operatic successes, including *Erminni* [Ernani], *Yoeman of the Guard*, *Said Pasha*, etc.

During the week the *El Dorado Republican* was burned out so the same editor could not comment after the performance, but the rival *Walnut Valley Times* agreed that Louie Lord "fully sustained the expectations of our people. Carter as the 'Country Editor' was immense. Miss Lord as 'Mildred' more than sustained her reputation with the people of El Dorado. In fact the whole company was good and left nothing to be desired in their rendering of 'The Editor.'"

But the *Times* had other comments that struck in several directions and were more revealing than he could possibly have anticipated:

Louie Lord played "The Editor" to a full house last night. And "Lord" what an editor Louie's editor is! There's nothing deep in it any more than there is in a game of backgammon, which a chatter-box may play as well as the most taciturn individual. It ought to take well in the backwoods districts. In writing "The Editor," however, Louie Lord wrote herself out as a star. Her

"editor" is the twinkler and he is such a dazzling individual that one loses sight of all the rest of the company in watching him. Yet after all he is only the thread on which is strung a rich, fond and foolish husband and his country girl wife. The play is all fun and this scribe is ready for the hospital from laughing at its giddy players. Louie Lord's admirers were surprised at her preservedness. She is actually younger, plumper and prettier than our people have ever seen her. She is growing younger as she grows older.⁴³

Comment upon this editorial is in order. From the beginning the Lords had used some music, more in their earlier career than later. Louie herself had sung, but music was subordinated to spoken parts. Jennie Woltz had been a singing member of their troupe for several seasons. On October 19, 1882, the Hays *Star-Sentinel* was so impressed with Jennie Woltz that it asked: "can't we have one night of Opera, say 'Daughter of the Regiment'? Think of this Mr. Lord." The next issue of the paper recorded that: "The 'Daughter of the Regiment' with Jennie Woltz in the leading *role* of Josephine, was rendered in a creditable style by the Lord Company, Tuesday evening." Apparently the use of this musical show during that season was the exception that emphasized the rule. But in "The Editor" well-worn popular hit tunes were apparently a major ingredient of a spoken production. If these descriptions of the play and the performances are to be taken literally, Louie had gone over to pure amusement. Her specialty had been emotional drama. The local scribe insisted, however, that in "The Editor": "Louie Lord wrote herself out as a star." The "Editor," L. J. Carter in this case, became the star. The contrast becomes clearer by pointing to the two plays used during the early part of the season in north central Kansas: "This Man's Wife" and "Wonderful Woman." In both obviously the woman starred. But in making a comedy star out of Carter, what had become of her brother Willard Simms? He was not mentioned. The point has been made that in "The Editor" Mrs. Lord had turned from emotional drama to pure entertainment. The word "pure" may be used in a double sense. The purpose was not moral, it was not to teach—merely to amuse. In the process, however, the entertainment did not resort to the exploitation of filth in the guise of humor—it was clean fun—"The play is all fun and this scribe is ready for the hospital from laughing at its giddy players."

A sour note must be recorded at this point, and it came from the *Saline County Journal*, February 21, 1889;

How hath the mighty fallen. When Louie Lord was at her best she was performing in Salina and other metropolitan cities. She night after night held

43. Garnett *Journal*, February 1, 8, 1889; Eureka *Democratic Messenger*, February 8, 15, 1889; El Dorado *Republican*, February 8, 1889; Walnut Valley *Times*, El Dorado, February 15, 1889; Halstead *Independent*, February 8, 1889.

audiences spellbound and rapt with wonder at her gifts in Salina's first temple of play (now the laundry establishment at Iron Avenue bridge). In those days "Athletic Hall" was to Salina what the Old Bowery in ancient days was to New York. Now Louie Lord is entertaining the village audiences with a burlesque on "The Editor"—the poor, impecunious editor. She never performs any more where she won her pristine glory, her performances being confined chiefly to the "arid region" west of the sixth principal meridian described by Frank Wilkeson, and in cities of the third-class, or no class.

So far as evidence goes there was no particular occasion for this outburst, but it cannot be ignored. Without any identifiable provocation it came with a particularly bad grace from Salina where the Lords had long been favorites. At one time Louie had opened their new opera house, and on the last visit, just a few weeks before Lord's death, she had played a benefit for the Salina Cadet Band which netted them \$35. And in the winter of 1884-1885 that sum would buy something. Also the *Journal's* ridicule of Louie Lord contained a sneer at the towns in which she had been playing during the current winter season. Those listed in this narrative, by coincidence were all on or east of the *Journal's* magic line—the Sixth Principal Meridian. Salina had yet to learn that its prosperity depended to a great extent upon the county west of that line, which was the particular object of its derogatory remarks. From any point of view, the *Journal's* derisive comments were in bad taste, and as they applied to Louie Lord that phrase is too mild. Obviously, there were some of her old youthful roles that she could no longer play, yet the enthusiasm with which she was still received by some audiences even in Salina only a short time before, would seem to indicate that she still possessed much of her magic skill. The blanket gibe of the *Journal* made no qualifications, and it was a paper of some influence whose acid verdict could not but have had some corrosive effects.

V. CONCLUSION

This is the end of the continuous story, but not the end of Louie Lord. She may have played from time to time in Kansas over the next decade, but the trail has been lost. During October and November, 1897, a troupe played Nebraska and northern Kansas under the name of "Carlton and Lord Comediens." The star was Jennie Calif, and Louie Lord was not mentioned. In response to the northern Kansas publicity, Kansas editors identified the Lord of this combination with James A. and Louie Lord. Thus the *Belle-ville Republic County Freeman*, November 11, 1897, recalled: "Mr.

Lord has always brought to Belleville first-class companies. The Louis Lord Co., and The Clair Patee Co. will be remembered as a very strong organization. . . ." *The Western Advocate*, Mankato, November 12, 1897, also harked back to the old days: "The old residents will remember the Lord company in years gone by, as a first-class troupe, and Mr. Lord promises to bring just as good a company as ever." Could this Mr. Lord be the son, Edward M. Lord? Or, had the old editor mistaken identities altogether? On November 24, 1897, the *Jewell County Monitor and Review*, Mankato, said: "The Lord & Carlton show company is reported to have gone to pieces at Smith Center. It was too good a show to deserve such a fate." The *Smith County Journal*, Smith Center, December 2, 1897, insisted it disbanded at Phillipsburg and could not resist the opportunity to take a pot shot at its neighboring town: "a whole week in that burg was a little more than they could [take?] and survive the shock."⁴⁴

But in Oberlin, the papers announced that: "Louie Lord, the noted actress, will be with the people of Oberlin the week commencing Dec. 6. Louie is a great favorite with the Oberlin people and is supported in the Carleton-Lord combination by a repertoire company of creditable ability." The papers did not explain whether this was the advance advertisement of the company prior to the disbandment at Phillipsburg, or whether it was a new organization formed by Louie out of a part of that group. If the former, it was the only instance found for the season where Louie Lord was even mentioned as an active member of the company. Neither did the papers report about whether the engagement was filled. In any case, these advertisements featured her as of old—for Oberlin, the show was still Louie Lord.⁴⁵ But already, the woman had been transfigured into a legend—a folk heroine, therefore ageless.

Are conclusions to this essay necessary? It is a section out of life, with the accent upon Kansas, and without absolute beginning or end. It is a segment out of the personal story of two individuals and not biography. Time took its toll of the human persons who are the center of interest. As biological organisms they passed through the life cycle of youth, maturity, and old age. Society, which is the medium in which they operated, is not an organism,

44. *Nebraska State Journal*, Lincoln, October 14-23, 1897; *Superior (Neb.) Weekly Journal*, November 11, 1897; *Republic County Freeman*, Belleville, November 11, 1897; *Western Advocate*, Mankato, November 12, 1897; *Smith County Journal*, Smith Center, November 18, 25, December 2, 1897; *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, November 18, 25, 1897; *Stewart's Bazaar*, Smith Center, November 18, 1897; *Phillipsburg Herald*, November 18, 1897; *Jewell County Monitor and Review*, Mankato, November 24, 1897.

45. *The Eye*, Oberlin, November 25, December 2, 1897; *Oberlin Times*, November 26, December 3, 1897.

but is subject to several forms of continuous renewal. James A. Lord and Louie Lord made adjustments to social change in the United States and in Kansas when the tempo of its reconstruction under the influence of mechanization had reached a new order of magnitude; to comparable transformation in the theatre; and to the vicissitudes of the process of human aging.

In comparison with the theatrical personalities of the road show group, they were undoubtedly among the most successful in meeting these demands of change without sacrificing what appeared to be basic principles. They made concessions in detail, but they did not surrender. At least, not while they worked as a team. Whether Louie alone was able to continue so successfully the reasoned and reasonable equilibrium or steady state of adjustment between principle and prevailing practice may be somewhat open to question. Still, judgment is dangerous. Her problems were ever so much more complex. The difficulties confronting a woman, whose only hold on her manager was a business contract, were not enviable. Whatever James A. Lord's deficiencies, there was never any doubt about his intense loyalty to Louie and to her career. Even when he was indiscreet in his methods of promoting her interests, it was done out of the intensity of a short-sighted devotion. The *Dodge City Times*, February 2, 1878, had been quite accurate in its characterization of his role in the play "Divorce" as well as in real life: "Mr. Lord is an accomplished performer, and pleased the audience in the difficult (though it is played to perfection off the stage) character of the proud, obstinate but kindly hearted husband." After his death, except for her brother, Willard Simms, she could have no one of comparable loyalty and experience, but apparently Simms was not an executive.

Those after years were in the nature of an uncertain postscript to James A. and Louie Lord's successful years together. If the newspaper stories reflect their financial status at all accurately, the Lords did well. But, although a certain degree of business success was essential to their continuing in their profession on a basis which made their independence and defense of their principles possible, beyond that it was not a measure of success. In their profession there was no security; each season was a new uncertainty. The truer measure of their careers lay in their ability to keep their shows on the road over a period of two decades of change and to keep the stage respectable whether according to their concept of teaching ideals through emotional drama, or of merely providing the public with clean fun. And they were successful in that.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by ALBERTA PANTLE, Acting Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books the Society's library is receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in its specialized fields.

These books come from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

The library also receives regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribes to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were received from October 1, 1954, through September 30, 1955. Federal and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the Society's secretary in the Spring, 1956, issue of the *Quarterly*.

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Bypaths of Kansas History

CHRISTMAS AMONG THE OTOES

From the Marysville *Enterprise*, December 28, 1867.

An Otoe came in town last Tuesday and bought a louse trap for his squaw as a Christmas present, and the squaw negotiated with some one for a dog, to give her better half a Christmas dinner. They departed smiling and happy.

THE PASSING OF THE BUFFALO

From the Newton *Kansan*, January 9, 1873.

BUFFALOISMS.—From reports made by persons who have visited and those who have engaged in the slaughter of buffaloes on the line of the railroad west of here, we learn that the preserving and shipping of their hams is now nearly as extensive a business as that of caring for the hides, and that the town of Dodge City, containing some five hundred inhabitants, is supported almost entirely by this trade. For the purpose of curing buffalo hams and preparing them for shipment east, several houses have been erected and are now in successful running operation in that place. The tongues are also treated in proper manner for the trade, and one of the recent Acceptance Party to the State line informed us that he saw at one station two thousand of them in one pile awaiting shipment to Dodge City.

One of the curiosities and surely an "odd sheep" of the flock of these black animals, was a white colored buffalo cow which was recently brought in, and whose hide was on exhibition in Dodge City a few days ago. Men who consider themselves sufficiently well acquainted with these wild monsters and a few naturalists, declare it to be a cross between the buffalo and Texan native cattle, and that nature will not cut up such freaks with the full blood buffalo as to give them a coat of white. But such however is the state of things at last report from the animal itself. As to the number of buffalo still at large, they are undoubtedly becoming more scarce and the supply must soon have an end, and we doubt not every butcher shop in Kansas will welcome the day of its cessation, as many people are now relying altogether upon the buffalo for their meat.

HOT RODDERS OF 1875

From the Holton *Express*, March 26, 1875.

An interesting trial was recently had before Justice Lowell, of this city. It appears that a couple of citizens of this county, in a merry mood of recklessness, got to racing on their way home from town and accidentally collided, damaging one of the wagons. Forthwith the owner of the broken wagon sued the other for damages, and after securing the service of lawyers, empaneling a jury and a two days trial, succeeded in getting a judgment for *twenty-five cents*. It pays to go to law.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

In commemoration of the founding of the city of Leon and its local newspaper, the *Leon News* published a 34-page diamond anniversary edition, September 22, 1955. Building of the town was begun by January, 1880, and on the 31st of that month the first issue of the *Leon Indicator* appeared. The *News* published a two-column article recalling many of the early settlers and residents of the Leon area, November 17.

A brief history of the Zion Evangelical and Reformed church in Kansas City was printed in the *Kansas City Kansan*, October 2, 1955. The congregation celebrated its 75th anniversary in October.

Life in the Dodge City area in the 1880's was described by Glen Ragsdale in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, October 3, 1955. Ragsdale's father moved his family to Dodge City in 1882.

A history of St. John's Catholic church, Hanover, was published in the *Hanover News*, September 30, 1955. The 75th anniversary of the dedication of the church building was recently observed. On October 14 the *News* printed a history of the Zion Evangelical United Brethren church of Hanover, which was observing its 85th anniversary.

"An Early History of McDonald," by Alfaretta Courtright, was published on October 6, 1955, in the *McDonald Standard* and *The Citizen-Patriot*, Atwood. McDonald came into existence in the late 1880's on land donated by Rice McDonald.

St. Paul's Lutheran church, Haven, was the subject of a historical article in the *Haven Journal*, October 6, 1955. The church was organized in 1880 and the first building erected in 1890.

In 1870 the Rev. F. E. Sheldon organized the First Presbyterian church of Hiawatha with three members, according to a history of the church in the *Brown County World*, Hiawatha, October 7, 1955.

William "Buffalo Bill" Cody's life was reviewed in an article entitled "The Great . . . The One-and-Only Buffalo Bill," in the *Davenport (Iowa) Morning Democrat*, October 11, 1955.

"Early History of Garfield," by Lydia Hven, was published in *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, October 21, 1955. A history of Burdett, by Mrs. G. W. Bindley, appeared October 25.

A 58-page special edition was published by the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*, October 25, 1955, in connection with Arkansas City's annual "Arkalalah" celebration. Historical articles included: "[Arapahoe] County Was Named for Indian Tribe," "First City Settlers Came in '69," and "Postal Service Here Preceded the Santa Fe by Eleven Years."

A history of the Esbon Evangelical United Brethren church appeared in the Esbon *Times*, October 27, 1955. The church was organized in 1875 by the Rev. Andrew Poulson as the Prairie Home United Brethren church. On November 24 the *Times* printed the reminiscences of Mrs. Phillip Moyer. Mrs. Moyer came to Jewell county, Kansas, from Illinois with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Francis Flood, in 1872.

Burlington's first religious service was conducted June 7, 1857, by the Rev. R. Mowry of the Methodist church, according to a history of the Burlington Methodist church by Mrs. A. N. Gray and Mrs. Frank Stickler, in the Burlington *Republican*, October 28, 1955. A history of the early days of Ottumwa by Mrs. Besse Mauck appeared in the *Republican*, November 17. The town was incorporated in 1855. On November 24 the *Republican* printed a brief story of the Indian battle which took place during the 1836 flood on the Neosho river.

Recollections of the early days in Council Grove, by M. F. Amrine, appeared in the Council Grove *Republican*, October 28, 1955.

Subjects of two church histories in the Coffeyville *Daily Journal* recently were the First Presbyterian church of Fredonia, October 30, 1955; and the Coffeyville Catholic church, December 4. The Fredonia church was organized October 25, 1880, with the Rev. Sidney Allen as the first pastor. Although Catholic activity in the Coffeyville area goes back to 1869, it was 1883 when the first building was occupied.

Historical articles appearing recently in the Hays *Daily News* included: a history of Victoria, by Ben Davidson, a member of the colony, November 6, 1955; "Sheriff [George] Bardsley Rides Again," and John R. Clawson's "The Parable of Victoria," November 20; and "Buffalo Hunter's Tales—Stranger Than Fiction; Mirror Vanishing Life on Western Prairies," November 27.

Included in recent issues of the Clay Center newspapers were: "Oak Hill Pioneer [John Duloher] Recalls Early Community History," in the *Dispatch*, November 9, 1955, and the *Times*, No-

vember 17; "Mormon Church Once Located in Northeast Part of County," *Dispatch*, November 22; and a history of the Mizpah church, *Times*, November 24.

In observance of its 75th anniversary, a history of the Circleville Methodist church, by Mrs. Emma Glick, was printed in the *Holton Recorder*, November 10, 1955. The first church building was dedicated in 1880 by the Rev. L. A. Hibbard.

A biographical sketch of Kitty Cosgrove, Atchison, by John Buckley, was printed in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, November 15, 1955. Miss Cosgrove, now 90, has lived in Atchison since 1879. On November 27 the *Globe* published a sketch, by J. S. Brazelton, of John Simpson, who, at 94, is Doniphan county's oldest native citizen.

The building of the Kansas Pacific railroad through Wallace county was the subject of an article by Ruth Jackson in the *Western Times*, Sharon Springs, November 17, 1955. Eagle Tail, now Sharon Springs, was reached December 22, 1869.

A biographical sketch of Grant G. Gillett, by Bruce Crary, was published in the *Hope Dispatch*, November 17, 1955. Gillett was a "cattle king" in Dickinson county in the 1880's.

How Pittsburg got its name was related in an article in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, November 18, and the *Pittsburg Sun*, November 19, 1955. The town was first called New Pittsburg, after Pittsburg, Pa.

Graham county history was featured in a 36-page historical edition published by the *Hill City Times*, November 24, 1955. The historical material was edited by William F. Wilson, principal of Hill City High School. The first white settlers arrived in Graham county in the early 1870's and the county was organized in 1880.

El Dorado's library was the subject of a two-installment story by Corah Mooney Bullock in the *Butler Free-Lance*, El Dorado, November 24 and December 1, 1955. The library had its origin March 1, 1897, when a meeting was held to establish a reading center. Another important event was the gift of \$10,000 from Andrew Carnegie for a library building, which was completed in 1912.

"Fire and Windstorms Come to Harass Early Day Settlers in Graham County," is the title of an article in the *Morland Monitor*, November 24, 1955. Also on the 24th the *Monitor* printed a history

of St. Peter, Graham county community, and on December 1 published a historical sketch of Graham county.

Douglass and the Douglass Historical Society museum were featured in an article by Charles O. Cole in the *Winfield Daily Courier*, November 26, 1955. The town was laid out in 1869 by Joseph W. Douglass and incorporated in 1879. The Douglass Historical Society was organized in 1950 and the museum was started in 1951.

Between the Lines, Chicago, an employee magazine of several pipeline companies, published a 13-page article on history "Along the Santa Fe Trail," in its December, 1955, issue.

The Frankfort *Index* printed a history of the First Presbyterian church of Frankfort by Irene B. Pennington, December 1, 1955. A Sunday School was started in 1869 and the church was organized November 16, 1870. On December 29 the *Index* published a history of the Annunciation Catholic church of Frankfort, which was organized in 1879.

Roxbury, McPherson county, was the subject of an article in the *McPherson Daily Republican*, December 10, 1956. The town has existed for 83 years but has never organized a government.

Historical articles by Harold O. Taylor published in the *Pittsburg Headlight* in recent months included: "Once Upon a Time There Was East Mineral—Had Only Coal Coke Plant in Kansas," December 12, 1955; "County Landmark Fading—Red Brick [Trask] School Being Torn Down," December 28; "Two Pioneers—Osage Oranges and Windmills—Both Had Important Roles During Early Days," January 23, 1956; ". . . 93-Year Old Woman [Mrs. Susie Reese] Threads Needle Without Glasses—Tells How Father Put Down First Coal Mine in Kansas," February 13; "Fifty-six [Highway Markers] Set Out Along Roads Some Years Ago Are Continuing to Serve as Reminders About Exciting Events," April 28; and "Civil War Era Landmark Is Going—Despite Bushwacker Raids Judge [John Main] Still Builds Nashville Home," June 4. Articles in the *Headlight* by Lawrence Barrett were: "Old Time Frisco Agent Tells of Coal Shipping Rush—Recalls Big Days in Scammon Field," February 17; and "Girard Is 88 Years Old Today," June 1.

"The History of North Topeka," prepared by the Charles Holman family, comprised the December, 1955, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka. Beginning with

Louis Papan's log house built following the 1844 flood, the story covers the early history, growth, industries, businesses, churches, schools, clubs and organizations. Included are sketches of some of the prominent citizens of North Topeka. The story is brought down to the flood of 1951, and tells of efforts to prevent future disasters.

William Frank Zornow's article "Bluff Ben' Wade in Lawrence, Kansas: the Issue of Class Conflict," was published in *The Ohio Historical Quarterly*, Columbus, January, 1956. U. S. Sen. Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, made a speech at Lawrence, June 10, 1867, which Zornow speculates could have contributed to the decline of his political career and possibly cost him the presidency.

"The First Hundred Years of Science in Kansas," by the late Robert Taft, was published in the Winter, 1955, number of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence. A three-page biographical sketch of Dr. Taft, by Donald J. Ameal, appeared in the same issue.

The First Presbyterian church of Leavenworth issued a 31-page commemorative pamphlet January 1, 1956, containing a history of the church. The Rev. C. D. Martin organized the congregation January 1, 1856.

A history of St. Mary's church, Herndon, was printed in *The Citizen-Patriot*, Atwood, January 5, 1956. The first mass was said for the settlers of the Herndon area in the spring of 1880. The first church building was a sod structure, built in 1883.

"Tranquil Ellsworth Has a Wild Past," an article by Bill Burke, was published in the *Salina Journal*, January 8, 1956. Burke pointed out that Ellsworth's "past" has been kept quiet instead of being played up as in the case of other cowtowns. The town was established in 1867. Another story by Burke was "Famed Buffalo Bill [Cody] Got His Start in Salina," printed in the *Journal*, February 5.

A story on the now-dead town of Goguac in Stanton county was published in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, January 9, 1956. A series entitled "The Fading Frontier," by Harry E. Chrisman, appeared in the *News-Herald* during the early months of 1956. Among the stories were: "Southwest Kansas Grass Hides Trails of Yesterday," January 8; "Little Remains of the Once Thriving Town of Arkalon," January 15; "You Still Can Find a Trace of Yesterday [at Site of Vorhees Near Liberal]," January 22; "Only Old Ranch House Remains [on OX Ranch]," January 29; "Beer City [Across State

Line South of Liberal] Was Sin Spot of the Plains," February 5; "Only Marker Remains on Site of Western Kansas Monastery [Clark County]," February 12; "Feelings Still Run Warm Over Stevens County Seat Battle," February 26; "The Old Days Fade Fast in Western Kansas," March 4; and "An Old Cowhand [Andrew J. Meyers] Recalls Days When West Kansas Was Young," March 11.

"Buffalo Bill [Cody] Helped Save City [Fort Scott] From Rebels," by Kenneth Davenport, was published in the Fort Scott *Tribune*, January 14, 1956. Most of Davenport's material was taken from a forthcoming book on "Buffalo Bill" by Don Russell. Cody was a member of the 7th Kansas regiment. Fayette Rowe's article on the hanging of John R. Guthrie, noted previously, was published in the *Tribune*, January 30.

Elizabeth Barnes' column, "Historic Johnson County," has continued to appear regularly in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park. A few of her recent articles were: "95 Years of Statehood," January 19, 1956; "The Prairie Wind Wagon," February 23; "The Millers of Mill-Haven Farm," April 5, 12, 19; and "Rock School District No. 37," May 24.

"Fred Brockmeyer, Early Day Pioneer, Hand-Spaded Five Acres in 1855," by Gordon S. Hohn, is a brief sketch of a Marshall and Pottawatomie county pioneer, printed in the Marysville *Advocate*, February 16, 1956. Brockmeyer settled near Barrett in 1855. In its issue of May 29 the *Advocate* printed "Albert G. Woodward First White Settler to Locate in Blue Valley," from a report by Otto W. Wullschleger. Woodward established a trading post on the Big Blue in 1848.

Cloud county was first named Shirley county after a notorious Leavenworth dance hall girl, according to Mrs. R. L. Brock's article on the history of the county in the *Glascow Sun*, March 1, 1956. The county was organized in 1866.

Articles of historical interest in the Belleville *Telescope* in recent months include: a history of the Wayne Methodist church, March 1, 1956; and an account of the raising in 1806 of the U. S. flag by Lt. Zebulon Pike at a Pawnee Indian village in present Republic county, April 12.

Wayne A. O'Connell reviewed early Labette county history as found in the official records and documents of the county, in an article published in the Oswego *Democrat*, March 2, 1956. Labette county was organized in 1867.

Centralia was the third town to be started in Nemaha county, the founders arriving in 1857, according to Larry McGhee in an article printed in the *Nemaha County Journal-Leader*, Centralia, March 15, 1956. After the Civil War the town was attracted by the railroad and moved about a mile south to its present location.

The history of the Immanuel Lutheran church of Kansas City was sketched in an article in the *Kansas City Kansan*, March 21, 1956. In 1884 the Rev. E. M. Jehn organized the congregation, the first Lutheran church in the Kansas City area.

A history of the Evangelical United Brethren church of Hoisington was published in the *Hoisington Dispatch*, March 22, 1956. The church was organized by the Rev. I. K. Haskins in 1888 as a United Brethren church.

R. W. Akin's reminiscences of the pioneer experiences of his family were printed in the *Cedar Vale Messenger*, March 22, 29, 1956. Included are biographical sketches of members of the family. They came to Kansas from Illinois in 1873.

Included in a group of short articles by Mrs. A. R. Russell published in the *Clay Center Dispatch* were: "Series of Misfortunes the Lot of Man [Alonzo Dexter] Who Founded City," March 26, 1956; "1880 Cyclone Wrought Havoc on Homes and Business Here," March 27; "Doctors [George Wigg] and Crosses, Poetry and Law Made Early History," March 28; "City Ownership of Light Plant Accomplished by Bitter Fight," March 29; and "1880's Brought Boom and Bust to Kansas and to Clay Center," March 30.

A series of articles on tourist attractions in Kansas began in the March 28, 1956, issue of the *Coffeyville Daily Journal* with a story by Dick Watson on Wichita's Cow Town. Another appeared April 4—"Historic Fort Scott," by Frank Hoover.

St. Joseph's Home, the Lewis E. Allen Memorial, El Dorado, was the subject of a historical sketch by Myra Lockwood Brown in the *Butler Free-Lance*, El Dorado, March 29, April 5, 1956. Dedicated July 4, 1942, and operated by the Sisters of St. Joseph, the orphanage has been a home for several hundred children. On May 6 Mrs. Brown addressed the Butler County Historical Society. Her talk was published serially in the *Free-Lance* beginning May 24. In her introduction Mrs. Brown said she would tell "some of what I have discovered that is not generally known—material that, for the most part, does not appear in any history of Butler county, or elsewhere."

Kansas Historical Notes

The 81st annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held in the rooms of the Society in the Memorial building at Topeka on October 16, 1956.

Mrs. Walter Umbach is the new president of the Ford Historical Society. Other officers are: Mrs. E. H. Patterson, vice-president; Mrs. Addie Plattner, secretary; Mrs. Lyman Emrie, historian; and Mrs. W. P. Warner, custodian. Mrs. Guy Wooten was the retiring president.

Officers of the Kansas Lutheran Historical Society for 1956 are: Vernon Bryant, Great Bend, president; Gilbert Bluhm, Bremen, vice-president; Vernon Nuss, Great Bend, secretary; Elmer Rodehorst, Wichita, treasurer; the Rev. H. William Lieske, Salina, pastoral adviser; Prof. Everette Meier, Winfield, archivist. The society has begun publication of a newsletter, "Historically Speaking," the first issue appearing May 21, 1956.

Nyle H. Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, was guest speaker at a meeting of the Fort Leavenworth Historical Society, February 28, 1956.

The 30th annual meeting of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields was held at the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia March 9, 10, 1956. William H. Seiler of the host school served as president of the association the past year, and Dudley T. Cornish, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, was elected as the new president. Papers given at the meeting included: "Wheat, Geology, and 'Professor' W. Foster," by James C. Malin, University of Kansas, Lawrence; and "The Capper Farm Press," by Homer E. Socolofsky, Kansas State College, Manhattan. The luncheon speaker was James C. Carey of Kansas State College, who described his recent sabbatical year in Mexico, and the Saturday afternoon session concerned a discussion of textbook selection in the social sciences in Kansas secondary schools. This discussion was led by G. L. Cleland of the Kansas State Department of Public Instruction. The program also included: "William E. Gladstone's Concept of the Social State," by Alvin H. Proctor, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg; "Benjamin Franklin: Pennsylvania Politician and Colonial Agent," by John J. Zimmerman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia; and "The French Court and the Issue

of War and Peace in 1792—a Study in the Politics of the French Revolution,” by Walter J. Brunhumer, University of Wichita. Presiding at the Friday evening session was William E. Berger of the College of Emporia, and John D. Bright of Washburn University, Topeka, was chairman of the Saturday morning session.

Ralph Harrison was re-elected president of the Bourbon County Historical Society at its annual meeting in Fort Scott, March 20, 1956. Other officers chosen were: Harold Calhoun, vice-president; and Mrs. J. R. Prichard, secretary-treasurer. A revision of the society's constitution and bylaws was approved.

Dr. Allen Crafton, University of Kansas, addressed the Wichita Historical Museum Association at its annual dinner meeting, March 23, 1956, on “How Culture Came to Kansas.” Owen McEwen is the new president of the association.

Officers elected at an April, 1956, meeting of the Finney County Historical Society in Garden City include: R. G. Brown, president; Clifford R. Hope, Jr., first vice-president; John R. Burnside, second vice-president; Josephine Cowgill, third vice-president; Ella Condra, secretary; Eva Sharer, treasurer; Jean Kampschroeder, historian; Mabel Brown, custodian of relics; P. A. Burtis, business manager; and Mrs. Frank Crase, board member.

Dr. O. W. Mosher, Emporia, president of the Lyon County Historical Society, was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Chase County Historical Society, in Cottonwood Falls, April 7, 1956. Andrew Drummond, Jr., is president of the Chase county society.

The Edwards County Historical Society held its annual meeting in Kinsley, April 17, 1956. The following officers were elected: Mrs. E. G. Peterson, president; Lavina Trotter, first vice-president; Harry Offerle, second vice-president; Mrs. Leonard Miller, third vice-president; Mrs. Elsie Jenkins, secretary; Mrs. Joe Vang, treasurer; Mrs. Jessie Winchester, custodian; Mrs. Lloyd Britton, assistant custodian; Mrs. Myrtle H. Richardson, historian; and Mrs. Britton, assistant historian.

The Saline County Historical Museum has a new home. In May, 1956, it was moved to a newly remodeled building in Oakdale Park, Salina. During the past year an average of 613 persons per month visited the museum when it was open. G. S. Ripley, Sr., is museum curator.

On May 5, 1956, a three-day tour up the Chisholm trail by an Oklahoma Historical Society caravan was climaxed at Caldwell.

The visitors were welcomed with a program and barbecue in a field near town. Among the speakers were: Cecil Chisholm, Arkansas City, a distant cousin of the man for whom the trail was named; Elmer Fraker of the Oklahoma Historical Society; and Nyle Miller of the Kansas State Historical Society. A feature of the celebration was the opening of the Border Queen Museum in Caldwell.

One hundred and fifty-seven persons signed the register at the annual northwest Kansas Pioneer Day at Rexford, May 6, 1956. At the business meeting all officers were retained for another year. They are: Mrs. Leslie Dible, president; Mrs. Glen Schrock, vice-president; Mrs. Guy Geisenhener, secretary; and Mrs. Perry Pointer, treasurer.

News from the Butler County Historical Society includes: a meeting of the society at El Dorado, May 6, 1956, which was addressed by Myra Lockwood Brown; a donation of \$5,000 by the society's president, Frank H. Cron, toward the purchase of a building for a museum; and the purchase of the residence at 320 West Central Ave., El Dorado, for use as a museum.

The Pioneer Museum Association of Northwest Kansas was recently formed at Hoxie for the purpose of building a historical museum. Bob Mahanna was elected president at a meeting of the association, May 25, 1956. Other officers are: Mrs. Harriet Shatzell, vice-president; Mrs. Eleanor Martin, secretary; H. W. Deane, treasurer; Kathleen Martin, recording secretary; and D. L. Steinshouer, fund raising chairman.

A history of the Garden City Municipal Band was recently published in a six-page pamphlet entitled *Seventy-five Years of Music*. The band led the 1879 Fourth of July parade in Garden City as its initial appearance.

Clifford P. Westermeier has compiled and edited a 414-page book, *Trailing the Cowboy—His Life and Lore as Told by Frontier Journalists*, published by Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, in 1955. From newspapers, periodicals, books, letters, and diaries, the author has chosen contemporary observations in an effort to "fill the gaps" in cowboy lore and throw new light on certain phases of the cowboy, his characteristics, and his life."

The American West, by Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg, published in 1955 by E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, "is the pictorial record of as many aspects of the West in the nineteenth

century as its authors could come by." Some of the more colorful events of Kansas history are mentioned and illustrated in a 29-page section called "The Border States."

The "use of the land mortgage" in the Middle West during the late 1800's is the theme of Allan G. Bogue's new book, *Money at Interest—the Farm Mortgage on the Middle Border*, published by Cornell University Press of New York.

How did the Mennonite migration of the 1870's to the Prairie states come into being, and what gave it such magnitude, are the questions treated in *Exiled by the Czar—Cornelius Jansen and the Great Mennonite Migration, 1874*, by Gustav E. Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert, published in 1956 by the Mennonite Publication Office, Newton.

Herbert C. Jones' *The Trail to Progress* is a 138-page history of Easton, published early in 1956 in Clay Center. Easton, in Leavenworth county, was established in 1855.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE COVER

An air view of old Fort Larned, a Santa Fe trail landmark which was several times besieged by Indians in pioneer days. *Courtesy Don Richards and the Kansas Industrial Development Commission.*

Buildings of the fort form a quadrangle around the old parade ground, with officers' quarters at the lower left. The property has been owned since 1902 by the Frizell family who operate it as the Fort Larned ranch. Present U. S. Highway 156 crosses the top of the picture.

Fort Larned is today an outstanding example of a nineteenth century frontier outpost erected for defense against the Indian. The National Park Service recently described the fort as "the best preserved post along the old Santa Fe trail."

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Winter, 1956

Number 4

Annals of Quindaro: A Kansas Ghost Town

ALAN W. FARLEY

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I. INTRODUCTION

QUINDARO was conceived during the darkest hour of the Free-State cause in Kansas territory, and like the night-blooming cereus, the town flowered only in the nocturnal gloom of antislavery hopes, for in the fall of 1856 the proslavery program of acquiring Kansas seemed headed for success. The national administration of Franklin Pierce had approved the election frauds in Kansas, denounced all opposition as "revolutionary," and was completely dominated by the Southern radicals of the Democratic party. The people and officialdom of western Missouri had erected a virtual embargo on Free-State emigration through that state; as many travelers were turned back and subjected to indignity. Shipments to Kansas were searched for arms and all found were confiscated.

In Kansas the "Bogus" legislature had purged its Free-State members and had enacted a more rigorous slave code than existed in the many Southern slave states. A mob led by Sheriff Samuel Jones of Westport and U. S. Marshal Israel B. Donalson had pillaged the Free-State settlement of Lawrence. The grand jury at Leecompton had indicted Free-State leaders for treason following a doctrine newly devised by Judge Lecompte,¹ and some of them had been arrested and confined, awaiting a trial that never was held. Guerrilla warfare resulted in the territory, while the country seethed with the partisanship of a presidential election campaign.

In time a measure of peace came to Kansas with a new governor, John W. Geary. He wanted to be impartial, but such a policy quickly offended the Proslavery Democrats who owned the legis-

ALAN W. FARLEY, of Kansas City, an attorney, is first vice-president of the Kansas State Historical Society.

1. This was the doctrine of constructive treason. Lecompte is said to have included this doctrine in his instructions to the jury.—W. A. Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas* (Boston, 1856), p. 269. However, the judge denied it.—*Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, September 27, 1856. For a discussion of this question, see James C. Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence,' May 21, 1856," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (August, 1953), pp. 473, 491.

lative and judicial departments of the territory, so his tenure was brief.

The tide of Northern emigration was stimulated as a result of all this stress, while help for the slaveholders of western Missouri diminished gradually.

At the time Kansas territory was opened for settlement the people of western Missouri, where slave sentiment was exceedingly strong, took possession of the most favorable locations along the west bank of the Missouri on the border where their towns mostly came to be situated. The Free-State emigrants who came from longer distances, settled in the valley of the Kansas river and in the southeastern part of the territory. At that time the great national highway to Kansas was the Missouri river where a horde of steamboats carried the emigrants west from St. Louis. Eastern people who came by overland routes had to travel the Missouri roads, where citizens, feeling their slave property in jeopardy, were quite hostile, and the Northerners arriving by the steamboat found all of the Missouri river towns controlled by their foes, even those Kansas settlements on the west bank of the river.

II. QUINDARO

Need for a friendly portal for antislavery partisans to enter and leave Kansas was increasingly felt so that some leaders at Lawrence conducted a survey of the entire west bank of the Missouri river by steamboat, from the mouth of the Kansas river to the Nebraska line. At a point six miles above the mouth of the Kansas river, on Wyandotte Indian land, they found a fine natural rock ledge where the river ran along the bank six to twelve feet deep, making a convenient landing. Plenty of wood and rock were at hand for building purposes and fertile land was adjacent.

At that time planners were fashioning towns to their individual tastes at many places in Kansas, so a company was formed, a name selected and promotion commenced. The business affairs of the promoters were handled by Charles Robinson, of Lawrence, and Abelard Guthrie, whose wife was a Wyandotte Indian. Guthrie skillfully secured the necessary land for the town by purchase from his wife's fellow tribesmen. In casting about for a picturesque name for the new city, he was able to suggest Mrs. Guthrie's Indian given name of "Quindaro," a common Wyandotte word, meaning a "bundle of sticks" and interpreted by the adage, "in union there is strength."

The new townsite was surveyed and laid out in proper municipal style in December, 1856, by O. A. Bassett. The principal streets were the levee, fronting on the Missouri river, and Kansas avenue,

running south at a right angle from the levee. There was a "Main Street" adjoining the levee. East and west streets were numbered "Third to Tenth" and north and south streets were named "A to Y." On paper it was great, but the printed map failed to disclose the steep cliff just back of the levee; most of the townsite being up on the high ground. Many river towns were so planned and the hill wasn't much higher than the one just back of the landing at Kansas City.

Ground was broken on January 1, 1857, and Quindaro became a reality with remarkable publicity in the Eastern newspapers. On May 13, 1857, a weekly newspaper was launched. It, too, was named by a Wyandotte word, *Chindowan* (with the accent on the last syllable), meaning "leader." The editor was J. M. Walden, a former minister, who in later life became a Methodist bishop. Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, formerly editor of *The Windham County Democrat* of Vermont, later a famous lecturer and woman's-rights leader, was his assistant editor.

The first issue of the new paper reported that trees had been removed from several acres of the townsite, that grading of the hill to the wharf at Kansas avenue had progressed so that heavy loads might be hauled on the road leading into the territory without difficulty. Thirty to forty houses had been built and occupied. A schoolhouse had been opened on May 3, which also served as a church on Sunday, and 16 business houses were in the process of erection. The Quindaro House, the second largest hotel in the territory, was opened; the town was well supplied with two hotels, two commission houses, a sawmill of 5,000 feet per day capacity (later 20,000), a stoneyard, carpenter shop, land agencies, surveyor, builders, cabinetmakers and blacksmiths. The Odd Fellows and Masonic fraternities announced their meetings.² The blacksmiths seem to have used coal mined right on the levee. By August, the first brick house was under construction on "P" street, the bricks having been burned on the townsite, and soon a brickyard was established.³

One of the earliest problems of the new town was to gain recognition by the steamboats. These craft were Missouri owned and operated and their officers refused to stop at Quindaro or even denied that such a place existed. Later they actively sought to get passengers to pass up Quindaro to land at Leavenworth or Kansas City, both Proslavery towns. Fares were charged accordingly. Passage from Leavenworth to Quindaro was \$3.00 but from Leaven-

2. The Quindaro *Chindowan*, May 13, 1857.

3. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1857.

worth to Kansas City, a longer trip cost only \$2.50. A threat to start a Free-State steamboat line from Alton, Ill., to Kansas broke up this racket as the Proslavery boatmen didn't want such competition. The profit motive prevailed over principle—this may be the key to the failure of the entire Proslavery movement in Kansas. These steamboatmen later came to regard Quindaro as the best landing on the river, and traffic there was heavy. For instance, 36 steamboat landings were made at the levee during one week of May, 1857.⁴ In July the paper reported the steamer *Polar Star* made the regular run from Fort Leavenworth to Jefferson City in 24 hours and 30 minutes, making all her usual mail and freight landings en route.⁵ A short time later the paper listed 55 steamboats operating on the Missouri at that time.

These boats brought a vast quantity of merchandise consigned to Lawrence and other Free-State towns to the Quindaro levee. A road was built for 31 miles across the Delaware reservation to Lawrence. The *Chindowan* reported May 23, 1857, that it had been graded two miles out from town 20 feet wide, and that three streams, the Wolf, Stranger, and Muddy creeks, were spanned by substantial bridges. A line of stages operated by (Alfred) Robinson, Walter and Co., proprietors, left Quindaro each morning, on the six-hour trip to Lawrence. The first 15 miles wound through heavy timber to a half-way house, kept by Delaware Indians, where lunch was not exactly relished by some of the fastidious travelers. The fare for all this luxury was \$3.00. Another road projected south to Osawatomie across the Kansas river, three miles south, where the Quindaro company maintained a free ferry. This road intersected the Westport road at the new town of Shawnee. Later a stage line ran from Wyandotte to Lawrence by way of Quindaro.

The printing press and equipment of *The Kansas News* of Emporia was purchased in Cincinnati, consigned to Quindaro, and hauled across the country by four yoke of oxen in May, 1857. Jacob Stotler, who conducted the operation, said that Quindaro looked like a mining town at the bottom of a canyon. He got the freight loaded and hauled it about three miles the first day. That night the oxen wandered away and the entire following day was spent hunting them. Finally an Indian located them about sundown. Stotler tramped back to Quindaro and helped set type on the *Chindowan* to pay for his supper. The trip from Lawrence to Emporia took eight days.⁶

4. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1857.

5. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1857.

6. *Emporia Weekly News*, February 23, 1882.

In 1857 no daily papers were published along the Missouri river nearer than St. Louis. There the *Democrat* and *Republican* were great daily papers that sold for ten cents on the river boats and had wide circulation in Kansas territory. Every Free-State partisan swore by the old reliable *Democrat*, the Proslavery man's politics could be told by the fact that he always read the *Republican*. Occasionally someone would buy the wrong paper but after reading a few paragraphs would drop it like a hot potato.

During that first year Quindaro grew amazingly. In August when the town was only eight months old, the *Chindowan* reported a population of 600 living in more than 100 buildings, 20 being of stone.⁷ The Quindaro House, with 45 rooms, four and one-half stories high, was at 1, 3, 5 Kansas avenue, Colby and Parker, proprietors; while competition was furnished by the Wyandotte House across the street, about half as large, E. O. Zane, proprietor. Several thousand dollars had been spent in grading Kansas avenue running back up the hill from the river. P. Caswell, the contractor, had with some ingenuity contrived cars on an iron track to haul away the excavated debris. George Park, of Parkville, Mo., had faith in this enterprise and was building a stone hotel, 26 x 70 feet and five stories high. The Methodists and Congregationalists were both constructing churches. Albert D. Richardson, a New York newspaper correspondent, spent much time in town and was induced to lecture to the Literary Society on "Out West."⁸ Twelve hundred letters passed through the post office in 18 days of June, 1857, and the revenue was \$1,200 per year.⁹

Quindaro took vast municipal pride in its cannon, its sawmill, and its ferry. O. A. Bassett, who surveyed the town, O. H. Macauley and James Redpath had been members of a Free-State party en route from Wisconsin in 1856. The Democratic administration knew of the expedition and knew that among other armament it was equipped with a six-pounder brass cannon, so arrangements were made to waylay the party. Coming across Iowa and Nebraska, the emigrants were warned and the cannon was buried near Nemaha Falls, Neb., not far from the Kansas line. It was said that Macauley was the only person who knew exactly where the cannon had been hidden. A public meeting was held one evening of July, 1857, and a committee was formed to make the "necessary arrangements" to bring the cannon in. It took several weeks and some hunting to find it, but finally on August 25, 1857, the committee

7. Quindaro *Chindowan*, August 15, 1857.

8. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1858.

9. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1857; January 23, 1858.

arrived with its prize. A royal celebration ensued, the cannon was christened "Lazarus," and several rounds were fired on the levee.¹⁰ It was given a home in Macauley's warehouse and used in many a celebration thereafter, to the chagrin of neighboring towns, who had no cannon. Several years later a "committee" from Wyandotte quietly borrowed the cannon. When the Civil War came, it was taken on July 20, 1861, by Col. William Weer to Kansas City to be used against the Confederates, and to be returned after the emergency had passed. It saw active service during the defense of Lexington, where it was captured after a four-day siege by the army under Gen. Sterling Price who took it south when he retreated, and it was last heard of in the fortifications at Corinth, Miss.

The sawmill grew to be the largest in Kansas. The town company got it from the Emigrant Aid Society in exchange for shares in the town. This mill had been dumped into the river by Border Ruffians and later salvaged. It had a capacity of 20,000 feet daily and a forest around it to operate on. Trees that measured 20 feet in circumference were common on the townsite.

In October, 1857, a Quindaro to Parkville ferry capable of carrying 200 tons, 26 x 100 feet, with two engines and side wheels was put in service. Capt. Otis Webb was skipper of this craft which bore his name and replaced an earlier, less efficient ferry boat. You may be sure the event was properly celebrated by firing the cannon. The ferry was financed by selling shares, there being still in existence in the files of the State Historical Society a receipt dated September 5, 1857, to Alfred Gray for \$75.00 in assessment upon one share of the Parkville and Quindaro Ferry Company.

On March 30, 1857, the Quindaro company by Abelard Guthrie employed one Aaron W. Merrill to keep a free ferry across the Kansas river, four miles below the Delaware ferry on the road from Quindaro to Osawatimie. This location was just south of present City Park in Kansas City and was called the Eureka ferry. Merrill was to receive \$100 per month for faithful performance of this contract which became the subject of a suit against the company when evil days befell Quindaro.

The *Chindowan* of October 3, 1857, refers to the steamer *Minnie Belle*, built for travel on the Kansas river. This boat was a marvel for it only drew seven inches of water and was captained by James W. Davis. Even this shallow draught must have not been adequate for the paper later reported that it took the boat four and one-half days to go to Lawrence.¹¹

10. *Ibid.* August 29, 1857.

11. *Ibid.* March 13, 1858.

Another Quindaro boat in the Kansas river trade was the *Light-foot*. It had a draught of 18 inches which probably made its use in the Kansas river seasonal.

During 1857 Quindaro had the brightest prospects of any town on the river. Each share of stock entitled its owner to ten lots and their location was determined by a drawing, the company reserving wood and timber on the lots. Several hundred shares were sold and land grew rapidly in value. Business lots on the levee sold for \$500 to \$750 and on Kansas avenue \$500 to \$1,250, and were considered dirt cheap. The town's future was advertised far and wide across the North and many New Englanders invested through the influence of Charles Robinson. Railroad fever was a factor. The Pacific railroad had been built as far west as Jefferson City, Mo., with two trains daily, where the Lightning Line of steamboats connected to carry the mail up the river to Leavenworth. Quindaro men joined with George Park of Parkville to organize the Quindaro, Parkville and Grand River railroad to connect with the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, then building westward across Missouri. Quindaro was later dropped from the name. The line was surveyed and projected across the Missouri river at Parkville and on into southern Kansas.

Park had an article printed in the *Chicago Daily Journal*, urging the building of this line so that merchants of Chicago might take hold of the vast trades of the Southwest. In May, 1858, the Quindaro steamer, *Otis Webb*, carried a load of citizens to Wyandotte, a rival town founded about the same time, for a railroad mass meeting. They managed to hit the Wyandotte ferry as they came into the landing and put it out of commission for several days.¹²

Life was pleasant and interesting in Quindaro. Dances were frequent. Lodges and churches met regularly. The *Chindowan* of June 27, 1857, proudly proclaimed that J. V. Fitch served ice cream and soda at his store. The Literary Society was popular and provided regular lectures, while a library committee offered more than 200 volumes of good reading. J. J. Barker offered his services as photographer, and a lady of the Delaware nation rode her horse into town wearing a red petticoat! During the summer and winter of 1857, V. J. Lane tells that S. C. Smith, Charles Chadwick, Owen A. Bassett, A. D. Richardson, J. M. Walden, P. T. Colby, G. W. Veale, C. L. Gorton, Dr. Buddington, Alfred Gray, A. J. Rowell, J. G. Fisk, and himself organized a Shanghai court and made it a rule to arrest someone every night and try him for some alleged misdemeanor.

12. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1858.

When the court opened the sheriff brought in the prisoner (intended victim), a jury was empaneled, the prosecuting attorney was called, and the court appointed counsel for the prisoner. A regular trial was had, but the jury invariably found the prisoner guilty and assessed a fine of a box of cigars or a bushel of apples. Lane, in his recollections, also tells of a tornado that passed over on the evening of July 4, 1857, and blew several houses down in Quindaro.

Leavenworth, Quindaro, and Wyandotte were great rivals for trade. People of Quindaro referred to Wyandotte as "Y &," while the latter spoke of Quindaro as "Hole in the Hill." Politics was a vocation to be constantly cultivated. Free-State militia were organized under the Topeka convention and 68 citizens at Quindaro were enrolled, guarded the election of October 5, 1857, and carried the Wyandotte precinct, where Proslavery sentiment usually predominated. The Free-State party captured a clear majority in both houses of the legislature in spite of election frauds at Delaware, Oxford, and Kickapoo. In January, 1858, the territorial legislature chartered the city and a municipal election soon followed.¹³ Two parties, the People's and the Workingmen's, both endorsed Alfred Gray, who became the first mayor.¹⁴

Quindaro formed a Temperance League. At a meeting in January, 1858, it was resolved to close the liquor shops in five days, and the town voted, 77 to 25, to make liquor illegal.¹⁵ This induced many emigrants, especially women, to prefer Quindaro to other towns. Citizens wanting to "go on a spree" had to go to Wyandotte or patronize the local bootleggers. It was soon discovered that whisky was hidden in a hollow west of the Quindaro House which prompted 30 women to present a petition to the town council. A meeting was called and the offending barrel was hauled from beneath its owner's bed and spilled out in the street.¹⁶

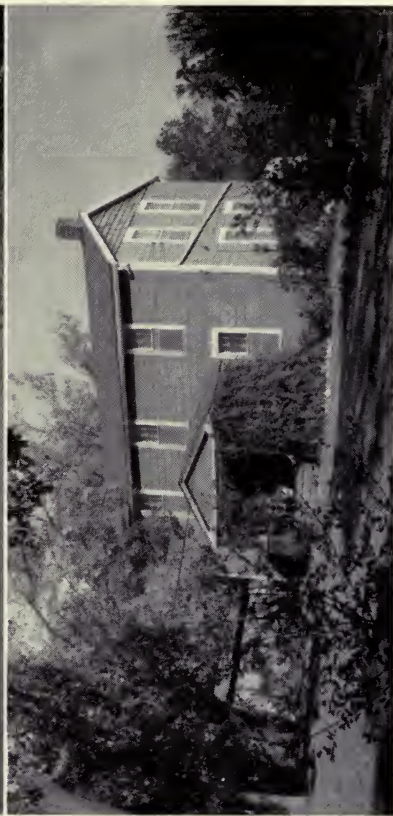
In a letter to the *Wyandotte Gazette* in 1882, Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols recalls that many slaves took the underground railroad at Quindaro for the interior of the territory and freedom. Just west of town in the bottom land was the home of a bachelor who was dedicated to "emancipation without proclamation," so that his place was called "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by the residents. Of the many slaves who took refuge there, only one was ever taken back to Missouri and many escaped to the comparative safety of the interior. She told the story of

13. *Private Laws of Kansas* . . . , 1858, p. 254.

14. Quindaro *Chindowan*, January 30, February 6, 1858.

15. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1858.

16. *Wyandotte Gazette*, December 22, 1882.



Upper right: A view of the Missouri river from the site of old Quindaro, at the northern edge of present Kansas City, Kan. A few bits of masonry obscured by heavy foliage is about all that remains of this once booming town. Lower right: Six-Mile tavern, west of Quindaro on the stage road to Leavenworth, as it looks today. Left: The hanging oak near Six-Mile tavern. (See p. 319.)

QUINDARO COMPANY.

1886

1886

1 share



This Certifies That *Rev. John G. Pratt*
is entitled to *Five* Shares, of *Five* Lots each, numbered
59 in the CITY OF QUINDARO, situate on the Wyanett
Reserve, so called, and the Quindaro Company, is pledged to give
a good and valid title to the same, when the shares shall have
been drawn.

J. M. Simpson Secy.

John Wain Pres't.

Received \$ *137.* In full for the above share.



Treas.

Lawrence, Kansas, December 26, 1886.

Printed at the Quindaro Press, Kansas.

A share in the City of Quindaro made out to the Rev. John G. Pratt.

a poor fellow who escaped from near Parkville. On learning he had been sold South, he had tried to get away but was caught and manacled. Another slave assisted him and he managed to draw one foot out of the encircling iron, bringing with him the chain attached to the other foot. Afraid to take a boat at Parkville, they found an old dugout, paddled up the river for ten miles before they could steal a boat, then drifted down to Quindaro. A few days later in two large dry goods boxes they were freighted to Lawrence. If they could get by Six-Mile tavern, the critical part of the journey was past.

Mrs. Nichols also told of Fielding Johnson bringing a colored girl, Caroline, to her home where she was hidden in the cistern at the very time 14 slave hunters from Missouri were camped in Quindaro Park. The following day Caroline and another girl were conveyed to Leavenworth on the road to freedom.¹⁷

The *Chindowan* often listed arrivals at the hotels and names of other Argonauts who passed through the town. Gov. Robert J. Walker made his first stop in Kansas at Quindaro and spoke briefly to about 200 people. Sen. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, was on the same steamer, *The New Lucy*, and was accorded a much finer reception. Wilson went off to Lawrence in company with Charles Robinson. Governor Walker came again in the fall of 1857, but very few citizens consented to an introduction; he was permitted to enjoy the quiet of his stateroom and left in a few hours.

Many homey touches are recorded in the newspaper. A map of the Delaware Trust Lands to be offered for sale at Osawkee on July 15, 1857, was printed for Chadwick and Bless, land agents. Apparently no copy has survived. Due probably to inebriation, several citizens got lost on the road from Wyandotte on the evening of July 4. The first marriage in Quindaro was of Peter Nelson to Lavicia Lyle, of Rochester, Mo., on July 23, 1857. That fall the woods were full of hazelnuts and Mr. Beckwith, who resided on a farm adjoining the town, successfully raised a Chinese sugar cane called "sorgho," which made excellent syrup. The Lightning steamer, *Tropic*, sank near Waverly, Mo. Samuel Stover, of Wyandotte, was shot in the face by a stranger near Mr. Cotter's, but would recover. An Indian by the name of Mundy fatally shot himself while hunting in the bottom near Quindaro. Shawnee lands for sale at \$1.25 per acre; Col. H. T. Titus brutally assaulted S. C. Pomeroy with a club in a courtroom at Kansas City. (It was unsafe for Free-State men to transact business there. Why did Kansas emi-

17. *Ibid.*, December 29, 1882.

grants build up and sustain the cities of their oppressors in Missouri?)

The spring of 1858 saw Quindaro's fine prospects slowly begin to fade, for the first year of Quindaro's existence saw most of its improvements made. Alfred Gray told of owning several lots on the hill and being offered five 20-dollar gold pieces for one of them in June, 1858. He turned the offer down, sure that the buyer would pay \$150, the same price the town company was asking for its residence lots. He mournfully recalled that the offer was never raised or even repeated and the buyer left town with the gold still in his pocket.

In the same month the newspaper had difficulty due to adverse economic influences. Publication was suspended, and Editor J. M. Walden returned to Ohio. A great financial panic had drawn the money out of the Western states, where the resulting depression was most severe and prolonged. One of the causes of this panic was the extended speculation in railroads and in towns such as Quindaro. The city suffered because the Free-State party no longer needed its port as an entryway into the territory, for it now controlled the legislature and it became evident that slavery could not flourish in the Kansas climate. The rivalry of Quindaro had caused a rebirth of every Proslavery Missouri river town in Kansas except Kickapoo. Leavenworth, Wyandotte, and Kansas City quickly became Free-State, equal-rights towns. Hard times continued through 1859, when Wyandotte county was formed, and Wyandotte City, only a few miles away, became the county seat. Most of the county was Indian land and not subject to taxation at the time of its formation, which cast the burden of the cost of the county government on the two towns, Wyandotte and Quindaro.

Up to that time Wyandotte City couldn't support a barber and some of its citizens were in the habit of walking to Quindaro to be shaved. In its heyday the *Wyandotte Gazette* confessed that there was more business in Quindaro in a day than in Wyandotte in a week.

In 1858 there were few new arrivals and business came to a standstill. George Park's fine hotel progressed to three stories, was then roofed over, but never finished inside. The churches and the town company kept hope for a while, contributing most of the building in that year. A Congregational church was dedicated on January 27, 1858, and the Methodist Episcopal church, in the resi-

dential section, was dedicated on April 25, 1858, by Bishop E. S. Janes, of New York City, who was returning from the annual conference at Topeka.¹⁸ Services had been held within its walls before it was completed, the first sermon having been preached by the Rev. Ephraim Nute, of Lawrence, on September 13, 1857. The preacher assigned to this charge was Richard P. Duvall, who served the Wyandotte, Quindaro, and Delaware churches.

As its income stopped due to these hard times, the town company was unable to meet expenses. Creditors sued individual members of the company and enforced their claims by taking unsold lots. Abelard Guthrie, who had invested in land and was considered a rich man, lost it all because of company debts. In his journal, he stated that he owned more than one half of the stock in Quindaro Company. He became very much embittered by his misfortune, blaming Charles Robinson, who came out of the situation in much better financial shape. It is impossible at this late date, with incomplete records available, to decide the controversies of that time. However, such documents as have survived, including Guthrie's journal, cast considerable discredit on Robinson.¹⁹

Quindaro didn't fall in a day, the decline took several years and many another Western town suffered at the same time. Some residents remained optimistic, hopeful for an upturn and various schemes were laid for the future. Plans for getting a railroad connection were almost promising. Guthrie spent much time at Washington in efforts to secure the terminus of the projected Pacific railroad. Thaddeus Hyatt and Charles Robinson were appointed agents of the city to promote appropriations of land for the extension of the Parkville and Grand River railroad to Quindaro and westward to San Francisco. Two letters of Mary A. C. Killiam to her aunt and cousin in New Hampshire survive, which were written in 1859. Her husband operated a hotel, and she confided that they made a living, "that is all these hard times in Kansas"; and that John Brown had been a boarder for several days.

Alfred Gray remained the most loyal resident. He had been the first mayor and later served as a member of the state legislature under the Wyandotte constitution. He became quartermaster of the Fifth Kansas cavalry, was first secretary of the State Board of

18. Quindaro *Chindowan*, January 30, April 24, 1858.

19. "Diary" of Abelard Guthrie.—See entry of February 16, 1858. A copy of the diary is in the manuscript division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Agriculture, was appointed a commissioner to the Paris Exposition, and died in 1880.²⁰ He was also agent to look after a great deal of property in the derelict town; he wrote to one nonresident owner on August 1, 1861: "You have no conception of the entire prostration of all kinds of business [here]." The Civil War really gave Quindaro its knockout blow. All of the young men left to join the Union army and business stopped completely. From January 20 to March 12, 1862, the Ninth Kansas Volunteer infantry was quartered in the empty business buildings and underwent reorganization to become the Second Kansas cavalry.²¹ Officer control was slack, so the men proceeded to gut the town, tearing up everything movable for firewood, leaving a mere shell of the abandoned buildings a prey to weather, fires, and theft. The lot on which O. H. Macauley had built his warehouse had cost \$1,200; the second floor had housed the *Chindowan*, but in the course of time the building and lot were sold to Alfred Gray for \$5.00 and a pair of Chester White pigs.

Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols lived at Quindaro for about ten years. In 1882 she wrote a series of reminiscences of the town to the *Wyandotte Gazette* and recalls asking Nelson Cobb for the bricks in a chimney of a house that had burned. "Yes, Mrs. Nichols, if you will steal them," was his response. One day she was toiling up one of the hills, picking her way through the underbrush and trash of the townsite, and came across a man trying to move a heavy log with several yoke of oxen and much cursing. He said he never would have to come to Kansas, except he heard "that Mrs. Nichols" lecture in the East about it being such a smooth, level country.²²

C. M. Chase wrote a series of letters to the Sycamore (Ill.) *True Republican and Sentinel*. He says: "We visited Quindaro [in 1863] and found only one family there—a poor man and a crazy wife had strayed into the hall of the hotel and occupied a bunch of rags." In 1873 he revisited the place and thus reported to the *Vermont Union* of Lindon, Vt.:

Quindaro was, but now she is not. One store with a granite front and iron posts stood as good as new and various other buildings were in good preservation, but empty. Governor Robinson [Kansas?] Avenue was graded back into the bluff 75 rods, where it stopped, leaving an embankment 20 feet high.

20. *Quarterly Report of the State Board of Agriculture for the Quarter Ending Dec. 31, 1879*, pp. 161, 162.

21. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 182.

22. *Wyandotte Gazette*, June 16, 1882.

Small cottonwoods had sprung up in the street and the owls were making selection of choice localities for places of abode. The solitary family of 1863 even has abandoned the place.

The legislature of 1862 repealed the act which incorporated Quindaro, and the town company was officially put out of business. Later the plat of the city was vacated, but most of it is now within the city limits of Kansas City.

In 1896 a list was compiled of early residents still living in Wyandotte county. The following were recorded from Quindaro, together with the dates of their arrival:

1849	James Zane
1855	George Zane
1857	Roger Sherman
	Loisa McIntyre
	Elisha *Sorter
	Mrs. Effie Sorter
	Henry E. Sorter
	Mrs. Charles Morasch
1858	Helen Grafke
	R. M. Gray
1859	Mrs. S. G. Gray
1860	D. R. Emmons
	Fred Sorter

Dr. George M. Gray, who is still living, came to Quindaro at the age of two in 1858 with the family of R. M. Gray. His father was a merchant there and brother of Alfred Gray.

Hardly anything remains of the old business section of Quindaro now. A pipe line company has done grading there recently and covered up some of the rubbish and ruins which is all that endures of the proud hopes of its founders.

III. SIX-MILE HOUSE

Just west of Quindaro on the stage road to Leavenworth was Six-Mile House, a part of which is still in use. It was built in 1860 of polished black walnut as a tavern and became an important stop on the old stage route from Independence to Leavenworth. It was so named because it was just six miles from the Wyandotte ferry by the road, and is now one of the most fascinating buildings in the county. The land where it stood was acquired by J. A. Bartles on execution from its original Wyandotte Indian owner. Bartles and his son, Theodore, ran the notorious tavern.

As originally built, it consisted of nine rooms and two stories, with a wine cellar and secret closets. In 1894 its owner, James K.

P. Barker, had it cut in two. The front part was moved several hundred yards to the east where it is now the home of Edna Williams Jarvis and is designated as 4960 Leavenworth road. The back section, or the "L," was moved about 200 feet east to become a part of a barn, which has only recently been torn down. Barker then built a larger modern home on the former site which still stands. A fine well where travelers and stock of the stage line found refreshment still exists near the roadway which has become Kansas Highway No. 5. Andreas mentions the name of the stage line—Kimball, Moore & Co.—which ran from Westport to Weston in 1857 by way of Six-Mile and Leavenworth.

The eastern part of Wyandotte county was then quite rough, with deep ravines and steep hills, the whole covered with forest. The land belonged to members of the Wyandotte and Delaware tribes, and except for small clearings and the Kansas river bottom land; the balance was a tangle of matted vines, underbrush, and heavy timber. This was ideal cover for bushwhackers, guerrillas, and deserters, who made existence of the inhabitants a terror during the Civil War era when most young men were away in the army.

On August 3, 1861, the *Wyandotte Gazette* summed up the situation: thirteen murders had been committed in the county in the past two years; none had been punished. Other papers were full of accounts of robbery, horse theft, and kidnaping of free Negroes by visitors from across the Missouri. The citizens of Wyandotte met this critical situation with a people's court which often administered punishment by horsewhipping and hanging.

Six-Mile House became a well known rendezvous for vicious gangs. On July 17, 1862, a mass meeting was held by the citizens at the courthouse in Wyandotte to consider a means of putting out the fire. A "Committee of Safety" was formed with the avowed object of tearing down Six-Mile House as being a den of red-legs. Col. A. C. Davis was also castigated for the conduct of his regiment at Quindaro during the winter of 1861-1862. He had allowed his troopers to go across into Missouri to steal horses as well as destroy much property in the town. The next day this committee journeyed out to see Theodore Bartles, proprietor of Six-Mile, but were not shown the usual hospitality of the place. Bartles had heard of the projected visit and its purpose, had ridden to Fort Leavenworth to see the commandant, Gen. James G. Blunt. So the committee was surprised to find a company of soldiers from the fort encamped around Six-Mile. Blunt ordered that there be no destruc-

tion of property and the members of the committee were taken to the fort and required to give bond to keep the peace. Bartles was later arrested by local authorities but no evidence could be found against him. Three kidnapers were also arrested in the vicinity. Col. A. C. Davis had already left the county.

On December 18, 1862, a man named Smith was shot at Six-Mile House by a posse looking for horses stolen near Westport. Several companions were taken prisoner.

The *Gazette* also reported that on July 16, 1863, a party of bushwhackers crossed the Missouri river above Parkville with the intent to burn Wyandotte and Six-Mile. Some of these marauders were caught and taken to Kansas City for trial.

William E. Connelley in his *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, tells of a long acquaintance with Theodore Bartles, whom he describes as of the better class of "Red Legs." Bartles admitted to Connelley that he was a famous shot with the revolver; he had even defeated "Wild Bill" Hickok in many a contest of marksmanship! Bartles also is almost the sole authority for the curious tale of an attempt to warn the people of Lawrence of the Quantrill raid on August 21, 1863, sending Pelathe, a Shawnee Indian, from Six-Mile House on a midnight dash across the Delaware reservation. Bartles even furnished a fine thoroughbred horse for the desperate venture for Pelathe got to the Kansas river across from Lawrence just as the raiders fired the first shots in the doomed city.²³ I have been unable to verify this story from any contemporary source and if Pelathe followed the well-traveled road he didn't break any records.

After the war banditry continued in the locality. The paper of November 11, 1865, reported robbery in the vicinity. The next week it was further outraged because Dr. J. B. Welborn and wife, who later platted the area and gave it their name, were shot as they were sitting at home one evening by a charge of buckshot fired through the living room window. Both later recovered.

Old-timers can still show the tree near the site of the old hostelry where, during the war, a traveler and his son were hanged after being robbed by the bushwhackers. Sixty years ago neighbors of the tavern were convinced that ghosts of these victims still haunted the vicinity but the present owner will have no part of these tales. She is very gracious to visitors and will show the old bar with an arch over it where liquid inspiration was sold. Many a lurid adventure would entertain us if those old walls could reveal the past.

23. William E. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, 1910), pp. 319, 332-334.

The Wyandotte *Gazette* of December 30, 1881, reviewed the history of Six-Mile, as the locality around the tavern became known. It recalled that 15 years before, Six-Mile was quite a business center. It had a church, school house, blacksmith shop, a store, a hotel and a tobacco factory. The article went on to say that the Six-Mile post office had been moved to Braman Hill, one mile south.

"Young America" was the picturesque title given to a Delaware trading post on the road from Quindaro to Leavenworth about a mile beyond Six-Mile Tavern. Although the trader carried a stock of merchandise, "grog" was his fastest moving commodity. In his journal Abelard Guthrie tells of stopping there—that Indians in various degrees of intoxication were lying about as though a battle had just concluded.²⁴

24. "Diary" of Abelard Guthrie, entry of March 15, 1859.



The Journal of an 1859 Pike's Peak Gold Seeker

Edited by DAVID LINDSEY

I. INTRODUCTION

THE search for gold in America is as old as the coming of the white man to the New World. Ever since the days of the Spanish *conquistadors*, men have dreamed of finding new *El Dorados*. Throughout the development of the United States, the main current of history has at times been interrupted and diverted by glittering reports of rich gold discoveries that have borne men into diverse eddies and backwaters of the historical current. From the red hills of the Georgia piedmont to the white crests of California's high Sierras, men, aroused by the cry of "gold," have yielded to hysteria, abandoned all reason and perspective and performed miracles of herculean effort in a mad scramble to obtain the precious yellow metal.

The gold rush pattern was familiar: the first, faint rumblings and rumors of a gold strike; an alert interest, tempered at the start with some slight skepticism; but the flicker of doubt soon overcome by "convincing evidence" and "first-hand reports" coming back from the diggings. Then followed a wave of hysterical enthusiasm soon rising to a fever pitch of excitement as men frantically prepared to fly from their established homes in pursuit of that "pot of gold" that surely awaited them at the end of the trail. The hardships, harassments, and headaches of traversing new and difficult country with none of the old conveniences and comforts of home often broke strong men, turning them homeward disillusioned and dejected. The more hardy or the more determined or the more foolish ones struggled on to the gold region—a few to be rewarded richly, but most, discouraged by weeks of futile search, to shift to other pursuits or to return home empty-handed.

That there was gold in the Rocky Mountain region had long been suspected. A Cherokee Indian party returning from California in 1850 had found "color" on Ralston's creek, a tributary of the South Platte river, and a military expedition in 1857 had picked up some "float gold" along Cherry creek, another tributary.¹ William Green

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1. LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks*, by Luke Tierney, et al., v. 9 of *Southwest Historical Series* (Glendale, 1941), pp. 35-37, 44-45; Albert N. Williams, *Rocky Mountain Country* (New York, 1950), pp. 114, 115.

Russell of Georgia and a party of Cherokee Indians had worked some fairly rewarding gold diggings along the South Platte near the mouth of Cherry creek for a week or ten days at the end of July, 1858. During this time they were visited briefly by several mountain traders.² So in August, 1858, when old mountain trader John Cantrell, who had visited Green Russell's diggings, reached Kansas City bearing reports of gold on the upper reaches of the South Platte and carrying actual samples to prove his story, he merely confirmed what some men like Cherokee John Beck had been saying since 1850 and what other men had suspected for years.³

The newspapers of the Missouri valley towns, picking up the story at first warily and then with full enthusiasm, flashed the magic word "gold" eastward.⁴ Headlines and reports like "Gold Within Our Reach," "Hundreds Flocking to the Mines," and "One company left here for the gold region yesterday" poured oil on the fires of interest.⁵ Already the nation's eyes were focused on the new Kansas territory where fighting and violence high lighted the struggle of Free-State and Slave-State men for political control. Reporters for Eastern newspapers, like Albert D. Richardson for the Boston *Daily Journal* and Henry Villard for the Cincinnati (Ohio) *Commercial*, now seized the opportunity to send back enticing stories of the new gold find.⁶ To a people already weary with frustrations engendered by the panic of 1857, Horace Greeley's assurance in October "that there is much gold this side of the Rocky mountains" lent encouragement and fanned public excitement.⁷

There could be little doubt now in the public mind of the "fabulous" wealth to be had for the digging in the gold region of the Rockies, particularly since newspaper stories continued to describe miners returning with thousands of dollars in gold after a few weeks' work.⁸ From Topeka, Kansas City, Leavenworth, and

2. Hafen, *Guidebooks*, pp. 59, 70, 71.

3. Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce*, August 26, 27, 28, 1858, cited in Hafen, *Guidebooks*, pp. 71, 72. Also cited in Ralph P. Bieber, "Diary of a Journey to the Pike's Peak Gold Mines in 1859," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Lincoln, Neb., v. 14 (December, 1927), p. 361. Also cited in LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *Colorado Gold Rush: Contemporary Letters and Reports, 1858-1859*, v. 10 of *Southwest Historical Series* (Glendale, 1941), pp. 30-37.

4. Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce*, August 31, 1858; Lawrence *Republican*, September 2, 1858; Council Bluffs (Iowa) *Bugle*, September 8, 1858; Leavenworth *Times*, September 11, 1858; Omaha (Neb.) *Times*, September 16, 1858; *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, September 23, 1858.—Cited in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 39-68.

5. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 39-42; James F. Willard, "Spreading the News of the Early Discoveries of Gold in Colorado," *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 6, pp. 98-104.

6. Boston (Mass.) *Daily Journal*, September 14, 20, 21, 1858, cited in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 41, 42, 49, 50, 52; Henry Villard, *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions* (ed. by LeRoy R. Hafen, Princeton, 1932), pp. 10-16.

7. Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 73, 74.

8. Lawrence *Herald of Freedom*, November 13, 1858; Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce*, October 19, 1858; Lawrence *Republican*, November 4, 1858.—Cited in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 91-98, 105-111.

Omaha, east to Chicago, New York, and Boston, and to practically every community in between the Missouri valley and Massachusetts bay the news spread like a prairie fire and excitement flared in the fall and winter of 1858-1859. For the time being men forgot their concern over whether "Honest Abe" or the "Little Giant" would be Illinois' next senator, over popular sovereignty and the fight in congress for the English compromise bill on Kansas and over the scarcity of jobs in Eastern cities. Thousands from the farther East swarmed into the Missouri valley towns, and enough hardy souls crossed the Plains in the fall of 1858 to give the newly-founded towns of Auraria and Denver at the mouth of Cherry creek on the South Platte about 125 cabins, huts, and tents by Christmas, with innumerable gold-hunting camps springing up in the surrounding country.⁹

The actual gold situation was quite different from the picture given in the newspaper accounts. While some small quantities of "float gold" had been panned along the South Platte and its tributaries, no large amounts of any consequence had been found in 1858. Most of the thousands who would go to the mountains were doomed to failure, frustration, and futility. It was not until May 6, 1859, that John H. Gregory, formerly of Georgia, found gold in paying quantities along a branch of the north fork of Clear creek at an elevation of about 8,000 feet some 40 miles west of Denver.

Meanwhile back East, the young men, jobless in the wake of 1857's panic, dreamed glittering visions of golden wealth in the Rockies, as they scanned the optimistic newspaper reports. In Cleveland, Ohio, 20-year-old William W. Salisbury also read the papers and dreamed. Born in Warrensville, Ohio, just east of Cleveland, Salisbury had for a time attended the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute (now Hiram College), Hiram, Ohio, where James A. Garfield was serving as president.¹⁰ Forced by lack of funds to leave college, Salisbury was now casting about for something to do and hoping that that something would bring rich rewards. For him, reports of gold in the Pike's Peak area were made to order.

The first public notice of the new gold discovery reached Clevelanders on September 3, 1858, when the Cleveland *Leader* quoted a report in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce* that "the Pike's Peak gold mines have been fully opened." Later it reported "fabulous" and "fascinating" accounts and again that "the gold excitement prevails and that parties are leaving [Leavenworth] for

9. Villard, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-34.

10. Berea (Ohio) *Enterprise*, December 23, 1920; Cleveland (Ohio) *Plain Dealer*, December 23, 1920.

Pike's Peak nearly every day."¹¹ Words of caution, throwing "cold water on the yellow fever which is carrying off so many of the Western people," were added early in October.¹² But by the end of October, William B. Parsons of Lawrence, who "has returned from the gold mines on the South Platte," declared "gold found uniformly" and by Christmas "private letters from the miners . . . who went to Pike's Peak . . . corroborate the reports of the first discoveries" of "fine drift gold."¹³ If these reports did not exactly reflect the facts of the situation, how was a young man of 20 over a thousand miles from the scene to know the difference? Besides, guidebooks offering advice on how to reach the mines and how to prepare for the journey were now appearing. At least two were issued before the end of 1858.¹⁴ Whether Salisbury saw these is not known, but he must have seen the advice the press was giving as to the best routes to Pike's Peak mines.¹⁵

The "yellow fever" in Cleveland continued to mount in the early months of 1859. In January it was "Gold! Gold! Our Kansas and Missouri exchanges glitter with this bewitching word, and heads of thousands are now being turned from every day pursuits to dreams of yellow dust."¹⁶ In February "A Clevelander at Pike's Peak" reported "the prospects good. . . . Our average is from eight to fifteen dollars a day."¹⁷ In March groups of Clevelanders and others in northeastern Ohio were organizing companies to set out for the gold region.¹⁸ It was during this excitement that young William Salisbury made his decision to try his luck at chasing the golden rainbow.

On April 4, 1859, he left Cleveland headed for the mines. On that same day he began recording his daily experiences in a small, black, leather-bound journal that he carried with him constantly. From April 4 to September 11, 1859, faithfully he set down each day the story of his journey, his observations and his reactions to what he saw. This journal, somewhat frayed and weather-beaten, with a few pages torn away from the binding, is now in the possession of William Salisbury's great-grandson, David Louis of Cleveland, by whose kind permission the text of the journal is presented below.

11. Cleveland (Ohio) *Leader*, September 20, 23, 1858.

12. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1858.

13. *Ibid.*, October 20, December 25, 1858.

14. Hafen, *Guidebooks*, pp. 84, 85, 147, 151, notes a guidebook written by William Hartley and T. C. Dickson offered for sale by Chicago and St. Louis book sellers at \$1 a copy and another written by William B. Parsons published at Lawrence and priced at 25¢.

15. Cleveland (Ohio) *Leader*, September 13, 1858.

16. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1859.

17. *Ibid.*, February 26, 1859.

18. *Ibid.*, March 3, 15-18, 22, 1859.

II. THE JOURNAL, APRIL-SEPTEMBER, 1859

1859 APRIL 4TH Started from Cleveland 30 mo past 11 A. M. arrived in Toledo at 3 ock¹⁹ had a pleasant journey.

Started from Toledo 10 mo past 9 arrived in Springfield Ill at 4 ock [APRIL 5] remained there till 6 then started for St. Louis which we maid by 2 ock [APRIL 6]²⁰ in the morning

remained there till 9 ock in the morning when we started for Jefferson which we reached about 3 ock P M²¹ Procured a ticket for California [Mo.] which we reached by 5 ock remained there over night. got up in the morning and started for Uncle Atwell²² Got there at 8 ock [APRIL 7]

APRIL 21ST 1859 Having got all things ready we²³ commenced our journey for all the badness of the weather which was stormy enough it rained and snowed all day. We traveled over some beautiful country mostly prairie intermittent with timber. Brooks frequently crossing our path. We camped on the banks of the Moreau having traveled only 11 miles

FRIDAY 22ND I arose this morning feeling refreshed from a good sleep It is cloudy and broken this morning. Last night was my first experience in camping out. And a right jolly good time we had of it. We rolled off early this morning and camped at 4 ock in the evening having traveled only 15 miles. We passed through Versail[l]es about noon.

SATURDAY 23RD It is a cold chil[l]y day and a strong North Wester is a blowing but however we are on our road all in good spirits. We frequently pass through skirts of timber on the little cricks. We pitched our tent tonight one mile West of Colecamp a smart little town having traveled 16 miles The weather is awfully windy

SUNDAY 24TH Today is a day for rest, but it is not so with us. We cannot get feed for our teams, neather corn nor hay ther[e] being no grass, therefore we think it advisable to push on regardless of the day untill we can obtain feed. We have [t]raveled 10 miles and have found some old hay and pasture which we are glad to git It is on the open prairie no timber in sight

MONDAY APRIL 25TH We pulled up stakes about 7 ock this morning having traveled most of the day on the prairie crossed some beautiful streams scirted with timber Crossed one good sised river with rocky shores mostly limestone. Came through one beautiful little town by the name of Lesville We have maid 18 m[iles] got fair camping grounds.

TUESDAY 26TH We pulled up stakes about half past 7 this morning found pretty rough roads and therefore have come very slow Had to stop at Clinton and git our [wagon] tree set Saw a great many going to Pike's Peak²⁴

19. "Ock" is used for "o'clock" throughout the journal. Apparently Salisbury traveled from Cleveland to Toledo on the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railroad.

20. He must have traveled from Toledo to Springfield by the Wabash railroad and from Springfield to St. Louis by the St. Louis, Alton and Chicago railroad, as did Charles C. Post whose diary appears in LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859, From Contemporary Diaries*, v. 11, *Southwest Historical Series* (Glendale, Cal., 1942), pp. 22-55.

21. He likely traveled over the Missouri Pacific railroad from St. Louis to Jefferson City.

22. Salisbury stayed at his Uncle Atwell's near California, Mo., for about two weeks after which he joined a party heading for the gold region.

23. Just who the other members of his party were Salisbury does not specify, although he refers to several other members from time to time in the entries that follow.

24. It is of course impossible to determine exactly how many argonauts set out for Pike's Peak. Returning Santa Fe traders reaching Kansas City on May 25, about four weeks after Salisbury started from Missouri and therefore having probably passed him on the trail, reported that between Arkansas crossing and Council Grove 5,214 men, 220

We camped on the banks of the Grand river having traveled only 11 miles Plenty of Turkey Woolves and som[e] Deer around this visinity

WEDNESDAY 27TH, 1859 We started from our camping ground about half past 7 this morning found bad roads [illegible word] and Rod broke down and hindered us some time It is a beautiful country in this visinity, a rich loamy soil interspersed with thick groves of timber and cristal Brooks unimproved lands \$5 per acre improved from 10 to 15 Have traveled 13 miles

THURSDAY 28TH 1859 Started from our camping ground about 5 ock this morning traveled on steadily all day. mostly on Prairie rol[l]ing interspersed with timber and well wattered This is in Henry county no Government land in this visinity. Camped on Elk crick caught some fish Went up to an old farmers on the hill he[a]rd his son play on the violin Went up in the morning and traided for it.

FRIDAY 29TH 1859 It rained mostly all night had a good nights rest the tent kept us drigh. had some difficulty in finding our cattle in the morning. did not git started till 9 in the morning traveled about 14 miles it was hard traveling. we got within 8 miles of the State line and camped on the open Prairie

SATURDAY 30TH We started rather late this morning and passed through Tuckerville about 9 in the morning could see 8 miles ²⁵ to Westport arrived at Westport ²⁶ about 1 P M The people stop[p]ed Robert there as a runaway ²⁷ We camped 5 miles in Kansas Ter[r]itory on the open Prairie

SUNDAY MAY 1ST The weather is cloudy and warm and it rained some Changed my close and then went Hunting saw nothing to shoot. but one of our company killed a deer. It is rather roaling Prairie with skirts of timber We left gards out Saturday and Sunday nights It was dark some of the gards got lost

MONDAY MAY 2ND Pulled up stakes about sunrise and traveled till noon stop[p]ed and fed our cattle and took dinner Pushed on and made 15 miles Camped on large Prairie where there was good feed in the edge of the timber Herded our cattle and stood guard for the first time had no trouble

TUESDAY 3RD 1859 We loaded up our camping utensils and rolled on about 7 this morning found some bad roads stop[p]ed at Paola and got one tree set Paola is a fine growing town came on and camped about 4 miles from town on the open Prairie was joined by several Waggon's It rained hard jest after we camped

WEDNESDAY 4TH 1859 We endeavored to start early this morning But we were disappointed we were in with a company of Kentuckyan[s] and just as we were agoing to start one of their company a young man about 21 was shot dead. he had his gun in his wagon with the musle foremost and was in the

women, 1,351 wagons, 7,375 oxen, 632 horses and 381 mules were heading for the gold region. They added that the Pike's Peak'ers east of Council Grove "exceeded those beyond."—*Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, quoted in Bieber, *loc. cit.*, p. 365, and in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, p. 316.

25. This was no doubt present-day Lees Summit, although in 1859 there was no town at this point.

26. Westport, along with Independence and earlier Franklin, had long been a principal outfitting center for the Santa Fe traders, and it is here where Salisbury and his party picked up the Santa Fe trail. A few miles to the north bustling Kansas City, only recently incorporated, was rapidly forging into the lead as an outfitting center.—*See Stanley Vestal, The Old Santa Fe Trail* (Boston, 1939), pp. 31-33; also Federal Writers' Project, *Missouri (American Guide Series*, New York, 1941), pp. 244-247.

27. Salisbury makes no further identification of "Robert" who presumably was a Negro and therefore in the inflamed atmosphere of that time along the Missouri-Kansas border was suspected as a fugitive.

act of pulling it out towards him when it went off and shot him through the head and also graised another mans arm this sad occurrence [caused] a general confusion and delay however they desided to move on and burrey the young man in the next town. We parted company with the Kentuckians about noon and was joined we traveled about 18 miles and camped on the banks of a crick.

THURSDAY 5TH Started in good season this morning the roads were bad but we maid about 15 miles Reached the old Santiffee road at Brooklin had a hard days travel and camped on the open Prairie Wood was scarce Paid 40 cents for a little to git sup[p]er.

FRIDAY 6TH Started at 6 this morning have had good roads all day It is excellent travel but timber is scarce Have traveled 22 miles it rained all night camped a mile West of Prairie City

SATURDAY 7TH Have not traveled any today we have been looking [for] Cattle all day. 13 of our cattle wandered off last night in the storm and we have searched diligently for them but have not been able to find them part of our company have gon[e]. The waggons are passing continuously It is warm and pleasant

SUNDAY 8TH We have not done anything to amount to anything today Heerd of our cattle about noon hired a man to go back after them paid him \$11 found them and got them about 4 ock P M Pulled up staikes and crossed the river and camped It has been a pleasant day The waggons are so thick, It looks like a village

MONDAY 9TH We started about 6 ock this morning we are 110 miles from Independence²⁸ found good roads west a great many Government waggons Passed through Burlingame²⁹ and Willmington are flourishing little towns have come 22 miles. It is mostly Prairie well watered with brooks and springs Timber is scarce

TUESDAY 10TH We got under way about 6 ock this morning found good roads and excelent land well watered but timber is scarce Wone of our company broke the king bolt to his waggon and delayed us some time. We have traveled 21 miles found good camping grounds on the banks of river³⁰ but few settlers some Indians

WEDNESDAY 11TH 1859 We came on rather earley this morning over excellent roads mostly Prairie. While our cattle were halting at noon some Indians came to us wanted whisky and tobacco³¹ Passed through Counsel Grove³² about 1 ock P M. traveled on and camped on the Prairie have maid 20 miles.

THURSDAY 12TH We were on our road at 6 ock this morning traveled on

28. The party crossed 110-mile creek mentioned prominently in the William B. Parsons guidebook and others as a landmark along the trail.—Hafen, *Guidebooks*, p. 172.

29. A later traveler on this same route pronounced Burlingame "the next best town on the road from Westport, being second to Olathe," quoted in Hafen, *Overland Routes*, p. 32.

30. This was probably Bluff creek some 21 miles west of Dragoon creek where Salisbury and party had camped the night before.

31. These Indians were likely Osages, Kaws or other "friendly" Indians who frequently begged along the trail east of Council Grove.—Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

32. Here was a half-mile-wide strip of hardwood timber, the last point on the outbound trail where spare axletrees, oxbows and wagon tongues could be had. The place name was derived from a council held here by the Osage Indians in 1825 with a government road-surveying party.—*Ibid.*, p. 55. It was at this point where, the guidebooks advised, companies should be formed for mutual protection, if this had not already been done. Usually, the company elected three officers, wagon master, assistant wagon master, and captain of the guard, whose word would be law in the crossing of the Plains.—Hafen, *Guidebooks*, p. 173. The Salisbury party apparently had organized before reaching Council Grove, although the diarist gives no details of the organization.

over mostly a level road with very little wood and watter We passed through Diamond Springs about 2 ock today they are the most beautifull springs I ever saw³³ there is now wood scarcely there and but three houses and a grocery³⁴ have maid 20 miles.

FRIDAY 13TH We camped last night at the Salt Springs on the open Prairie The springs have stop[p]ed their flow for some reason or other and there is now nothing but a pud[d]le of rily water. There is 6 of our cattle sick which was caused by drinking this water, which is tinctured with Alkali³⁵ It is a rainy day and chil[l]y Have come 18 mi

SATURDAY 14TH Here we are camped on Cotton wood crick It has rained hard and steadily all day our cattle all look poorly the sick ones are better We shall stay here today and tomorrow it being 40 miles to wood and 18 miles to water There is 6 or 700 camped on this crick there is Buffalow and Deer and Elk and Antilope here. there has been several killed.

SUNDAY 15TH It still continues to rain and is disagre[e]able enough. The day is mosly occupied in cucking washing hunting and fishing. there is but 2 log huts here one a dwelling the other a grocery. They ar[e] occupied by an agent who stops here through emigration, then move[s] back to Council Grove

MONDAY 16TH We started rather late this morning and have found bad traveling it being mud[d]y and soft but have come 19 miles and camped on the little Turkey There is but 1 house here built of turf and covered with tent cloth it is a kind of traiding post, but poore water here no timber plenty Buffalow

TUESDAY 17TH Have traveled 21 miles today and are somewhat fatigued we are camped on the Running Turkey There is no timber here and poore water There is wone house here maid of small logs and turf and a grocery in a waggon [illegible word] The nearest timber is within 8 miles

WEDNESDAY 18TH Started about 6 ock this morning found slipery roads this morning it having rained last night Arrived at little Arcasas at 11 ock toll bridge here³⁶ 25 cts. toll. but little timber. Poore water saw a man that had been shot acidently in the hip. Came on and passed another company who were camped one man having shot himself acidently in the arm will have to be amputated There is no end to Buffalow have come 22 m

THURSDAY 19TH We rose this morning and started by sunrise there being no feed here and our cattle being hitched to our waggons all night have come on 6 miles where there is good feed and camped This is Beach Valley are now wayting for Rob and Butler they went out yesterday morning after Buffalow have just come into timber and water here Was an Indian acidently shot before we came here

FRIDAY 20TH 1859 Waked up this morning about 3 ock it was raining a

33. Other travelers agreed with Salisbury on the beauty of the springs.—See *ibid.*, p. 174, and Hafen, *Overland Routes*, p. 33.

34. Lack of wood was compensated for by the abundance of buffalo chips which made a serviceable fuel.—Hafen, *Guidebooks*, p. 174. From Diamond Springs to the big bend of the Arkansas, the distance was a little more than 100 miles. The trail crossed a series of small creeks whose steep banks made crossing difficult at best but the rains that came during the days the Salisbury party was crossing the stretch of terrain simply compounded the difficulties.

35. More superstitious members of the company may have blamed this on the unlucky day. It was on this same day that another gold seeker farther east on the trail recorded overtaking "a curiosity in the shape of a wind wagon . . . a four wheeled vehicle, about nine feet across schooner rigged a very large sail."—Hafen, *Overland Routes*, p. 29.

36. This bridge had been built in 1858 "by Gains & Wheeler, the owners of it and the ranch." There was also a ferry at this point.—*Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.

perfect herricane and the watter was running into our ten and our bed clothes were all wet Came about 17 miles camped on the Great bend of the Arcansas it is a very rapid flowing stream but very riley now. very little timber here poore water

SATURDAY 21ST Started about 6 this morning Came to Ash crick³⁷ about noon it is a small traiding post one house plenty timber and water The Cioway³⁸ Indians are here there a[re] great many at our camp at noon got them to shoot at a mark Tenneys etc would hit this eve[r]ly time they were pe[a]cable and friendly were traiding caracters have come 20 mile

SUNDAY 22ND We camped last night on the open Prairie near the arcansas we passed Pawney rock³⁹ about 8 ock came on and camped on Ash crick have come 10 miles went up to the Arcansas 3 miles and went in swimming

MONDAY 23RD Loaded our things and started about 6 ock came on and found good roads. We met hundreds of waggons going back reached Pawney Fork about noon met another train going back. our Captain with 2 waggons have gone back Butler and George were obliged to go back⁴⁰ but there are 8 waggons of us yet determined to go on have come on and camped on the banks of the Arcansas traveled 18 miles

TUESDAY 24TH Rose early as usual this morning. felt revived from a good night's rest Had good watter. made a fier of Buffalow chips wone more waggon has gone back from our train wone man met his brother on his way back from the Peak with discouraging news Have been joined by another small company camped on the banks of the Arcansas. poore watter no wood have come 20 miles

WEDNESDAY 25TH Started early as usual this morning. The wind blows cold and chil[l]y with a little rain have found good roads all day no timber on this side of the Arcansas and no good watter traveled at a brisk rate all day have made 25 miles camped on the flats of the Arcansas.

THURSDAY 26TH There is a cold wind and rain this morning but we have managed to git us some breakfast. Have found good raods all day traveled

37. Salisbury must have made an error here. Certainly he meant Walnut creek where Bill Allison, "a one-armed plainsman," maintained a trading post.

38. This word's letters are obscure and garbled in the long-hand diary, but it probably means Kiowa.

39. Pawnee Rock, otherwise known as Painted Rock, was the best-known landmark on the Santa Fe trail. The soft sandstone face jutted sharply upwards to a height of 40 feet visible for some ten miles. Many travelers carved on its face not only initials and names but brief verses and messages for later travelers.—Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

40. Many of those who had started out for the gold regions with high hopes and with signs on their wagons reading "Pike's Peak or Bust," finding little or no gold in the mountains or finding the rigors of the Plains too much for them were now heading back East. Reaching the Missouri valley towns, they pronounced the Pike's Peak gold excitement a "hoax" and "the most stupendous humbug ever perpetrated upon the American people."—Clyde B. Davis, *The Arkansas (The Rivers of America Series, New York, 1940)*, p. 33. Men who had set out joyfully singing

"Take up the oxen, boys, and harness up the mules;

Pack away provisions and bring along the tools;

The pick and shovel, and a pan that won't leak;

And we'll start for the gold mines. Hurrah for the Peak!"

were now returning homeward to burn in effigy editors who had spread the gold reports and particularly those like D. C. Oakes who had prepared guidebooks for gold seekers. Disappointed argonauts chanted vengefully:

"Here lies the body of D. C. Oakes,

Lynched for aiding the Pike's Peak hoax."

—*Ibid.*, p. 34. See, also, Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, p. 305, and Hafen, *Guidebooks*, p. 80.

mostly all day on the banks of the river. no timber but good watter We camped at night near old Fort Atkinson ⁴¹ Distance Traveled 22 miles

FRIDAY 27TH Started on our journey early this morning. It is clear and pleasant but a chilly air. no timber in sight poore watter Rod and I went a hunting Antelope saw wone did not git a shot. killed a woolf though camped upon the bluffs and drove our cattle down to the river one of our oxen got in and came near drownnd ⁴² Traveled 20 miles

SATURDAY 28TH We were on our road at the usual time this morning. nothing occurred of any account. it is clear and pleasant. found road very good except some sandy hills. Came to Pawney fort ⁴³ about 3 ock P M Saw up under the shelving rocks where an Indian had been buried and had been dug up by the Woolves. some of his bones mocasins blanket bow and arrows were in sight. camped on the flats 20 miles

SUNDAY 29TH We have not traveled any today. are giving our cattle rest and recruiting them up a little one of our men being very sick also we thought best to rest there is no timber here poore watter It has been a long and lonesome day Saw some Pellicans in the river they were beautiful like the Swan

MONDAY 30TH We were on our journey earley this morning have found excellent roads all day. nothing has occurred of not[e] Camped near some movers with their families on their way to California with a drove of cattle no timber poore watter have made 22 miles

TUESDAY 31ST Were on our way at the usual time this morning It is clear and warm, and a beautiful time to travel. Have traveled on the flats beneath the bluffs all day. Saw a grave on the top of the bluff went up to it. It was the grave of a child only two weeks old. It read on the stone L W Ramsey Dies May 21 1859 Aged 2 weeks It was a meloncolly sight there it lay hundred[s] of miles from any other human being a lonely grave of an infant 20

WEDNESDAY JUNE 1ST It is a verry windy day today. and it was thought best to remain here till the wind subsided therefore we have remained here all day Nothing occurred of any account. we got timber here for cucking purposes no very large timber here mostly brush etc The Captains horse arrived and the other two waggons

THURSDAY 2ND We were on our way early this morning found excellent roads all day there is more or less timber now on our road but it is very scarce have made a good days travel at least 23 miles. Have had some Antelope meat for supper Rod and Therron have been out Rod killed one camped on the banks of the Arcansas

FRIDAY 3RD Nothing of importance has occurred today have traveled over a sandy road all day on the flats close to the river There is some timber along

41. This fort had been established in 1850 near present Dodge City and abandoned in 1854. In 1858, wrote one observer, "nothing of it remains except a bridge with four sides showing the outline of the walls which were of sod."—Hafen, *Overland Routes*, p. 42; also Hafen, *Guidebooks*, p. 177.

42. This was a dreary and dangerous part of the trail. Hostile Comanches and Kiowas roamed over this area. The monotony of the Plains and "this interminable, abominable river" were oppressive.—Bieber, *loc. cit.*, p. 363; Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

43. Here earlier in the century, a war party of Pawnees had felled trees in a grove of cottonwoods, thrown up a crude fort and fought off another Indian war party.—Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

here and it is growing plentier⁴⁴ We camp tonight on the banks of the river where the noise of the watters would lull us to sleep have traveled 22 miles.

SATURDAY 4TH 1859 Started at our usual time found excellent roads all day. No water except River water which is riley. It has been a very warm day. Timber is getting more plenty every day. we camped at night near Bents fort.⁴⁵ went up in the evening to see the structure. It rained some after we camped. sines of beaver here. Traveled 22 miles.

SUNDAY 5TH It was decided last night to remain here today I have been working and mending. been down to the River to swim have been reading some It has been a beautiful day

MONDAY 6TH Started a little earlier than usual this morning Passed the fort early There is several trains with us this morning good road Camped as usual near the river Have been a little lame all day Stuck a stick in my heel and am more tired than usual have traveled 30 miles

TUESDAY 7TH This is a beautiful day our camping ground was excelent last night. We arrived at the ruins of Bents old fort⁴⁶ a little after noon It was pleasantly situated Would that I could hear those old walls speak and tell some of the events that has happened therein Came in sight about 4 ock of some of the peaks of the Rocky mountains Spanish peak[s],⁴⁷ Pikes etc poore feed for our cattle here have traveled 25

WEDNESDAY 8TH It has been a warm sultry forenoon. but in the afternoon towards night there was a gale sprung up and it blew hard and rained some the roads along here are rather sandy and ruff and hilly. no feed here for our cattle Have traveled 25 miles

THURSDAY 9TH Started rather early this morning a good many gulches abound here. came on and camped in good feed on the banks of the river. the watter is rather cold. river rising. Went hunting after ducks in the afternoon Distance 22

FRIDAY 10TH Were on our way early this morning went hunting Shot at a Woolf killed a raven arrived at Founta[i]n city⁴⁸ at noon Left the Arcansas here camped on fountain crick.⁴⁹ Traveled 25

44. The Salisbury party here entered the Big Timber just beyond the mouth of Sand creek, which he must have passed but does not mention. Another gold seeker who traversed this stretch just nine days later wrote that the Big Timber "consists of about two or three hundred cottonwood trees, very large but low and scrubby. We were very much refreshed in their shade, it being quite a luxury, not having enjoyed shade for one hundred and seventy-five miles."—Diary of Charles C. Post, quoted in Hafén, *Overland Routes*, pp. 44, 45.

45. Bent's New Fort, built in the early 1850's, was located on the north bank of the Arkansas, opposite the present town of Powers, Colo. Brothers William and Charles Bent, builders of the fort, had just shortly before sold it to the government, which after converting it to a military post renamed it first Fort Wise and later Fort Lyon.—Vestal, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 254; Hafén, *Overland Routes*, p. 46. Another traveler, Dr. George M. Willing, reaching here four days before Salisbury, sighed with relief that "Bent's Fort is a reality, then, and not a myth, as I had supposed."—Bieber, *loc. cit.*, p. 367.

46. This fort, built by the Bent brothers about 1828, served as a trading post and landmark on the Santa Fe trail for about a quarter of a century until it was destroyed by William Bent himself.—Vestal, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 254, 285.

47. These were landmarks for travelers on the old Santa Fe trail which turned south and west across the Arkansas river about six miles west of Bent's Old Fort. The route to the gold region continued along the Arkansas another 50 miles.—*Ibid.*, pp. 254, 255; Hafén, *Guidebooks*, p. 178.

48. This settlement was established by the gold seekers of the previous fall on the east side of Fountain creek. It was the forerunner of present Pueblo, Colo.—Hafén, *Overland Routes*, p. 49.

49. The original name was *Fontaine qui bouille*, meaning Boiling Spring creek, but converted by the gold seekers to Fountain creek.

SATURDAY 11TH This is the first day traveled on this road It is somewhat roaring poore land but little timber. plenty Turkey and deer here. good cold water from the mountains Traveled 20

SUNDAY 12TH Concluded to lay over today and rest. It is a beautiful day. the mountains loom up in full view most over our head Some of the boys have gone up to them to prospect

MONDAY 13TH Hitched up at our usual time found good roads came about 4 ock to the forks of the road. one for the mountains the other directly for cherry crick we took the wone for cherry crick the Captain and 3 other waggons the other Traveled 24 miles camped in the border of the pine woods ⁵⁰

TUESDAY 14TH This is a beautiful morning. the snow on the mountains is glistening in the sun. and the green pine forest that surrounds us makes a beautiful contrast There is natural meadows of grass beautiful forests of pine and cristal springs of water along our travel today Camped on the head waters of Cherry crick excellent camp ground Traveled 23 miles

WEDNESDAY 15TH Left our camping ground early this morning Came by several houses and a man mining he said he maid 2 or 4\$ per day Passed a saw mill Lumber was worth \$80 per thousand at the mill ⁵¹ Camped on cherry crick traveled 18 miles

THURSDAY 16TH We were delayed this morning on account of oxen two of them got lame but we got another yoke of one of our company and pushed on Passed through Denver city ⁵² and crossed the Platt and camped Traveled 23m

FRIDAY 17TH Were up and of[f] by times this morning. reached the mountains about 10 ock ⁵³ camped on the hill remained there till 4 ock then drove 2 miles South on good feed and water between two mountains traveled 10 miles

SATURDAY 18TH Went prospecting this forenoon could find nothing Started for the mines in the mountains in the P. M. crossed Clear crick ascended the first mountains camped on them 3 miles from the valley 10 miles

SUNDAY 19TH This is a beautifull day a gentle breeze is blowing from the West off from the Snow crested mountains in the distance. We are traveling moderately and viewing the works of nature which are beautifull along here

50. This must have been near "Brush Corral" built by an army party a year earlier. To reach this point Salisbury must have passed Jim's camp, named for an old mountain trader.—Hafen, *Guidebooks*, p. 179.

51. Dr. George Willing passed this same saw mill on June 10 and noted men washing gold here.—Bieber, *loc. cit.*, p. 373. The new town of Russellville, named for Green Russell of the original 1858 prospecting party, was located at this point.

52. Denver City had been organized in November, 1858, on the east bank of Cherry creek where it flowed into the South Platte, under the direction of William Larimer as successor to the paper town of St. Charles.—Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 124; Hafen, *Guidebooks*, pp. 77, 78.

53. Salisbury and party were headed for the Clear creek region about 40 miles west of Denver. This region had just received a stirring jolt of publicity. Actually, John Gregory in May had found a rich deposit on the north fork of Clear creek. Horace Greeley, who had arrived in Denver on June 6, visited the Clear creek area a few days later and together with A. D. Richardson and Henry Villard issued a joint statement declaring "We have this day personally visited nearly all the mines or claims already opened in this valley . . . have seen the gold plainly visible in the riffles of nearly every sluice, and in nearly every pan. . . ." Regardless of the accuracy of the Greeley report, it was widely reprinted after its first appearance in the *Rocky Mountain News* at Denver on June 11, 1859. Since this was just five days before Salisbury reached Denver, he could not have missed hearing the reports whether he saw the newspaper or not.—Bieber, *loc. cit.*, p. 376; Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 127. The Greeley report is reprinted in full in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 376-381; Cleveland *Leader*, June 21, 25, 1859.

This is the first Sabbath in the mountains with me and but little does it seem like such to me Have traveled 10 miles

MONDAY 20TH 1859 We were on our way as soon as we could see this morning reached the mines at noon the miners were all buisy at work⁵⁴ they seemed to be doing well Rod and Hendricks got lost from us camped about 2 ock in Russells vally Traveled 16

TUESDAY 21ST Went prospecting today my corse layed West went over several miles on the middle branch of clear crick followed it down to the Vascos fork found the collar [i. e. color] saw trout in the crick and also a big brown bear and a deer returned to camp at dark.

WEDNESDAY 22ND It was necessary that some of us should return after provision McGregor and I were chosen arrived at little prairie at noon traveled hard all day got within 4 miles of the valley by dark and camped

THURSDAY 23RD We were on our way by light this morning Slept cold and our cattle were troublesome reached our camp in the valley about 9 in the morning we were glad to git back so as to get some milk and chicken fixens Soon all hands went about fixin for an early start in the morning

FRIDAY 24TH 1859 Feel refreshed this morning after a good nights rest. had a jolly time last night dancing and playing on the violin.⁵⁵ Started back for the mountains about 10 ock camped at the same place we did Sunday noon last

SATURDAY 25TH Jordan is a hard road to travel. such at least we find it traveling in these mountains have had no bad luck reached little prairie at noon. reached Russells vally about 7 ock and camped feel tired I am glad the days travel is done

SUNDAY 26TH Rube and I went ahead this morning to find the boys, the carts following Had no difficulty in finding them. all went back to pack in the loads 2½ miles being the nearest they could come with carts have just finished packing it in this is the hardest Sunday's work ever done

MONDAY 27TH I am taking my Sunday this forenoon have been washing and mending fetched down the remaining load from our carts have been at work this afternoon dig[g]ing our troths for a Sluce⁵⁶

TUESDAY 28TH 1859 Have been up about ¾th of a mile to our other claims to work this forenoon Came down at noon. remaind here in the afternoon to help make a sluce and tom.

WEDNESDAY 29TH Finished our sluce box and tom and got it set and at work about 9 this A M have been running it all day.

THURSDAY 30TH Have been up at our other claim at work prospects favorable bought a saw. began a cabin this afternoon

54. Clear creek and its tributaries were lined with miners. One estimate puts the number on Clear creek's north fork at the end of June at 10,000 persons.—Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 126. Henry Villard reported on June 10 that "Both banks of Clear creek . . . we found lined with hundreds of wagons and tents, and thousands of grazing animals. . . . Since my first visit at least fifteen more sluices have been completed, and twenty more paying leads struck, along which hundreds of claims have been taken. . . . I estimate the quantity of gold turned out to be at least \$3,500 per day."—Leavenworth Times, June 20, 1859, quoted in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 373, 374.

55. This sense of relief and refreshment was shared by others who had been to the mountain mines for a time and then returned to the settlements just east of the mountains. Dr. George Willing wrote on June 21, 1859: "Have been to the mountains, and have got back, which is quite a miracle, when difficulties, dangers, privations and hardships are considered. The roughest country the Almighty's sun ever shown upon. . . . With all these discouragements staring me in the face, I will return to the mountains as soon as I have laid in a sufficient stock of provisions."—Bieber, *loc. cit.*, p. 377.

56. Gold here was sometimes found in decomposing quartz which could be shoveled in the form of gravel into the "long tom" or sluce with a rifle box attached to catch the gold.—Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Everett Dick, *Vanguards of the Frontier* (New York, 1941), ch. 11.

FRIDAY JULY 1ST 1859 Have been at work on our cabin all day all done but the ruf we quit this claim today it will not pay⁵⁷

SATURDAY 2ND Finished our cabin this forenoon. moved into it this afternoon

SUNDAY 3RD We rest today for the first time in several weeks Have been washing and mending. Have been more homesick today than any other day since I left Home.

MONDAY 4TH, 1859 This is the 4th of July have been at work on our race all day. little does it seem like the 4th.

TUESDAY 5TH Finished our race and have got one sluice to work feel rather discouraged

WEDNESDAY 6TH Have got two sluices to work this day Have done very well

THURSDAY 7TH All that has been done today is hard work. am somewhat tired

FRIDAY 8TH Have been at work this day as usual. we are in poor spirits think we are not making much

SATURDAY 9TH Worked this forenoon Concluded not to work this afternoon Have been to a law suit and up to the Spanish diggings⁵⁸

SUNDAY 10TH Have not been at work this day been mending some. slept some Have thought of home and of those at home today all the time it has been a long and lonesome day.

MONDAY 11TH It was thought best that some of us should return to the vally to dispose of some of our things and to fetch up some in the mountains to buy them. We started at 8 ock this morning have just arrived here in the vally. am tired enough

TUESDAY 12TH Had a good nap this morning, feel as good as ever. Have been down to Golden city⁵⁹ to see what we could do towards selling or buying

WEDNESDAY 13TH Have not been very buisy today been hunting our cattle this afternoon, and have been down to the ranch We have had a rarity in the shape of a Jonny-cake for breakfast and sup[er]

THURSDAY 14 Rose early this morning in order to start for the mountains We were on our way at 6 this morning. passed over the worst road before noon it began raining then and continued the remainder of the day reached camp about 3½ ock

FRIDAY 15TH Have been mining some today 3 of us. have maid only \$1.00 each. the other boys have just arrived from the vally.

SATURDAY 16TH Have been at work this day. we work with poor incuragement it does not pay we are making but little

SUNDAY 17TH We have been doing nothing today Theron and Rube have been over to Gregories today.⁶⁰ It has been a lonesome day.

57. Another prospector recorded the general discouragement: "Hundreds are quitting the mines every day, wearied out and utterly disgusted, while other hundreds were daily arriving, to be disappointed in turn."—Bieber, *loc. cit.*, p. 377.

58. This was on the main stem of Clear creek, otherwise known as Jackson diggings.

59. This town had just recently been founded. Named for a prospector, Thomas L. Golden, it replaced Arapahoe Bar, farther east on Clear creek, and in the 1860's served as capital of Colorado territory for several years.—Federal Writers' Project, *Colorado (American Guide Series, New York, 1941)*, p. 284.

60. Gregory's Gulch off the north fork of Clear creek where John H. Gregory had made a rich find in May, 1859, and where, it was estimated, some 10,000 men were digging for gold by the end of June in a four-square-mile stretch.—*Ibid.*, pp. 264-267; Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 127.

MONDAY 18TH Several of our boys started for the vally this morning but five of us remain have been at work all day. the water is so high that it came in faster than we could bail it out

TUESDAY 19TH have just returned from Spanish mines. Saw Buckskin Joe the mountaineer he had just returned from an exploration trip to the snowy range he was quite talkative

WEDNESDAY 20TH Smith Rube and McShaw have gone prospecting and I am here alone. I have been reading and meditating I love to be left alone sometimes to commune with silent nature, which is beautifull here. tall and rocky mountains surround our camp on every side and a rapid river comes rushing down over the rocks in a few steps of our door I frequently se[e] deer and sheep pass along the side of the mountain

THURSDAY 21ST White and miself started early this morning for russels diggings have also been to the Missouri diggings⁶¹ Have just returned. felt much fatigued It raines here every day now.

FRIDAY 22ND It has rained all day as usual. the boys returned from the vally this evening had some difficulty in giting sup[p]er on account of the rain

SATURDAY 23RD Have been buisy today moving. We have begun packing our things back up the gulch It has rained all the afternoon we camped between Russels and Gregories

SUNDAY 24TH We were off early this morning stop[p]ed at Gregories some time Camped within 11 miles of the vally It raines continually here and is unhealthy enough It does not seem like Sunday

MONDAY 25TH We were off before 6 this morning Have had very good luck. tip[p]ed over but once reached Golden Gate before noon and Golden city half past 12 the last part of our journey seems long reached camp 3 ock

TUESDAY 26TH Rube rived last night also we have been down at Golden city today to git a job did not make a raise times are dull money scarce

WEDNESDAY 27TH I have remained in our camp all day today It is warm and sultry have been washing and mending

THURSDAY 28TH Smith Rube and I have been down at Golden city today but little going on there but gambling traided my revolver for a rifel did not secure a job.

FRIDAY 29TH Have been hunting our cattle today. found them before noon

SATURDAY 30TH Have been mend[ing] our cloth[e]s today It is warm and sultry here at noon and cool night and morning.

SUNDAY 31ST Have been hunting for our cattle. been south four miles for them. got my pail half full of burries Rod and I went at noon over to clear crick 6 miles from camp to trie and float some logs down the river. got back a little after dark

MONDAY AUGUST 1ST We started about 8 ock this morning for denver. We left 3 of our boys behind Old Bob, White and Mansfield. We parted with them reluctantly. Tears started from their eyes when we took our leave It was warm in the forenoon. it rained in the afternoon Camped on Cher[r]y crick

TUESDAY 2ND We wer[e] on our way early this morning Started on afoot for Denver stop[p]ed there some time It has grown wonderfully since I came here we pushed on and camped 15 miles down the Platt[e] The objects on

61. Also located on the north fork of Clear creek.

the mountains are becoming indistinct to view. all that is to be seen is their outlines and white crested peaks covered with snow

WEDNESDAY 3RD We were on our way as soon as light this morning Stop[p]ed as soon as we came to good feed and took breakfast. pushed on and reached Fort Lupton ⁶² at noon. The fort has been deserted for several years there is a famile living in it at the present time passed Bents traiding post and Fort Vasquez ⁶³ in the afternoon. It rained and hailed in the afternoon came 30 miles

THURSDAY 4TH There is a heavy fogg this morning and it is very chilly and cold. Took in the lug[g]lage of two young men to carry it to Leavenworth. about 5 miles from where we camped we found the hail several inches thick. camped at night on the Platt[e]. went in swimming found an Injin canoo on an Island in the river it was maid out of a log and was so water soaked we could not launch it.

FRIDAY 5TH AUGUST We were on our way early this morning. traveled all the forenoon on a sandy desert without wood or water. Reached Fremont orchard about 6 ock this evening It is a beautiful grove of willow and popular [sic] camped one mile and a half below on good feed and timber. the mountains are but juts to be seen in the distance Pikes and Longs two peaks are to be seen.

SATURDAY 6TH This forenoon our road has been very sandy. reached [word garbled, probably Bijou] crick at noon good grass and water. reached an Indian village of several thousand inhabitance [sic] and wandered through the village ⁶⁴ camped 3 miles below on the river

SUNDAY 7TH Today is Sund[a]ly but it does not seam as such to me. we are resting this forenoon. have been down to traid with the Indians have been traveling this afternoon have went 12 miles. no wood here of any consequence crossed Be[a]ver crick ⁶⁵

MONDAY 8TH We camped near the third station ⁶⁶ last night were on our way early this morning. the mountains are lost to view here. the road is frequently very sandy. no wood scarcely here, but willow. Went over to an island in the river after flood wood and willow. discovered the remains of a de[a]d Ingen under a lone Cottonwood he had been hung in the tree after de[a]th with his robes and clothing all on he had decayed and fell to the ground there is two good springs of water here. it rained hard here last night we passed some Indians on their way home from battle Traveled 25 miles

62. This fur trading post, built in 1836, was named for its founder Lancaster P. Lupton, and was operated in conjunction with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. It had been abandoned in 1844.—*Colorado*, p. 367.

63. "Bents traiding post" was Fort St. Vrain, built in 1838 by William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain on the South Platte near the mouth of St. Vrain's creek and operated in the interest of the American Fur Company. It, too, had been abandoned in 1844. Fort Vasquez, about five miles downstream from Fort Lupton, had been established by Rocky Mountain Fur Company agents Louis Vasquez and Andrew Sublette in 1836. Destroyed in an Indian attack of 1842, it was partially rebuilt and later in the 1860's used as an army base in the Indian wars.—*Ibid.*, pp. 265, 266.

64. This was probably an encampment of Pawnees, settled down for the summer months.

65. Beaver creek enters the South Platte just north of present Brush, Colo.

66. This is the third station eastbound from Denver maintained by the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express line of stage coaches. This line, established by William H. Russell, had been running passengers from the Missouri river to Denver on regular schedules since April, 1859.—*St. Louis (Mo.) Missouri Republican*, March 28, April 19, 1859, cited in *Hafen, Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 288, 289, 299.

TUESDAY 9TH Was up as soon as day this morning have been hunting saw nothing but some Ducks killed some there is plenty Antelope here but they are wild Traveled till 6 ock. stop[p]ed and rested our cattle then hitched up and drove till 10 ock then camped after having come 30 miles. we reached the 4th station at sun down. no wood along here no watter but river watter

WEDNESDAY 10TH We were up by day break this morning. It is beautiful to see the sunrise here where it is as level as the sea as far as the eye can reach. Nothing has occurred of importance the road is very sandy along here no wood Traveled in the afternoon til 5. then camped. pushed on at 7 and camped at 10 traveled 28 miles

THURSDAY 11TH Nothing has occurred of importance have been hunting. passed the up[p]er crossing ⁶⁷ about 8 this morning reached the lower crossing ⁶⁸ half past 10 camped there for the night.

FRIDAY 12TH Have been trying to traid with the Indians here at the station. could not traid much. pinched 1 pair mocasin they are of the Shian [Cheyenne] nation. the river is full of islands along here. they are covered with brush and grapevine which are full of fruit and nearly ripe. traveled 25 m

SATURDAY 13 We were on our way early this morning it has been pleasant all day. there was no wood where we camped last night but [a]long in the afternoon we could see timber in the distance which we soone reached there is one of Russels stations and a traiding post here. soone after leaving this station we came in sight of the North Platt[e]. there is more or less timber in sight. we meet a grate [many] waggons for Larramie and Utah ⁶⁹ passed the junction ⁷⁰ in the evening. traveled 25 miles

SUNDAY 14TH It was thought best to drive today til we reached wood and watter. we traveled until noon reached wood. The boys have gone ahunting Rod killed a black tailed deer. traveled 15 miles

MONDAY 15TH We were on our way early this morning. it is cloudy and cool there is a number of ranches and traiding posts along here plenty of wood Caeder, Cotton wood and willow passed cottonwood springs ⁷¹ in the forenoon passed Fremont springs last Sund[a]y night There is a long i[s]land in the river that extends along here a grate manny miles camped at 10 ock 25 m

67. The Upper California crossing was the point at which one route of the Oregon trail crossed the South Platte. By the late 1850's and early 1860's this crossing had become more popular than the Lower crossing because of Indian hostilities farther north as well as the greater physical difficulty of negotiating the Lower crossing. The Upper crossing was situated near present Julesburg, Colo., and near where Lodgepole creek enters the South Platte from the west.—Irene D. Paden, *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner* (New York, 1943), pp. 100, 138-140.

68. At the Lower California crossing, about 20 miles downstream from the Upper crossing, travelers on the Oregon trail forded the South Platte. This was one of the most difficult fords along the whole of the Oregon trail. It was located at a point on the river four miles upstream from present Brule, Neb.—*Ibid.*, pp. 106-109; Federal Writers' Project, *Nebraska (American Guide Series)*, New York, 1939), p. 344.

69. These were of course wagon trains bound for the farther west over the Oregon trail one route of which merged at this point with the South Platte road from the mining region near Denver.

70. Here, near present O'Fallons, Neb., sandstone bluffs draw close to the river, and here, too, Oregon trail trains often crossed the South Platte and moved over to the south bank of the North Platte.—Federal Writers' Project, *The Oregon Trail (American Guide Series)*, New York, 1939), p. 76. This is the "junction" Salisbury refers to in the diary text.

71. A favorite camping place along the Oregon trail, located some 14 miles east of the present town of North Platte, near present Fort McPherson (built originally in 1864 as Fort Cottonwood) National Cemetery.—*Nebraska*, pp. 348, 349; Paden, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102.

TUESDAY 16TH We started at 6 ock this morning and drove till 12 camped for noon the river is skirted with timber. we are in the buffalow range here but we have seen none we camped about 10 at night near plumb crick ⁷² have come 26 [miles]

WEDNESDAY 17TH Hitched up and drove a little the other side of plumb crick and remained there till noon and went hunting killed nothing there was a buffalow killed near us last night saw a number in the afternoon but could not git a shot campe[d] about 6 ock our train split here McCoys and McDonalds waggons went on ours remained and Clarks and Rubes 10 [miles]

THURSDAY 18TH It being a rainy day we could not hunt buffalow so we concluded to travel We pushed on and camped a few miles below Kearney ⁷³ distance we have come is 27 miles

FRIDAY 19TH We were on our way as usual this morning. reached the junction where the Leavenworth road strikes the river ⁷⁴ there is a number of cabbins along here. we got some cucumbers they had corn and mellons berry and sqwashes camped on the bluff out of sight of the river

SATURDAY 20TH It is very windy this morning and cold. there was an antelope came tilting by our camp this morning I cracked a clap at him but my gun did not go. Saw before noon a buffalow and several antelope passed muddy crick and camped on little blue ⁷⁵ at noon remained here all afternoon hunted Rube killed an otter Traveled 12 miles

SUNDAY 21ST We were off by times went [word obscured by ink spot] killed a duck found ripe plums and grapes here traveled till 12 o'clock at night have come 25 this is very good land

MONDAY 22ND ⁷⁶ Didn't start as early as common this morning met a large train off for the Peak camped on the little Blue at the point where we leave it Distance 18 miles

TUESDAY 23RD 1859 Was off in season this morning. left the Blue and struck off[f] over the divide towards the big Sandy ⁷⁷ it is very good land along here There is ranches frequently along here met a load of melons going to Kearney. arrived at the big Sandy about 4 came on and camped on little Sandy. ⁷⁸ Have traveled 23 [miles]

WEDNESDAY 24 We were on our way early this morning. It is a rol[l]ing country along here There is timber along the cricks and some on the upland.

72. This stream empties into the Platte at a point just south of present Lexington, Neb. It became the location of a celebrated trading post and station on the Pony Express.—*The Oregon Trail*, pp. 71, 72.

73. Fort Kearny was built in 1848-1849 primarily to afford protection to emigrants on the Oregon trail against Indian attacks through this region. It was one of the most important posts and supply depots west of Fort Leavenworth.

74. The junction of the Leavenworth road and the road from Nebraska City on the Missouri river was located at a point called Dogtown in the early days, because of a prairie dog village near by, some eight or nine miles east of Fort Kearny.—Paden, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 83. Here Salisbury and his companions turned southeastward toward the Kansas settlements.

75. Salisbury may have come down 32-mile creek, although he does not so name it, to the Little Blue river. Perhaps "muddy crick" was his own name for 32-mile creek along which the Leavenworth road passed.

76. Under this date the Cleveland (Ohio) *Leader* reprinted a letter from a Rockford, Ill., newspaper, that mentioned a party of Clevelanders had purchased a gold mining claim at Pike's Peak, giving all their money and nearly all their supplies. After working their claims for about four weeks, they struck nothing. One man starved and the rest vanished. Except for the starving man, this item pretty well describes the fate of Salisbury's mining party in the gold regions.

77. Anxious to get back East as quickly as possible, Salisbury and his companions struck off on a more direct route than following the winding river course of the Little Blue river.

78. These are tributaries of the Little Blue coming down from the north.

We reached stoney crick ⁷⁹ 15 miles distance by noon. came on and camped in the prairie traveled 28 [miles]

THURSDAY 25TH it is cloudy this morning it is rol[li]ng country along here came by a station reached Cottonwood crick at noon camped at Marysville ⁸⁰ at night it is a small town there's 50 or 60 houses the little Blue ⁸¹ runs through the town 24 [miles]

FRIDAY 26TH We were on our way as usual this morning. left Clark and Vanbruet here Van being sick camped on Vermillion crick ⁸² at noon got plenty green corn here. Passed a small crick in the afternoon there was a settl[er] here. he had a nice farm large fealds of corn a beautiful garden good buildings. it looked like sivilization. camped on suckertash crick 18 [miles]

SATURDA[Y] 27TH 1859 We remained here till noon. then picked up and drove till night camped at Ash point 12 [miles]

SUNDAY 28TH It is a foggy morning However we concluded to drive. The roads are mud[d]y It is fine rol[li]ng country but little timber arrived at Senecy ⁸³ by noon the county seat of Nemaha County it is a fine town beautifully situated on corn crick and [illegible, probably Nemaha] Vally 17 [miles]

MONDAY 29TH AUGUST It is a beautiful morning. we were off in good season. Our lame ox is considerably troublesome passed over a beatiful country camped on muddy creek we git plenty potatoes, corn and melons here. We passed through Grenada ⁸⁴ it is a fine little town in the afternoon camped on Walnut crick for the night this is on the Indian reserve ⁸⁵ it is beautiful land 24 [miles]

TUESDAY 30TH We were off by times this morning sold one cow this afternoon passed through Kennekuk ⁸⁶ camped one miles this side at noon got plenty melons and corn and potatoes here came through Huron ⁸⁷ in the afternoon camped on the Maine at night 20 [miles]

WEDNESDAY 31ST It is a beautifull morning We reached Lancaster ⁸⁸ about 9 ock this morning. it is beautifully situated on the prairie came on got on the rong road came on 5 or 6 miles before we found it out we could see

79. The present name is Rock creek.

80. Marysville is located on the Big Blue river. Here the westward emigrants traveling the road from St. Joseph, Mo., joined with those coming up from Independence and Kansas City, although the latter might choose to cross the Big Blue at Independence crossing a few miles south of Marysville.—Paden, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 63. In 1859 Marysville was the first substantial settlement encountered by travelers coming east from the mountains (the last passed by those headed west). For both it was a welcome haven for purchasing supplies.

81. He means the Big Blue.

82. This was Black Vermillion creek which was crossed by the roads from St. Joseph and Leavenworth.

83. Seneca was the point at which the road crossed the Nemaha river, which, although steep-banked, was not usually difficult to cross in late summer.

84. Granada is about 16 miles southeast of Seneca, and 13 miles due south of present Sabetha.

85. This was the Kickapoo reservation to which the Eastern Indians had been assigned in the 1830's. Originally including some 76,000 acres, the reservation was gradually being whittled down in size.—*Ibid.*, p. 471.

86. This place, named for the Kickapoo chief Kennekuk, marked the point at which the military road from Ft. Leavenworth merged with the Oregon trail from St. Joseph.—Paden, *op. cit.*, p. 59. It was located about five miles west of present Horton.—*Kansas*, p. 494. See Eugene H. Roseboom, ed., "Charles Tinker's Journal, a Trip to California in 1849," *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Columbus, v. 61 (January, 1952), p. 73.

87. Huron is located about ten miles east of present Horton.

88. Lancaster is about ten miles due west of Atchison.

Atchison struck off across the prairie reached Le[a]venworth road by night 10 [miles]

THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 1ST 1859 Passed over some beautiful country this day camped at night in salt creek valley

FRIDAY 2ND Did not start very early this morning it is a beautiful valley wood is scarce here when we reached the top of the hill we could see the fort and the city of Le[a]venworth⁸⁹ it is a large [word obscured by ink blot] town could also see the broad Missouri remained in town till noon. then drove and camped a little way out of town drove about 9 miles and camped for the night the cattle is dying around here with a fever amazingly 14 [miles]

SATURDAY 3RD Passed over a beautiful country this morning Reached the Delaware reserve before noon arrived at the Kansas river toward night cross[ed] at the Delaware ferry⁹⁰ camped on the bank of the river 18 [miles]

SUNDAY 4TH We reached Shawnee town⁹¹ about 8 this morning it is quite a town missed our road here turned back and struck the right road leading to Westport passed through there before sunset camped on the other side 20 [miles]

MONDAY 5TH It is a han[d]som[e] country along her[e] we passed through Independence before noon it is a large and beautiful place came on and camped near Blue springs land is worth from 25 to 30 [dollars] per acre it is thickly settled here 15 [miles]

TUESDAY 6TH It is cold and chilly this morning came through a beautiful country it [is] well timbered and wattered Traided our wagon and wone yoke of cattle for a horse came through lone Jack⁹² toward night camped a little this side 14 [miles]

WEDNESDAY 7TH We are off by good season this morning Traided horses this morning came through Warrensburg this morning got some how come you so [illegible word]⁹³ it began to operate by the time we reached Knobnoster camped this side there is some fruit 20 [miles]

THURSDAY 8TH Reached Ge[or]getown by noon⁹⁴ it is a nice town there is coal beds along here John Smith and I bought us a hat here it rained last night 25 [miles]

FRIDAY 9TH We were off by times this morning We are endeavoring to reach Uncles by Sunday night. Nothing has occurred of importance today Passed through no town it is beautiful country along here 21 [miles]

SATURDAY 10TH This is a beautiful morning. the woods are full of grapevine and they are laden with fruit and there is plenty of [word illegible]

89. The fort had been established by the government here in 1827 to provide protection for the Santa Fe traders. The town had been started by squatters from Missouri in 1854. It received its greatest boost when the famous freighting firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell in 1857 made Leavenworth the headquarters for its operations and later it became the terminus of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak stage line. When Salisbury visited here in 1859, Leavenworth with a population of slightly under 8,000 was the largest town in Kansas territory.—*The Oregon Trail*, p. 48; *Kansas*, pp. 234-236.

90. This was one of five ferries operated across the Kansas river between Kansas City and Topeka.—Paden, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35.

91. A quarter of a century earlier the Shawnees from Ohio had been relocated in this area by the federal government.—*Ibid.*, p. 21.

92. The name derived from a blackjack tree near a spring which served as a landmark in the vicinity.—Federal Writers' Project, *Missouri (American Guide Series*, New York, 1941), p. 403.

93. Unfortunately this undecipherable word appears to be the key to the meaning of the sentence. It was likely a slang expression of the day.

94. Georgetown was located near present Sedalia, which became the leading settlement in the area after the Missouri Pacific line was extended there in 1861.—*Missouri*, p. 399.

and [word obscured by ink blot]. reached round hill toward night it is 3 miles from Tipton camped 1 mile east 20 [miles] had a little spree tonight

SUNDAY 11TH We were early this morning Reached California by noon pushed on and reached Atwells by dark

III. EPILOGUE

The entry for September 11 is the last regular daily record. The first two pages of the journal, torn loose from the binding, gave a summary of distances traveled each day. There are a few notes on the last two pages of the journal. They are badly blurred and faded. Those that can be deciphered seem to refer to financial transactions, such as purchases of goods and payments for work that Salisbury did after his return from the mines, although there are no dates recorded in conjunction with these entries.

Salisbury later returned to Ohio and served in the Union army during the Civil War. After the war he settled down in Berea, Ohio, some 15 miles southwest of Cleveland. Here he turned to the less spectacular pursuits of teaching school and farming.⁹⁵ Before his death in 1920, Salisbury likely recalled many times the irony of the Pike's Peakers' song:

Then hol for the mountains where the yellow dust is found,
Where the grizzly bear, and buffalo, and antelope abound;
We'll gather up the dust along the golden creek,
And make our "pile," and start for home. Hurrah for Pike's Peak.⁹⁶

95. Berea (Ohio) *Enterprise*, December 23, 1920; Cleveland (Ohio) *Plain Dealer*, December 23, 1920; personal interview with Salisbury's great-grandson, David Louis of Cleveland.

96. Hannibal (Mo.) *Messenger*, April 28, 1859, quoted in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, p. 306.

Old Fort Solomon at Lindsey

THEO. H. SCHEFFER

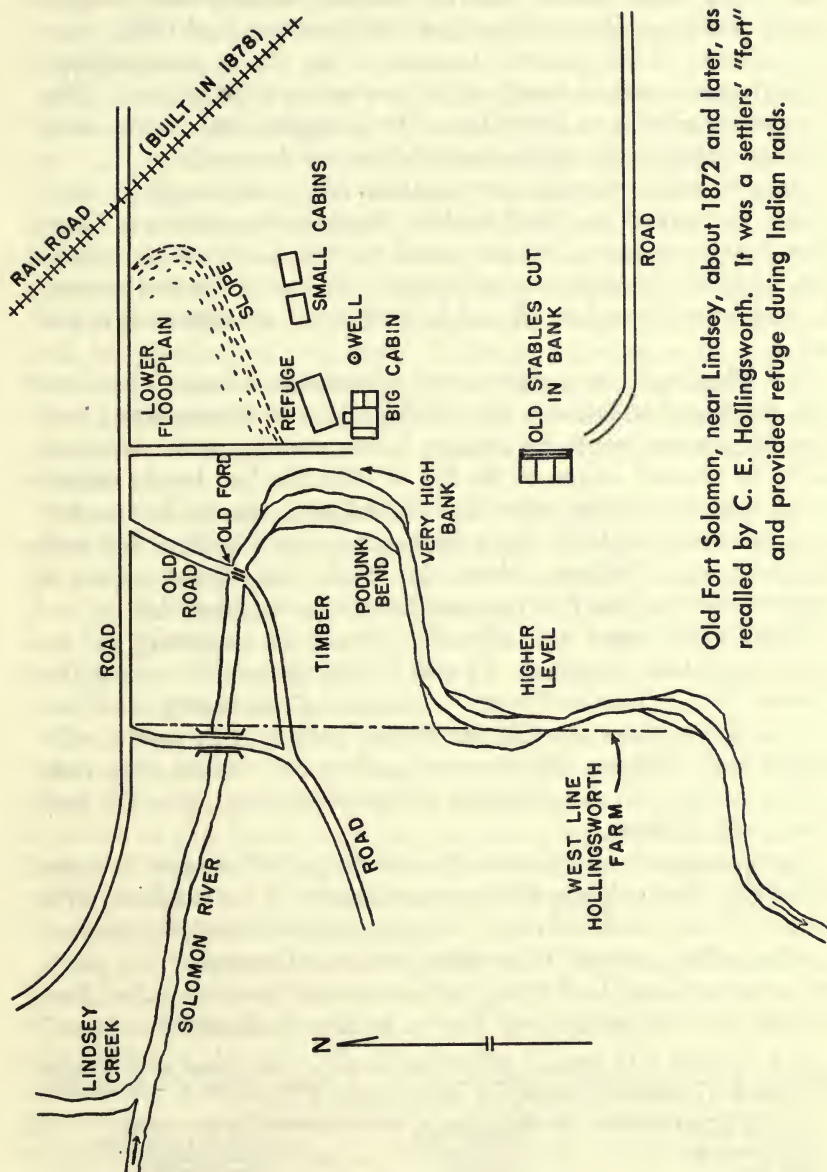
AMONG the very earliest settlers who came into Ottawa county to stick it out with economic adversity and raiding Indians were those on lands of rich choice along the Solomon river, near and downstream from the mouth of Lindsey creek. This coming of first pioneers may be placed in the latter part of 1863 and in 1864. The man Lindsey himself, after whom the creek was named, was a trapper who had been thereabouts as early as 1857.

The writer of this sketch came to dwell temporarily at the then recently abandoned old Lindsey town at cornhusking time in 1879. This was a bit late in pioneer history, but not too late to miss seeing parts of rotting logs which were pointed out as having been timbers of old Fort Solomon, a settler's stockade of defense against the Indians—not a military post. We were duly impressed, though just a boy in the lower grades of Lindsey school, if it had been graded. But the memory of these things has persisted through the years of growing up there, and in later advertence to the subject. Many of my schoolmates were younger children of these earliest pioneers, and all were neighbors of more or less frequent contact. So we had treasured stories and kept notes in mind until such time as they might be useful.

Only recently, 1953, the impulse to get impressions and notes together for completing a story of the old fort came through seeing a map indicating the site in the issue of the *Kansas Historical Quarterly* for November, 1952. This map placed the old fort, correctly, on the east bank of the Solomon river, and above the mouth of Salt creek on the west side. Lindsey creek was not shown on the map. Almost coincident, though a few months later than this account in the *Quarterly*, came a letter to the *Minneapolis Messenger* from C. E. Hollingsworth, now of Denver, Colo. This detailed an account of the old fort as he remembered its ruins on his father's farm. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Hollingsworth sent to the writer a rough sketch of old Lindsey town as he knew it before the exodus to Minneapolis, following location of the county seat there.

Included in this sketch was the approximate location of some parts of the ruins of the old fort site, which he indicated was sometimes called Fort Podunk. That, says Webster, "is typical of placid dull-

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Old Fort Solomon, near Lindsey, about 1872 and later, as recalled by C. E. Hollingsworth. It was a settlers' "fort" and provided refuge during Indian raids.

ness and lack of contact with the progress of the world." We question the "dullness"! The Cheyenne Indians raided within a few miles of the place twice: near Delphos in October, 1868, and at Pierce's Ford, just above Minneapolis, in the summer of 1869. Anyhow, Charlie Hollingsworth's location of the site is unmistakable: "at the top of an oxbow bend" of the river on his father's farm.¹ This was corroborated in a letter from M. C. Boyle, 1925, whose land holdings adjoined the Hollingsworth farm on the south.

Quite recently, through co-operation of the Minneapolis *Messenger*, we learned of a small booklet, *Short Stories of Pioneer Days*, printed some years ago, but not dated, by Mrs. Lavinia Gates Chapman, a pioneer homesteader at Lindsey. As one of the first comers, she had gone through it all and had wintered at least once in the fort.

Mrs. Chapman was really a very remarkable woman whom we were privileged to know in our youthful days as an interesting narrator of pioneer events. In August, before coming to the Solomon valley by covered wagon in the fall of 1863, she had barely missed loss of property and life when the bandit leader, Quantrill, retreated from Lawrence with his force back across the Missouri line past Blackjack, near Baldwin, where she lived. Mr. Chapman was a sergeant in the militia that harassed the retreating guerrillas.

"Times grew worse and after the burning of Lawrence, got no better," said Mrs. Chapman. "I said I would rather live among the Indians than in Douglas County." Men of the community could not sleep in their homes at night for fear of raiders, who spared only women and children. Nights were getting too cold to sleep out: and so the trek to the Solomon valley—Chapman, his wife, and three small children.

Mrs. Chapman's reference to the old fort is rather brief, but she included in the booklet a double-page diagram of the stockade, with location of each enclosed cabin, the gates, the well, the schoolhouse, together with a roster of the settlers by cabin allotments.² To quote her memorandum: "In '64 they built a fort near the river called Fort Solomon, on the place now known as the Wolfersberger farm."

1. Mrs. Lavinia Gates Chapman in her *Short Stories of Pioneer Days* gives the legal description of the land where the stockade was located as follows: "N. 80 of S. W. Q., Sec. 17, Township 11, Range 3; Concord, T., Ottawa County, Kansas."

2. The names appearing with the cabins in Mrs. Chapman's diagram were:

Kirwin's Store	Sheltenbrand	Dick & Frank Rees
S. B. Chapman	J. M. Jones	Israel Markly
Sam Boss	Vern Carr	Israel Markly
Noah Boss	Abe Stull	Mrs. Bruce
Tom Dalrymple	S. H. Wooden	Sam and Abe Boss
Andrew Ingersoll and Sister	John Boblett	Sam Wright

No more! This land ownership succeeded that of the Hollingsworth family. The present ownership is ascribed to the J. O. Pitts estate. Lands adjoining, across the river, are the estate of the late Raymond G. Brown. In 1873 they had been patented to Jacob Horback.

The old fort site is at the "top," sharpest turn, of the elbow bend, Solomon river, something less than a half mile west of present Lindsey, and 20 rods, more or less, below the present river bridge on the east side of the river. The "stockade" itself was back one hundred feet or more from the steep river bank. There is some question, however, as to the use of the term "stockade" in connection with this defense position. M. C. Boyle, reporting as above, called the defense post a stockade. C. E. Hollingsworth, who came onto the farm with his parents five or six years following reported occupation of the fort, says that there were no indications in the ruins that a line of enclosure posts had ever existed. Nor was there evidence in the ruins of as many cabin sites as were included in Mrs. Chapman's sketch.

These discrepancies, together with Hollingsworth's recent statement that the little log schoolhouse was not at the fort site but near the intersection of the old highway with the present crossroad to the river bridge, suggest that Mrs. Chapman's "blueprint" of the fort may not have been too closely followed. The lady was a leader in the pioneer community and may have envisioned more than the needs of the occasion demanded.

Exact location of the old well on the fort site has been rather recently determined. Rise of the water in the Solomon river inundated this site during the high flood stage in the summer of 1951. Location of the former well was indicated by considerable subsidence at the spot. Filling of the old well originally by the Hollingsworth family, when they first came onto the place in 1872, had been reported by Charlie Hollingsworth.

Dick Pitts, who now farms the place where the old fort site is located, has been on or around this farmstead for about 35 years, following the Wolfersberger tenancy. He has reported the subsidence and refilling of the old well. The late Ira E. Sewell, a realtor at the county seat in Minneapolis, near old Lindsey, was local contact in this research. He had visited the old fort site quite recently and reported that the refilling of the former well is a circular mound about waist high, overgrown now with weeds.

The weeds, we discovered in the summer of 1955, are Kansas sunflowers. For we were privileged to contact the site in June and

found the mound at the well in the edge of a wheat field, perhaps 75 steps from the elbow bend of the river. Fortunately for our research, the Solomon, in the flood season of 1951, overflowed the higher level where the old fort had been located. For the first time in recorded history the waters laid drift over this area. And they caused a subsidence at the old well which Erwin Hollingsworth had filled in the early 1870's. Charlie Hollingsworth, his son, whom we visited at Denver since locating the well, has been easily able to locate the few structures of the fort with reference to the well site, and these will appear in his sketch accompanying this account.

Hollingsworth should be an eminent authority, as he lived for a time in one of the cabins at the fort, a large semi-dugout retreat, when he first came to the area in 1871. There were only three other cabins on the site at that time. At the mound-of-the-well we raised the national colors on a staff of iron pipe, June 10, 1955. Though the place had never been a military post, it is worthy of remembrance as a pioneer refuge. Thus we recall the days when women hid their children in corn shocks at the appearance of an unusual puff of dust on the prairie horizon that might indicate the approach of Indian horsemen.

Dodge City Varieties— A Summer Interlude of Entertainment, 1878

JAMES C. MALIN

DODGE City, as with so many aspects of Western history, has been the victim of stereotypes, especially such as have been associated with sensationalism—cowboys, saloon keepers, dance hall girls, cattlemen, nesters, homesteaders, law officers, and gunmen, including, of course, Texas. One of the difficulties with a stereotype is that its behavior runs according to a pattern—predictable. In other words it is a sociological abstraction. No one ever met one. They had no existence in real life. Instead, Dodge City was inhabited by people, each one of whom was a unique person, different from every other individual. The best history is that which most effectively identifies by name, differentiates, describes, and explains these individuals, their hopes and performances.

Although the materials are scanty, this essay undertakes to reconstruct a summer interlude of entertainment in 1878. The James A. Lord Dramatic Company affords some background for the personnel engaged in the enterprise, but it must be clearly differentiated from what happened in Dodge City that summer. The personal side of the history of the Lord company has been told in the Autumn issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, along with some consideration of the artistic and moral standard maintained by Mr. Lord. Also, during the winter of 1877-1878, friction developed within the troupe about publicity and recognition of the talents of the supporting members in performances. The man-and-wife team, Harry and May Seymour, were among those who had been dissatisfied. The theatrical season ended in a two-week run in Dodge City, disbanding May 31. Mr. and Mrs. Lord returned to their Chicago home for the summer.

Just when the plan for a Dodge City Varieties was conceived is not known, but the plans were matured during the two weeks the Lord Company played there. An announcement was made in the *Dodge City Times*, May 25, that the new Variety Theatre was being erected by the new lumber firm of Brinkman Bros. & Webster who were also supplying the material. The contract had called for completion in ten days but the boast was made in the *Times*, June 15,

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that the job had been done in eight—"an evidence of the spirit of western enterprise." The printed story of the occupants of the Varieties Theatre came in the *Globe*, May 28, which reported the disbandment of the Lord Dramatic Company, but explained that the remainder of the troupe would be in Dodge City for the summer: Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Seymour, C. W. Taylor, R. G. Guptill, Rose Ashmead, Montie and Mattie Hernandez, and others.¹

Although scheduled to open June 10, the Varieties bettered that date by two days. The bills announced "a grand array of talent" and "a variety of pleasure . . . we suppose everybody and the bald headed men will go." The proprietors were listed as Seymour and Taylor, Harry L. Seymour as manager, Dick Brown as stage manager, C. W. Taylor as treasurer, Professor Heidlebergh as orchestra leader, H. T. McCarty as scenic artist, and Harry Boyer as master of properties.²

These preparations were none too soon, however, because the cattle drive began early that season. Two large herds of Texas cattle arrived May 9, and during the following week at least 14 more.³ These facts emphasized that Dodge City had two populations; its resident citizens, and its summer tourists—the cattle drovers. In the matter of entertainment as well as many other matters, these two groups clashed. The resident citizens supported during the winter season such dramatic entertainment as the Lord Dramatic Company and similar troupes. The summer patronage of those who followed the Texas cattle business was quite another problem. Abilene, the first of the notorious range cattle shipping points, had tolerated the cattlemen only about five years. Other similar towns farther west had done likewise. Dodge City was not ready to close out this line of business, but the summer of 1878 marked an attempt in the long campaign on the part of the resident citizens to keep the lawless elements under control. Their ambitions were not merely negative, a desire was manifested to bring to their community some of the institutions and activities of stable society. A German student of philosophy, E. Sonnedbrodt, advertised for pupils at \$1.50 per month, one hour's instruction daily, in any of four languages: German, French, Latin, or Greek. A voluntary fire company had been organized, and purchased a new Brussels carpet for their meeting place, which was being fitted for a public library and reading room. An appeal was made for books, and

1. Rose Ashmead's name did not appear again in connection with the enterprise and she many not have remained.

2. *Dodge City Times*, June 1, 8, 1878.

3. *Ibid.*, May 11, 18, 1878.

other contributions to the enterprise. Union church services had been held, and special preaching from time to time by visiting ministers, but during the summer of 1878 a Presbyterian and a Methodist church were organized. The Town Company gave notice that no interments were to be made on company property, and announced that the burying ground west of the city, "Boot Hill," had been sold for subdivision as residential property. About 20 graves, mostly of men who had met violent deaths, were located there.

As the newspapers of the city were weeklies, daily developments in the history of the Dodge City Varieties cannot be reconstructed. At the end of the first week of performances, the *Times*, June 15, gave the enterprise a reasonable proportion of its space:

This troupe is meeting with gratifying success and beyond the most sanguine expectations of its managers. The performances give satisfaction and we should judge were appreciated. The character of the entertainment is up to the standard of the burlesque comedy and minstrelsy oddity and variety, and is first class in that respect; but of course the fastidious and refined taste would be offended at the coarse and vulgar sayings. The patronage . . . is an evidence of the estimation of the appreciation of the performances.

The cowboys did not present the only problems, and the evidence is found in this paragraph:

The bald headed man sits with elegant composure and listens with rapturous delight the sweet refrains as warbled by the songstress and danseuse. Returning from the green room the bald headed wretch, who promised his family he would return by 10 o'clock, caught his passionate warbler lamenting before the stage lights in this affrighted refrain:

"See what the force of example hath,
She cried with arms akimbo,
I sport in tights and now at last,
My baggage is in limb, oh."

A conundrum was put and answered: "What's the difference between a cow boy and a tumble bug? One rounds up to cut and the other cuts to round up. And then all the bald headed men in the front seats laughed." A second conundrum revealed the difficulties of the party of the third part in entertainment, the performers: "What makes your stage manager blush when he sings those vulgar songs?" No answer was supplied.

According to the *Times*, July 6, the Varieties "became lax," and the customers restless and fewer. Thus, "to meet popular demand and curiosity" the managers spread a "great spectacular extravaganza on the boards." As of July 6 therefore: "For two nights the Dodge City Varieties . . . presented the extravagant Can-Can to large and appreciative audiences. . . . Instead of dreamy

tireless spectators the house was crowded with a large, vigorous and wide-awake people." The editor then discoursed at large upon this peculiar species of showmanship—that should be feminine gender: "The Can-Can was new to many, though jardin mobilization has become indigenous to American soil." To reassure the newspaper reading portion of the Dodge City residents, the editor concluded by a suggestion of a certain mutual relationship between the moral standards of the performers and the audience:

The Can-Can does not deprave the moral taste of the average Dodgeites or rangers—the ordinary life is presented in a condensed form on the stage. We cannot particularize the performers—we can-not do it. Everyone acted well his or her part. The Varieties will be crowded to-night. Take a front seat, baldly, or you can-not see it—so well.

Of course, the editor's efforts were not as hilariously funny as he intended them to be, but as a historical record they were quite revealing about a number of things, including the editor.

In the next issue, July 13, the *Times* gave alleged biographical sketches of two "Burnt Corks" of the Varieties:

Bobby Gaylor . . . is a genuine character in negro minstrelsy and Irish burlesque. Bobby has delighted European audiences and potentates. . . . He came to this border for health, the fumes of a rag factory having impaired the use of his lungs. Bobby lost two front teeth chewing rags for a paper mill.

Johnny Smith is another fine delineator of negro character at the Varieties. This burnt cork minstrel was born on the river Nile, hence he early partook of negro oddity. His early education was on the trombone. Johnny has delighted European theatres. He was shot in the eye when quite young, and has never since displayed much cheek, though his right optic has the lustre of the American eagle.

The residents of Dodge City had among them persons interested in being theatrical participants, as well as spectators. They organized a dramatic association at the home of R. M. Wright. Mrs. Seymour was engaged as directress, and the first play selected for presentation was "Ernestine." Later, Montie Hernandez undertook to organize a dancing class.⁴

Toward the end of July, the Varieties gave benefit performances for some of the leading performers: one for Bobby Gaylor and Johnny Smith, who had not been members of the Lord troupe, and one for May Seymour, and one for C. W. Taylor.⁵

The Can-Can story of July 6 indicated that all had not been well with the Varieties. That extravaganza had opened July 4. On the same night a new show was launched, Ben Springer's Theatre Comique, in Lady Gay Hall. Associated with Springer as proprie-

4. *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, June 25, 1878; *Dodge City Times*, July 20, 1878.

5. *Dodge City Times*, July 20, 27, 1878.

tors was Dick Brown, who had been announced as stage manager of the Varieties.⁶ At the end of July announcement was made that "the varieties met with adverse luck and were compelled to suspend." Springer had rented the hall, renovated it, providing for the first time in Dodge City an opera house with stage and scenery. This story deviated from the earlier explanation of the origin of the Varieties house, alleging that it had been built by G. M. Hoover, a leading liquor dealer. During the last winter theatre season, the allegation went, Dodge City had lost good theatrical talent because of the lack of a proper theatre. This house, Hoover Hall, would be "used only for entertainments and exhibitions of a first-class order." Possibly this Hoover Hall was a more permanent structure than the eight-day wonder built originally for the Varieties by the new lumber firm. At any rate, Springer and Brown were serving one public with the Theatre Comique of the Lady Gay, and another at Hoover Hall. That dual role was emphasized by the matinee story of the *Times*, July 27:

Messrs. Springer and Brown propose giving matinees every Wednesday and Saturday at Hoover's Hall, commencing at 2 p. m. It has been requested by a number of leading citizens of this city that we should do so. Ladies will please give us their aid, as there will be nothing said or done that will in any way offend the most fastidious.

The admission price was 50 cents, and reservations could be made at James Conner's store without extra charge. On the basis of the first week's experience the *Times*, August 3, announced optimistically, probably at the inspiration of the interested parties as a disguised advertisement: "The matinees . . . bid fair to be successful, and are highly enjoyed by those who attend."

No mistake should be made about a moral crusade being led by a leading liquor dealer and the proprietor of the Lady Gay Theatre Comique. Either the cattle season of 1878 was unusually violent, or the sensibilities of the regular residents of Dodge City were more tangibly focused than earlier. At any rate, a card appeared in the *Times*, July 20, signed "Many Citizens," appealing to both the county and the city officers to act—how long, the citizens asked, would crime be permitted to continue. The law officers were Earp and Masterson, and they appeared either unwilling or incapable in the matter of stemming the crimes of violence. The residents were acting at this particular time apparently because late summer was a relatively quiet interval between the arrival of the southern herds and the exploiters of the cowboys, and the return of the cowboys

6. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1878.

from the range for the fall market. Clearly the *Times*, August 10, revealed by its ridicule that the editor was not in sympathy with the attempted purification of Dodge City:

A hen convention was held this week to discuss the "ordinance relating to houses of ill-fame." Attorneys Cryden and Morphy were employed to defend the "girls" against the collections of fines for prostitution. Their voices are for war.

The papers recorded in part the dispersal of the personnel of the disrupted Varieties: "Bobby Gaylor has folded his wings and silently stole away to Colorado. Mrs. Gaylor still remains to delight the rude gazers at the 'Comique' with her light fantastic jig and clog. Unsophisticated cattlemen, beware!" This is the same woman, professionally known as Miss Gaylor, who supposedly lost her pocket book containing \$260 on July 17. Whether or not the cattlemen could or did read, they were forewarned, but took their chances. The story of Montie and Mattie Hernandez, regular members of the Lord Dramatic Company, was of a quite different order. With Johnny and Hattie Smith and Fannie Keenan, they formed the Hernandez Comedy Company and gave performances at Kinsley and Larned on the Santa Fe route to the east. When the Lord company opened in September, Montie and Mattie were again with them.⁷

The Seymour story is rather special. The *Globe*, August 6, reported their departure from Dodge City: "Like the Arab, 'they folded their tent and silently stole away.'" The situation, with its full range of possibilities, however, required more than ordinary talents, and the editor of the *Times*, August 3, with his pretentious but ponderous brand of humor, undertook bravely to rise to the possibilities of the occasion under the title, "An Exodus":

We are told in the Good Book that the Lord commanded Moses to lead the children of Israel out of the wilderness of Egypt. The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, the Egyptian king; that he might follow after them. "And it was told the king of Egypt that the people fled; and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people, and they said, why have we done this that we have let Israel go from serving us?" Pharaoh rigged his traps and followed after these children. He was swallowed up in the Red Sea as the same history informs us.

Dodge City has furnished an exodus, but the heart of the king was not hardened; he remembered the cloud stood between the children of Israel and the pursuing Egyptians,—the one saved the other drowned. He was not going to take any risks, so the wayward children departed in peace with the pillar of fire to guide them in their midnight exodus from off the north banks of the turbid Arkansas.

The king of Dodge City directed the Moses thereof to show the show case and confidence men the way out of the city at the hour when graveyards yawn.

7. *Ibid.*, July 20, August 3, 24, 1878.

Lesser lights in nefarious practices left their shadows in the starlight. There are more to follow—as soon as the king's heart becomes hardened.

Business is poorly. A few legitimate branches have succumbed to a superior force of circumstances—dullness—and have gone where the woodbine twineth. A bootblack remains to bear the market of an overstocked army of bootblacks. He shines on credit, and blacks the city attorney's immense pedestal wrappings by the week, giving an extraordinary shine on Sundays.

The cowboy follows his herds to fields new and pastures green. But few of him remain on the immediate range. He will return for the fall market, and again drive us mad with the rattling of his spurs.

The pimp and his bird of prey are not so numerous. They, too, have been led out of the wilderness, to ply their stocking-leg operations elsewhere.

In the calamity that befell the city, which struck like a clap of thunder from a clear sky, was the collapse of the Dodge City Varieties. It died a cruel death and its like we'll never See-more. The sundry debts left by the management of H. L. Seymour are sweet morsels that a trusting public can roll in the retreating footsteps of an unscrupulous variety manager. Seymour left Tuesday night on the eastern bound train. His numerous creditors suffered him to go without hindrance. They without hesitation pronounce him an unmitigated scoundrel, and brand him with the stamp of sneak, liar and fraud.

The James A. Lord Dramatic Company must have started out from Chicago in August on their theatrical season of 1878-1879, because the company was billed for El Dorado and Peabody, September 2 and following, and Manhattan later in the month. The Manhattan *Enterprise*, September 27, praised the acting of Harry and May Seymour and C. W. Taylor, who were with the Lords again in their accustomed places. But the Seymours had not yet learned their lesson—the power to fascinate upon the stage has no necessary relation to managerial ability. In October and November they tried and failed again to operate their own company, this time in the legitimate theatre. The story is told briefly elsewhere. This much of the Seymours' relations with the Lords after the Dodge City summer interlude seems necessary in order to keep things in perspective. There is no doubt about Mr. Lord's jealousy of any rival to his wife Louie, and about his slanting publicity accordingly. But at the same time, the Seymours, in their frustration, refused to recognize their own deficiencies.

The Dodge City Varieties was indeed a wild gamble in any case, and its failure was almost a foregone conclusion. In a very real sense, nevertheless, that failure was a vindication, not only personal, but of the whole contingent of the Lord company who participated. However badly some people thought of actors and of theatre, here was a group of players who tried, but proved that they could not degrade their own human dignity and their performances to the level necessary to "success" with the Dodge City summer trade.

Jefferson Davis and Kansas Territory

EUGENE T. WELLS

A coalition of New England and Southern Democrats in the nominating convention of 1852 resulted in the nomination of Franklin Pierce as the Democratic presidential candidate. In the campaign that followed Jefferson Davis of Mississippi made numerous speeches in his home state, in Louisiana, and in Tennessee in the candidate's behalf. Pierce was elected and on December 7, probably on the recommendation of Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, wrote Davis, "I wish to converse with you of the South and particularly of the formation of my cabinet. I am not permitted to know, that you would accept a place in it if desired."¹ The President-elect explained that he had not made up his mind on the cabinet posts but wanted to learn of Davis' ideas.

The Mississippian wrote Pierce that he was not interested in a cabinet position but after conference with party leaders and the President, Davis accepted the post of Secretary of War. He was qualified by his West Point training and military background and immediately began a series of reforms that shook the whole army organization.²

The western expansion of the population was pressing the issue of organization of the area known as Nebraska territory, which included present Kansas. The majority felt that the Compromise of 1850 would be used as the basis for the territorial organization while others felt that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was applicable to the area. During the short session of congress of 1852-1853, Congressman Willard P. Hall of Missouri introduced a bill to organize the Nebraska territory but it failed to pass. In the upper legislative house, Senators Stephen A. Douglas, Archibald Dixon, D. R. Atchison, A. C. Dodge, and others were vitally interested in opening the area for settlement. Although Dodge, Dixon, and Douglas had prepared bills for the 1853-1854 congress for the territory's opening, none had approached the President on the proposed organization.

Douglas, knowing Davis personally and having knowledge of the

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1. Dunbar Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutional: His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (Jackson, Miss., 1923), v. 2, pp. 177, 178.

2. "Report of the Secretary of War," *House Ex. Doc.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess.; "Report of the Secretary of War," *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess.; "Report of the Secretary of War," *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess.; W. A. Ganoe, *History of the United States Army* (New York, 1924).

secretary's influence with the President, approached the Mississippian and requested that a conference with Pierce be arranged. The meeting would give Douglas an opportunity to present his new territorial proposal to the President. Davis arranged for the conference on Sunday, January 22, 1854. Others at the meeting included Atchison, R. M. T. Hunter, James Mason, William O. Goode, John C. Breckenridge, Philip Phillips, and Davis. The war secretary stated that when the bill had been explained in intent and text, the President indicated he would support the proposal.

Washington correspondents noted that a conference of political leaders was held that day in the White House but of its purpose was not indicated. With a retrospective view, Historian William E. Dodd called the arrangement of the meeting of Douglas and Pierce as Davis' greatest cabinet act.³

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill⁴ and the opening of the Kansas territory brought an influx of people to the area. Though most of the people who came were interested in seeking homes for themselves and their families, others came as a result of organized campaigns of antislavery and proslavery factions. A third group that made their way to Kansas may be called, in modern language, "rabble-rousers," or soldiers of fortune. In the succeeding months the differences of opinion became more pronounced, old antagonisms were renewed, and new ones arose, many based on personalities, using the slavery issue as the "whipping post."

As the agitation, aided by the antislavery press, rose in Kansas territory, sporadic outbreaks of violence occurred. Further disturbance, resulting in the destruction of property and loss of life, led to executive recognition of the disturbed conditions of the territory. The President issued orders to use military force, if necessary, to protect life and property.

In order to carry out the instructions of the President, Davis wrote Colonels Edwin V. Sumner and Philip St. George Cooke at Fort Leavenworth on February 15, 1856, as follows:

Sir: The President has by proclamation, warned all persons combined for insurrection or invasive aggression against the organized government of the Territory of Kansas, or associated to resist the due execution of laws therein, to abstain from such revolutionary and lawless proceedings, and has com-

3. Dr. Dodd in his *Jefferson Davis* (Philadelphia, 1907), and lectures entitled *Statesmen of the Old South* (New York, 1911), reveals an excellent portrait of Davis and his problems; Robert McElroy's *Jefferson Davis, the Real and Unreal* (New York, 1937), contains a good bibliography.

4. For an early study of the background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, see F. H. Hodder's presidential address to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1925, in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 3-22. More recent studies are many publications by James C. Malin, including *The Nebraska Question* (Lawrence, 1954).

manded them to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, on the pain of being resisted by his whole constitutional power. If, therefore, the Governor of the Territory, finding the ordinary course of judicial proceedings and the powers vested in the United States Marshalls inadequate for the suppression of the insurrectionary combinations or armed resistance to the execution of them, should make requisition upon you to furnish a military force to aid him in the performance of that official duty, you are hereby directed to employ for that purpose such part of your command as may in your judgment consistently be detached from their ordinary duty. In executing this delicate function of the military power of the United States, you will exercise much caution to avoid, if possible, a collision with even insurgent citizens; and will endeavor to suppress resistance to the laws and the constituted authorities by that moral force, which happily in our country, is ordinarily sufficient to secure respect to the laws of the land and the regularly constituted authorities of the government. You will use a sound discretion as to the moment at which the further employment of the military force may be discontinued, and avail yourself of the first opportunity to return with your command to the more grateful and prouder service of the soldier—that of common defense.⁵

Conditions in the territory did not improve and toward the end of June, Davis wrote P. E. Smith, the commander of the Department of the West, reminding him of “the peculiar conditions of affairs in Kansas” and to carefully abstain from encroaching in any degree upon the proper sphere of the civil authorities, and to observe the greatest caution to avoid conflict between the civil and military power.⁶ For fear he did not have sufficient force, Smith wrote the war secretary of troop weakness. Davis answered that the President had authorized the use of the territorial militia but if necessary, the militia of Illinois and Kentucky might be called.

The position of the insurgents, . . . is that of open rebellion against the laws and constitutional authorities, . . . patriotism and humanity alike require that rebellion should be promptly crushed, and the perpetration of the crimes which now disturb the peace and security of the good people of the Territory of Kansas, should be effectively checked.⁷

Smith was ordered to energetically employ all the means within his reach to “restore the supremacy of law, always endeavoring to carry out your present purpose to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood.”

Davis justified the use of troops and pointed out that Territorial Gov. R. J. Walker had called for the troops to be placed near Lawrence, “the hot-bed of all abolition movements of the Territory,”⁸ to aid him in the due execution of laws and for the preservation of peace.

5. Rowland, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 603, 604.

6. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 48, 49.

7. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 58, 59.

8. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 134-161.

When Pierce and Davis were severely attacked for the use of the military forces Davis declared that he was against the quartering of troops in Kansas. He maintained that if the people were fit to form and maintain a state and take their place as equals in the union, they would not require troops in their midst. "We look to the time when the peace in Kansas will relieve the government of the necessity of keeping them there."⁹

After Davis had resigned the secretaryship and had returned to the senate, he wrote a Mississippi constituent that the Buchanan administration had been favorable to the Lecompton constitution and if the proposal had received congressional approval and had been accepted by the Kansas people the country would have been relieved of an issue that was threatening "our honor, our safety, our respect for our ancestors and our regard for our posterity."¹⁰

His position on the relationship of the territories to the federal government was best described in a speech in 1858. He declared the territories did not occupy the same position as states, that he never subscribed to the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, and that the federal government had power over territories. He maintained the territories were dependencies of the Union, that they were in a condition of pupillage, to be governed by the states, and that if men, either foreign or native, should congregate themselves upon a territory, and raise the standard of rebellion against the federal government and in defiance of law, "it is not only within the power, but it is the plain, palpable duty of the Government to put down such an insurrection, and to compel obedience."¹¹

As a seer he pointed to the collision in Kansas as a miniature of the division throughout the United States, declaring that the struggle was "melancholy evidence of the decadence of the political morals of our times that has been necessary to employ the troops of the United States to secure the execution of its laws. It gives melancholy forebodings as to the capacity of our people for self-government."

9. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 204, 205.

10. *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 230.

11. *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 182.

Touring Kansas and Colorado in 1871

THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE C. ANDERSON—CONCLUDED

III. THE JOURNAL, JUNE 7-JULY 7, 1871

AT 8:30 Denver time, or 9:55 Cincinnati time,²⁷ we leave for Cheyenne Wyoming Ter. via the D[enver] P[acific] R. R. At Hughes Station we were introduced by Col. Fisher to B. F. Johnston ag't of a Chicago land shark Co. who gave us a very pressing invitation to stop with him on our way back, that he might show us over the lands belonging to their Co. We very politely decline the invitation, as we were not bait for that kind of fish. We pass through Evans where a Chicago Colony²⁸ have located, their irrigating ditches and canals were rather an odd sight to us. This colony had not prospered as well as they might have done, owing to their reckless manner of doing business, and want of funds. Fifty one miles north of Denver we pass Greeley. Here a Colony from the New England States had located, under the auspices of Horace Greeley²⁹ and judging from the appearance of the land he selected, his knowledge of land was in keeping with "what I know about farming."³⁰ All along the road passengers amuse themselves shooting at antelope and Prairie dogs.

Ninety six miles from Denver, we reached the summit between Denver and Cheyenne, six thousand four hundred and fifteen feet above the sea level. Here we are among the foot hills of the mountains. The scenery is wild and barren. West of us, running from north to South as far as the eye can reach, a range of snow covered mountain tops pierce the clouds. From many places along the whole range where destructive fires were consuming whole pine forests, could be seen immense columns of smoke arising, sometimes obscuring the mountain scenery beyond. At times heavy clouds went

27. Anderson was somewhat confused on the subject of time changes.

28. Members of the St. Louis-Western colony settled at Evans in the spring of 1871. The colony had been organized the previous year at Oakdale, Ill., as the Western colony, but headquarters were later moved to St. Louis and the name changed. The colony was only moderately successful.—James F. Willard, "The Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado, 1869-1871," in *University of Colorado Historical Collections*, Boulder, v. 1 (1918), p. xvii.

29. Although the Union colony was organized under the advice and patronage of Horace Greeley, its founder was Nathan Cook Meeker, agricultural editor of the *New York Tribune*. Meeker came to the territory in the summer of 1869 and after a general examination of the country, conceived the plan of establishing a colony. Greeley entered into the scheme with enthusiasm and offered free use of the columns of the *Tribune* to bring the matter to public notice. Union colony was formally organized at a meeting held at Cooper Institute, New York, December 23, 1869. By the following April a locating committee had selected a site on the delta formed by the South Platte and Cache la Poudre rivers, near the Denver Pacific railroad, and the first settlers arrived within a month.—Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago, Blakely Printing Company, 1889), v. 1, pp. 531, 532.

30. A reference to Horace Greeley's *What I Know of Farming*, published in 1871.

rolling along through the valleys, from which we could see the rain falling in torrents, while Heaven's artillery belched forth terrific flashes of lightning, the report of which did not reach us for many seconds afterwards.

[ARRIVE AT CHEYENNE, WYO. TER., JUNE 7]

We arrive at Cheyenne at 12:45. This place is situated on the U.P.R.R. 516 miles west from Omaha, and 516 miles east from Salt Lake, and has a population of from twelve to fifteen hundred, and is kept alive by the immense travel through from the Atlantic and Pacific States, and the trade from Fort Russell situated three miles northwest, where are stationed eleven companies of infantry and cavalry troops, to guard against indian depredations. There appeared quite a cavalcade of vehicles of various kinds, to carry the soldiers and officers, wives and sweet-hearts to and from the train. The train going west consisted of nine crowded coaches drawn by two powerful engines. The one going East consisted of eight coaches equally crowded.

[GREELEY AND ITS IMPROVEMENTS]

After getting all of the information in regard to Wyoming and other Territories to the northwest; we conclude to go no further in that direction, but retrace our steps to the southward, and leave for Greeley in the afternoon, where we arrive in the evening, and stop at the Colorado House. After supper, we visit some of the most important points in the Colony. Having settled here the year previous, they are certainly entitled to great credit for what they have already accomplished. They have erected some two hundred and fifty houses, and have a population of about fifteen hundred. They have constructed two main ditches for irrigation. One about thirty miles in length. The other about ten miles.

A Park is situated in the center of the town plat, in which had been transplanted at great expense, maple, cottonwood, silver-poplar and many varieties of evergreen trees. Two or three miniature lakes had just been filled from the irrigating ditches. Gardens are scattered over the whole plat, but they do not look well, being almost parched, excepting in the immediate neighborhood of the ditches, where the ground was kept continually moist. Trees, wheat and garden vegetables were dying for want of water. The soil is a mixture of clay, sand and gravel, and is capable of absorbing a very large amount of water. They think if the land could be thoroughly irrigated once, that there would be no trouble to raise crops in the

future. We saw wheat three or four inches high planted in hills one and two feet apart, and cultivated with the hoe.

Outside of the cultivated lands, the whole country is covered with cacti of every kind and hue, intermingled with small patches of buffalo grass, and would require sheet iron armor on the noses of stock to protect them while grazing. As near as we could learn from them, each member of the Colony paid into the Colonial treasury an equal amount which entitled them to a choice of town lots or land, equal to that amount. One or two lots in town being equal in value to ten, twenty, forty or eighty acres of land, according to its distance from the town. Many persons to improve their land or lots, and live until a crop can be raised, had mortgaged their property, and from the present prospect would lose all they had, unless lenity was shown them, which could hardly be expected from those monied men with whom we met. The consequence was every one was carrying a stiff upper lip, asking from two hundred and fifty to three thousand dollars for lots, and from ten to twenty five dollars per acre for their cactus patches.

The air is very warm through the day and cold at night. Two weeks before we were there a whirlwind came up from the southeast ricocheting through one corner of the town, demolished three or four houses. The air was hot, the sky was clear, and not a drop of rain had fallen for some time, there was nothing to betoken a storm of any kind. Such storms as these are of frequent occurrence. If these colonists do not succeed here, no others can. Being of steady habits, they allow no saloons for selling liquors, no billiard tables or gambling of any kind in the colony. They have lyceums, public readings and scientific lectures. The colony bell is rang at seven, twelve, one and six oclock regularly during the day. There is one Baptist church, one Free church, and the Tabernacle, which is used by all other denominations, one public hall called Raney Hall. The Methodists are making efforts to erect a Church as soon as possible. Brick is being made for the erection of a school-house to cost some thirty thousand dollars. A grist mill was then being built and a woolen factory was contemplated. Taken altogether the colonists have succeeded beyond all expectations. We fear they will too soon reach the bottom of their purses, as the outlay far exceeds the income.

Water for irrigation is taken from the Cache la Poudre. A canal is contemplated to be taken from the same river fifty miles above, constructed large enough for navigation, as well as irrigation of a

large body of country between Greeley and the mountains. We talk with none of the colonists outside of the *ring* but who are sorely disappointed, and acknowledged that they had been swindled in joining the colony. Maj. Bostwick, in a conversation with the Editor of the Greeley Tribune of that place,³¹ spoke rather severely of their patron, Horace Greeley, whereupon he took umbrage, leaving us abruptly and in a short time had some of the officials of the town following us as though they were boiling for a melee, and luckily for them and us, it was avoided. During the forenoon of the 8th we went in search of agates, found many, but not very valuable.

[RETURN TO DENVER, JUNE 9]

At 4:30 P.M. we leave for Denver, where we arrive safely, and stopping at the Carr House, retire early, to rest our weary bones.

On the morning of the 9th we met Col. J. C. Fry formerly of Sidney, O. while passing down one of the crowded thoroughfares, who immediately took us in charge, and from this time during our stay in Colorado we had a faithful guide. He prevailed on us to make our headquarters at the Tremont House one of the best in the City.

In the afternoon we found Robt Wilson formerly of Sidney, O. who has been here several years, and has held several offices of trust; were introduced to Mr. Byers, Editor of the Rocky Mountain News,³² and ag't for the Gen'l Land Co. who gave us many important facts in regard to lands, and the prospects of colonizing in Colorado. We visited ex Governor Evans,³³ who took great pains to inform us in matters relating to the statistics of the Territory, its agriculture and mineral products; requesting us to call on him whenever we wanted any facts in regard to the country. We were visited by the Ag't of the Colorado Co. of Chicago,³⁴ who extended us an invitation to visit them before we left Colorado. He would furnish us passes, and accompany us into the mountains, through the mining districts. We agreed to accept the invitation if we found time, after getting through with our business.

A delegation of ministers, returning from California, stopped here today. In the evening they held a meeting in the open air. They

31. Nathan Cook Meeker, president of the colony, was editor of the Greeley Tribune. The first issue was dated November 16, 1870. Meeker had been a war correspondent representing the New York Tribune at General Grant's headquarters, and subsequently became agricultural editor of that newspaper.—David Boyd, *A History: Greeley and the Union Colony of Colorado* (Greeley, Colo., the Greeley Tribune Press, 1890), pp. 16, 83.

32. Wm. N. Byers arrived in Denver early in 1859. He brought newspaper equipment across country by wagon and printed the first issue of the *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, on April 23, 1859.—Hall, *op cit.*, p. 184.

33. John Evans, territorial governor of Colorado, 1862-1865.

34. The Chicago-Colorado colony was organized in Chicago in 1870. Its president was the famous Unitarian preacher and lecturer, Robert Collyer. Center of the Colorado site was the present town of Longmont and settlement began in March, 1871.—Willard, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

were addressed by Mr. Moody of Chicago, and after singing two or three old familiar hymns, the ministers start up street to the Presbyterian Church followed by an immense crowd of people singing that soul cheering Sunday School hymn "We are coming, we are coming, we are coming, blessed Savior" Arriving at the Church, a sermon was preached by a celebrated Divine of New York City. This indeed was a very unusual sight to the Citizens of Denver, many of whom had not heard a sermon or seen a congregation of *Christians* since leaving the states.

This great congregation was made up of mechanics & day laborers returning from their days work, with their dinner buckets on their arms, Chinese with their long black cues twisted up like a lady's chignon under their hats; and with a curious stare from their oblique almond shaped eyes, were asking each other "What ailee Mellican man." Ute indians wrapped in their indispensable red blankets, and buckskin leggins, with brass trinkets in their ears and nose and their faces painted in hideous stripes, came up to hear of the Great Spirit of the Pale Faces. The devotees of Bacchus flocked from the innumerable drinking saloons to hear the old, old, story taught them by a loved and loving mother, in their boyhood and at the recollection of which they stand spell-bound. Mexican teamsters, and Greasers, in their dirt and rags, with long black uncombed hair and beard, dark complexion and hard scowling visage, and a brace of navy revolvers suspended from a belt well filled with cartridges. Texan herdsmen, harder looking if any odds, than their Mexican friends in pants and vest of calf skin dressed with the hair on, their feet were encased in heavy cavalry boots, on each of which was buckled an immense spur with tiny tingling bells dangling from them. They were, also, armed with Navy revolvers and large bowie-knives. Gamblers came from the many gambling Hells which abound in the City; forgetting for the time the excitement over Faro tables, and billiards. Taken altogether it was the most conglomerate audience that could well be imagined.

[VISIT THE FARM OF PETER MAGNES, JUNE 10]

We are waited upon by Mr. Cook, Agent for the sale of Capt. [Wm.] Craigs lands in southern Colorado, also, by Mr. Mathews Agent of the National Land Co., of Colorado. On the morning of the 10th we accept an invitation from Mr. Mathews and visit the ranch of Peter Magnus,³⁵ in company with himself and Col. Fry. Proceed-

35. Peter Magnes is credited with being the father of sugar beet growing in Colorado. He began to grow sugar beets in the Platte valley in the 1860's and advocated sugar making 30 years before the first factory was built in the state.—Alvin T. Steinel, *History of Agriculture in Colorado* . . . (State Agricultural College, Fort Collins, 1926), p. 283.

ing southward from Denver we pass many well cultivated farms in the Platte valley, and seven miles from Denver we reached the farm of Mr. Magnus situated on the east bank of the Platte river. Mr. Magnus took us over his farm, giving us a detailed account of irrigation; he had several men irrigating the land at the time. Thus giving us a practical, as well as theoretical demonstration of the way it was done. He gave us his method for raising the different crops on his farm, and took us over the fields to see them growing.

After nearly running us down he took us to his barn and showed us his grain and hay; giving us a full report on the average per acre. Red Siberian wheat averaged last year fifty seven bushels per. acre; sixty pound, per. bushel; from one gallon Arondga wheat sown, he gathered twenty one bu; at the rate of ninety three bu, per. acre. From this variety he had repeatedly tried to have flour made, but without success; it was a very hard flinty grain. English Excelsior oats averaged fifty eight bu. per acre; 51 lbs. per bu. Prussian Oats fifty three bu. per acre; Black Swedish oats, eighty three and one half bu. per. acre; from two bu. sown. He had large fields of peas, cabbage and beets. His beet crop last year averaged one hundred and fifty tons per. acre; cabbage thirty seven tons per. acre, which he sold at two cents per. pound. One pumpkin weighed sixty two pounds, one squash, one hundred and four pounds. He sowed last year sixty pounds of barley, from which he gathered thirty three hundred pounds.

His house is octagonal in shape and built of gravel and lime. Taking us into the house, he set before us liquors and cigars, and requested us to enjoy ourselves, if our enjoyment ran in that channel. He showed us three large silver medals he had received from the Colorado Agricultural society in 1870. One for the best lot of sugar beets. One for the best display of small grain, and one for the best and greatest variety of farm products.

Mr. Magnus is a Swede he left Wisconsin with his family in 1859 for Pikes Peak; he says he found mining played out, or at best paying very poorly, provisions were scarce, and vegetables entirely out of the market. He therefore concluded to commence raising vegetables for the miners; which he did with great success. The second year he entered 615 acres of land. He showed us the first plow and harrow used in the Territory, which were great curiosities. They were made by him in 1859. The plow had a rude beam about twelve feet long, morticed into an upright stick of timber, on the lower end of which was nailed an old pointed shovel, through the

upper end an inch hole was bored, through which was driven a stick about two feet long, to answer as handles with which to guide the plow. The harrow was formed of pieces of wood about fifteen inches long, in which were driven wooden teeth, these were pinned together in squares forming a net work five or six feet square; making a harrow which he said he preferred to the new fangled harrows of today. The Denver and Rio Grande R. R. (36 inch gauge) passes through his farm.

[LEAVE DENVER FOR PUEBLO, JUNE 11]

After a very pleasant visit we return to Denver and visit several land Ag'ts and after an earnest solicitation from Mr. Cook, we agree to visit Capt. Craig's farm as he had made especial arrangements for us to do so. And accordingly on the morning of the 11th accompanied by Col Fry and Chas. Cook we leave by coach for Pueblo, 120 miles south. The road was very dusty and from the immense travel the dust was kept flying. At times we could hardly get our breath and could scarcely discern a passing train of wagons, we were continually passing trains of wagons, loaded with lumber hides and wool, and driven by the hardest looking men we ever saw.

We took dinner at Russelville situated at the head of Cherry creek where the first discovery of gold was made in Colorado, and which gave rise to the great Pikes Peak excitement. In the bed of this creek, five dollars per day can easily be panned out in gold at this time, but scarcity of water and danger from the indians, make it a slow as well as dangerous process. Here Cherry Creek had sunk away, and the bed is filled with dry sand. Russelville contains a stable for the coach horses, and a house of three or four rooms, which is used as an eating house, and where we ate as good a meal as we found in all that route from Cheyenne in Wyoming Territory, to Cap't Craigs in Southern Colorado. Passing on we reach the summit of the divide, a spur of the Rocky mountains dividing the head waters of the Platte, and the Arkansas rivers. Here we reach an altitude of seven thousand feet. Passing through large pine forests the scenery is continually changing.

Our progress through the day up the northern slope had been slow but when we commenced the descent of the southern slope we went at a fearful speed, remind[ing] one of Greeleys fearful ride down the Siera Nevada, when the driver said to him, "never mind Horace we'll get you there in time." Here we witnessed the grandest

sunset scene that we ever beheld, language would fail to describe it. Reaching the foot of the divide, we enter and pass through Monumental Park, but darkness keeps us from seeing much. Five or six miles further on we pass by the Garden of the Gods and half an hour after we arrive at Colorado City near the foot of Pike's Peak, the highest in this range.

After sweeping, dusting and getting the real estate off of our faces and beards, we proceed to supper; where Mr. Huffman, being unusually fond of trout, and wishing to steal a march on the balance of the passengers; cleared all the dishes of that savory article and had them replenished until he was sufficiently filled to bring up the subject of trout, when to his chagrin the dining room girl informed him that it was white fish. This news brought down the house. Our friend however, attributed his mistake to the peculiar manner of serving up the fish; which by the way was quite a compliment to the cook. The subject of trout afterwards brought pleasant reminiscences. We had been seeing through the day, heavy columns of smoke arising from one of the high mountain peaks, from fire raging among the pines, which as darkness came on, looked more and more terrific; from here we had a good view of it, the flames would roll and leap along the mountain side, and occasionally a meteor-like ball of fire would shoot downwards for a few seconds, then plunge out of sight. The fire was raging high up the mountain side, and nothing being visible but fire, it gave the appearance of a terrible conflagration in the Heavens.

After supper we travel on. Eight men and one lady are crowded inside of the coach, while three men ride outside. The lady was going to Pueblo to join her husband, who was in business there. We passed a sleepless night, being jostled, and bumped around in a lively manner. Arriving at Pueblo on the 12th at 6:30 A. M.; we stop at the Chilcott House, and after dusting our clothes, and after picking the dirt out of our eyes and ears, and rinsing it down our throats with electric fluid, we have a good breakfast. We are visited by Capt Craig, who had been telegraphed of our coming, and had come to meet us. Wine, cream and strawberries were served during the forenoon, by Mr. Cook.

In the afternoon the Capt. sent his carriage—drawn by four horses—to the Hotel for us, we were joined by the Cap't in the southern part of the town. Our driver was a Mexican, he made the distance, twenty five miles, in two and one half hours.

[CAPTAIN CRAIG'S RANCH ³⁶ JUNE 12-13]

Two miles from Hermosillo—as the Capt has named his ranch—we halt on an eminence overlooking his tillable lands, which are situated in the valley of the Huerfano river, which can easily be traced by the timber skirting it, and for a distance of five miles, we could see occasionally a cluster of buildings occupied by his farm help. His own residence was hidden by a beautiful grove. Descending to the valley at a break neck speed, we are soon at the end of our journey.

His mansion is built after the old Mexican style, with the exception of a pitched roof. It is one hundred and fifty feet in length by one hundred in width. Through the entire length runs a corridor, on either side of which are large rooms, some of which are furnished in oriental splendor. At the west end a wide porch extends the entire width of the building surrounded by climbing vines, trained so as to form an arched entrance at the front, and an arched window or lookout at the northern end having the appearance of an immense green room. Birds had built their nests among the vines, and were repaying for this privilege in sweet songs.

We were shown our rooms on the upper floor, and after cleaning ourselves as well as we could from our scanty wardrobe descended to the porch, where the Cap't awaited us with a pleasant and invigorating mint Julep. In a few minutes supper was announced; the table was loaded with the most costly viands served in china and silver, and livened with the graces of Miss Carrie Jennings niece of Cap't Craig, a very agreeable and intelligent young lady. Mexican men servants come and go at the bidding, there being but two females about the Hicenda—Mrs. Craig and Miss Jennings. Mrs. Craig being sick did not make her appearance at the table during our stay. Being tired we turned into bed early, and rested better than we had since leaving home. The beds were filled with down, and were the softest we had ever reclined upon.

On the morning of the 13th the Cap't kindly offered us his men as guides and his horses and vehicles to convey us in any direction we wished over his land, and took great pains to inform us that land in that dry atmosphere would not produce unless well irrigated;

36. While he was investigating western lands in 1869 for the Union colony, N. C. Meeker wrote descriptive letters to the New York *Tribune*. On October 22 he wrote: "He [Col. Wm. Craig] is the agent of the St. Vrain grant, and has several miles square, which is his own property. He has built a large and elegant house and furnished it handsomely, has a model barn, several hundred head of hogs, vast herds of cattle and a large number of Mexicans as hired help. In many respects he is situated like a baron of olden times. In his garden are all kinds of small fruits; he has apples, peaches and pears yet too young to bear, while clear streams of water run by foot-paths and around flower beds. When it is to be considered that everything had to be hauled by wagons 600 miles from the Missouri river, and that all these improvements have been made since the war, it must be seen that vast work was required. . . . As we were in haste Colonel Craig sent us forward in his fine ambulance, drawn by four elegant horses."—Boyd, *op. cit.* p. 22.

so we as a committee could not expect to give a good report unless we would irrigate the inner man with some of his iced drinks, at least every two hours; he bid us report ourselves accordingly, and after a copious flow from his silver goblets, we start to the westward up the valley of the Huerfanno on foot, until we reach the deep rocky canyon through which the river comes roaring and foaming for twenty five miles. We climbed up over the rugged and precipitous rocks from one to two hundred feet above the rushing torrent, amusing ourselves by rolling stones over the precipice and seeing them dash into the river below. Mr. Huffman hurt his foot while engaged in this amusement, and went limping back to the house.

About half a mile from the mouth of this Canyon, there was a rude dam of stones thrown across the river; and down through that wall of rock on the north side, the Cap't had blasted a canal, through which to convey water to irrigate four thousand acres of land. His canal and ditches cost him over one hundred thousand dollars. In this canyon abound all kinds of game, grizzly and cinnamon bears; mountain lions; catamounts, wolves; foxes and numerous kinds of poisonous snakes. To the southwest we see the Spanish Peaks looming up like huge cones seventy miles distant. Here we leave the canyon, going north over the upland, thence by a circuitous route to the house; where we found Mr. Huffman batheing his foot in the basin of the fountain and Cap't Craig anxiously awaiting our return; we having disobeyed his orders by staying one hour over time, the irrigation came nevertheless.

We then take a light wagon and two horses, and travel eastward, down the valley, through the irrigated lands until we reach the farm of his neighbor on the east, the only one he had within sixty five miles—excepting at Pueblo on the north—and with whom he was not on friendly terms. He had one building in course of erection for a niece who had married but a short time previous, but who was then in the states, this was the best house on his farm excepting his own. The farm had been neglected the last two years, no more being raised than was needed for their own consumption. Five years before, the products of his farm brought him sixty thousand dollars after deducting his heavy expenses.

We did not proceed far to the southward, as that portion of his land beyond the valley containing forty six thousand acres, was fitted only for grazing purposes; returning to the house about two oclock we find dinner awaiting us; were introduced to Mr. Kenyon, and Col. Wodell from Denver, who were endeavoring to lease the farm for

grazing purposes. They proposed to graze from five to ten thousand head of cattle on it. They were very gentlemanly in their manners and quite good fellows. The grounds around his house—some ten acres—were tastefully laid out in walks and drives, miniature lakes, cascades and rivulets, and in front a fountain was continually playing, while the shade trees seemed to invite you to a cool retreat. At the northern extremity of the enclosure, runs Huerfanno skirted on either side by beautiful groves of cottonwood, and spanned by rustic bridges, giving a picturesque and lovely appearance to the scenery; near the south bank was built a large warehouse in which was kept the provisions for his own, and the families of those in his employ.

We were shown into his kitchen and pantry, the first being furnished with all the modern improvements and the latter having the appearance of a wholesale grocery and provision store; every thing about was kept in strictly military order. He is visited every year by bands of Indians, who lay around for several days receiving presents of beef, flour, meal, tobacco, coffee, sugar &c. When he has given them as much as he intends he will have nothing more to do with them for they will not leave as long as he pays any attention to them.

On one occasion, five hundred warriors came and encamped near the house; not coming in to receive presents, he knew that they had come with evil intentions; gathering his force of hands and arming them, he was prepared to give them a warm reception. The Indians committed petty depredations by killing his dogs and sheep, stampeding his cattle and trying in every manner to provoke him to make the first attack by shooting some of them, which would have given them an excuse to murder, plunder and burn. They would not make the first attack, fearing the vengeance of the Great Father at Washington. Cap't Craig knowing this, ordered his men not to fire at them under any consideration, except to repel an open attack; failing in their object, after a trial of four or five days, they left.

The Cap't offered us his farm of 50,000 acres for four dollars per acre; not thinking it suitable for the colony, we gave him no encouragement, but told him plainly that it would not suit us. The grasshoppers were just making their appearance, and were nowing [gnawing] off the grass, cutting off the clover tops, trimming up the trees and vines, and destroying vegetation generally, several men were employed driving the marauders into the Huerfanno, there to be devoured by hungry trout.

Mr. Kenyon gave us his experience in gardening one year. He said he bought him a small farm, put several acres in cabbage and the bal-

ance in corn for roasting ears, as these crops commanded the highest prices in the mines. When the cabbage was full grown and ready for the market, a huckster from the mines stopping there offered him five thousand dollars for the crop of cabbage; he asked his gardener if he had better sell it, who told him that he could make considerable more out of it, if he would take it up to the mines and sell it; he therefore concluded not to sell it. On the next day a cloud of grasshoppers came over the country fairly darkening the sky, clearing off vegetation as they went. On the next day he went out to see how they were progressing in their work of destruction, and such a sight as met his eyes; the cabbage was all gone, not a leaf or stock remained, they had eaten the stock and roots out clean, and the ravenous fellows were sitting up on the edge of the hole peeping down into it, to see if they had left a particle there. He went to the corn field, and there they were taking it a row at a time, cleaning it as they went; thus was his summers work carried away within two days, without one cent of remuneration.

[BACK TO PUEBLO AND COLORADO CITY; JUNE 14]

On the 14th at 9:40 we leave the hospitable mansion of Cap't Craig, leaving Mr. Kenyon and Col. Wodell there. Our clever Mexican with his four fast nags, landed us in Pueblo in two and a half hours, taking dinner at the Chilcott House. After dinner we look about the town; the houses with two or three exceptions were built of adobes, or sundried brick, and to make them more durable are plastered on the outside with cement, and when marked off in oblong squares, gives the appearance of stone blocks, which makes a building of much size look massive; this was the case with Capt Craigs house, warehouse, and barn.

At two oclock we leave Pueblo. When reaching the suburbs of the town, we were hailed by a girl poorly clad, carrying a bundle; she was apparently about twelve years of age. The driver stopped his team, reaching us nearly out of breath she asked to be carried to Denver, saying she wanted to go to her mother who lived there. But having no money and the messenger fearing her story was not true, declined taking her. She begged most earnestly and tearfully, but he was immovable, and when the coach started she screamed most piteously. We would have paid her fare, but not knowing her true situation, concluded not to risk it. The scenery along the road was very fine especially so at El Paso. About midway between Pu-

eblo and Colorado City we passed many long ranges of sharp cone shaped buttes standing isolated, many miles from the mountains.

Arriving at Colorado City at 9. P. M. we take supper and soon after, being tired, we turn into our beds and are soon dreaming of home and the loved ones awaiting our return. On the morning of the 15 we arose early and started at 4:30 for a walk to the Garden of the Gods, which looks but a short distance, after a long walk we reached it, and climbing around over the rocks a short time, and enjoying it's fine scenery we start back to the Hotel, where we eat a very hearty breakfast, and find we had enjoyed a morning walk of about five miles.

We hire a man and team with a spring wagon, to take us to the most important points, agreeing to pay him eight dollars for his services, and after preparing ourselves with lemon sugar and a good article of brandy, not forgetting a lunch, we start in company with Mr. Hatch of St. Louis, driving up between two perpendicular ridges of high rocks for some distance we soon arrive at the Gateway to the Garden of the Gods, which is a perpendicular cleft in the rocks some fifty feet in width through which we enter; some fifty or sixty feet within this Gateway and to the right, some enterprising fellow had built a house about twelve by fourteen feet in size, the floor was laid, the windows and door frames were cased, the sash had not been put in, nor the door hung. The smooth woodwork within was covered with the names of visitors from all parts of the world, written with pencil, and to perpetuate the name of the Ohio Soldiers Colony we did likewise.

The next point of interest was Lone Rock, standing some two hundred and fifty or three hundred feet high, and seventy or eighty feet in width by about one hundred and fifty feet in length. Within this rock is a cave, large enough to accommodate a very large congregation of people. It's ceiling is sixty or seventy feet high. The only entrance is through a small opening on it's western side, barely large enough to admit a good sized man. On entering we strike a light and by it's dim flickering, we wind our way upward, twenty five or thirty feet, until we reach the floor of the cave which extends further than our dim light could penetrate. Fearing to disturb the slumbers of a grizzly bear or rattlesnake we went no farther in the dark but contented ourselves by singing hallooing, and shooting our revolvers the report of which was deafening. On coming out of the cave, we slide through without difficulty. Two tall shafts of rock three hundred feet high, and eight or ten feet in diameter standing near each other are known as the twins.

Another high ridge of rocks has the appearance of a huge Cathedral with pinnacles and turrets pointing to the sky, some of which, looking from one position, appeared like a huge lion rearing up on his hind feet while his paws were resting on a large seal. We climbed one very high rock, and from it's summit our eyes beheld a scene that we will not attempt to describe. On our left was a high perpendicular ridge of rock filled with seams and stratum running upward at an angle of about twenty degrees, and all bearing southward. On our right, Pikes Peak with it's snowy cap, and many turreted foot hills, and spurs, formed an almost impenetrable barrier; while to the southward stretched a beautiful valley to a mountain spur running eastward. Through the southern part of this valley ran a beautiful, clear, cold stream of water, formed by the melting mountain snows, and boiling fountains, these fountains were called by the Mexicans "Fontaine Que Boille." This stream watered a few well cultivated fields on either side. This portion of the valley was called Pleasant Park; while that portion in which we stood, with its mighty rocks and monuments, was known as the Garden of the Gods. Indeed these mighty rocks looked as though they had been thrown up as cinders from the fierce fires of Vulcan when he was forging the trident for Neptune that shook both land and sea.

From here we go to the creek, and following it up about one mile, reach the Boiling Springs, or Soda springs. Here we found three springs of water, boiling up out of the rock, two on the north and one on the south side of the creek, the larger one being used for bathing and the two smaller for drinking several parties were here, one of which consisted of a whole family with wagons and tents who had come to test it's medicinal qualities. These springs have a wide reputation among the Indians for their healing virtues. The earth for many feet around is encrusted with a soda formation to the depth of several feet. We remained here one or two hours bathing, and drinking copiously of the invigorating water. By stirring two or three teaspoonfulls of lemon-sugar into a tumbler full of the water, it would effervesce, making a very agreeable and pleasant drink and put to blush the soda water sold at the most fashionable resorts. Leaving here we drive as far as the road is passable, when we alight and make an ascent up the mountain side, until we can clearly define the limits of vegetation, beyond which a belt of barren craggy rocks reach upward to the snowy capped summit, where the melting snows form that beautiful stream we had just left, which empties into the Arkansas river twenty five or thirty miles to the southeast.

After gathering several specimens of rock from the mountain, we descended to the wagon, and returned to the springs, and after a refreshing draught, returned to the Hotel for dinner with ravenous appetites. After dinner we visit Monumental Park, about five miles north of Colorado City. Here the formation is entirely different from any we have seen, being limestone and quartz pebbles cemented together, round monuments of this formation rise from twenty to fifty [feet] high, all capped by a slab of limestone, wherever we saw this slab displaced, the shaft was crumbling away; the time will come when they will entirely disappear. Standing here and looking around us, we might easily fancy that we were within some great antedeluvian cemetery dedicated to the burial of Giants of the Pre-adamatic age. . . .

Gathering many specimens of agates, quartz and other curious stones, we are hurried through a deep chasm in the rocks, that has been blasted and torn to pieces, by miners in search of gold. The whole face of the country here appears to have been turned up. We were too much hurried to make a careful examination of the rock. Returning we arrive at the Hotel near sunset. The town is going to decay, no evidences of improvement are visible. The Denver and Rio Grande R. R. is located about one and a half miles east, and the probabilities are that a town of some importance will be built on the road.³⁷ Pikes Peak, Soda Springs, Garden of the Gods, Pleasant, and Monumental Parks, and other natural curiosities will make this point one of the most fashionable resorts in the future, east of the Rocky Mountains.

[AGAIN IN DENVER, JUNE 16-18]

Leaving here at 9:30 P. M. in a crowded coach, we are rolled, bounced, and tumbled, all night and arrive at Denver at noon on the 16th, stopping at the Tremont House.

In the evening we were taken through the Boulevard at the rate of 2.40 by Geo Mathews, enjoying a fine ride and fine scenery. Sent our clothes to the Chinese washerman Ung Sang to see if he could do any better than Wang Shang had done the week before. We met Judge Devereaux who requested us to remain here, until he would return from Idaho on Saturday, that he might show us some lands lying in the eastern part of the County, he said he would sell at a reasonable price, sufficient land for the Colony, and the company would obligate themselves to construct a canal of sufficient capacity to irrigate them.

37. Colorado Springs fulfilled Anderson's look into the future.

On the morning of the 17th we visit many places of importance among them the U. S. branch Mint, where we see gold in all shapes, in quartz, fine dust, nuggets, and in bars, and are interested with a minute description of the various processes through which it passes from it's unearthing until it is made into glittering coin. We buy a few stereoscopic views of Rocky Mountain scenery; send specimens of cactus home by Express.

We are shown a box in which a peculiarly destitute individual, away from home and friends, had sought to tear himself from these tempting surroundings, and place himself within the pale of civilization. He had constructed this box of half inch pine lumber, about five and a half feet in length, and two feet square, with strips two inches wide, nailed around each end and one third it's length from the ends; between the middle-rows of slats on one side he had constructed a door, opening inside, it's ends being hidden under the strips, it could not be discovered. In one end, he had fastened a box, in which to carry provision, fifteen inches from this, he made a net work of strong twine across the box, with a hole through the center to admit his head, to keep it from striking against the end of the box, in case it should be thrown with that end down. There were one or two slat partitions within, through which he could brace himself. Putting in a supply of provision, and marking on the side that had the door in "Handle with care, Keep this side up," and directing it to himself to some town in Mass., he went to the Express office and told them to call at a certain house in the morning, and get a box and forward to Mass.

In the morning he opened the box; got into it; closed the door; the Agt. took it to the Depot; but owing to the light material of which it was made and not being bound sufficiently strong to insure it's safe transit, he concluded not to send it until the parties shipping it would make it stronger; whereupon they put it into the Office, instead of on the cars. The peculiar construction of the box excited the curiosity of many, among whom was Rob't Wilson who seeing a small knot hole in the box tried to look into it; seeing the palm of some persons hand pressed against it on the inside; he left the room, locking the door and securing the services of an Officer; arrived just as the man was climbing out of the box. He was arrested and taken before the Mayor, but as they could find no law that he had transgressed he was liberated and forced to try some other means to reach home.

We read of the death of C. L. Vallandigham in the Evening Trib-

une, which had occurred at 10 oclock that day.³⁸ We visit the farms of Dr. [J. H.] Morrison and Gen. Bierce,³⁹ which are in a very high state of cultivation. Their residences are on an eminence north west of the City, and overlooking the country many miles around. The hillsides are terraced and planted with grapes. These farms show what irrigation at the proper time will do. Gen. Bierce is President of the Territorial board of Agriculture. Dr. Morrison is also an Officer of the board; both are scientific men and gentlemen. In the afternoon we visit the Fair grounds, and Trotting Park; saw quite an exciting race.

On the 18th we take dinner with Dr. Morrison; Fred Clifton secty of the board of agriculture; Maj. Clelland and his father, who was visiting him from N. Y. and Mr. Waite, a very wealthy resident of Denver; dinner was served at the Tremont House and was a very fine one. In the afternoon some of us accompanied Mr. Clifton out on Clear creek, where were many farms, the owners of which, appeared to be in easy circumstances. Here we scraped up out of the grass, alkali, as white as snow, specimens of which we brought home with us. In the evening we make arrangements with Col. Fry to accompany Gen'l Devereaux to those lands in the eastern part of the County, and report to us at Fort Scott, Kansas, within one week.

And now we prepare to leave the most interesting place we have yet seen. we will in after life recall many pleasant memories of Denver City and it's very generous and hospitable people. This City of some ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, at an altitude of five thousand feet, with a long range of mountains on the west, with their snow covered peaks reaching above the clouds; the mining interests, and the many natural curiosities surrounding it, and the extensive boulevard of many miles of the finest road in the world, all combine to make it one of the most frequent points of the tourist seeking pleasure or health. For the first two or three days after our arrival here, a sensation of dizziness overcame us, our nostrils were filled up, and our respiration was difficult, we would often gasp in breathing as though our lungs were not large enough to contain the air required to keep up life. We passed a slaughter house, where we saw a pile of offal composed of the intestines of animals killed, beef heads and legs cut off with the hide on. This pile had lain here, between one and two years, but there was no offensive smell from it, the

38. Clement L. Vallandigham was a well-known lawyer and politician of Ohio. During a murder trial he accidentally shot himself while illustrating the manner in which the victim was shot.

39. Horatio B. Bearce was adjutant general of Colorado and president of the Colorado Agricultural Society.—*The Rocky Mountain Directory and Colorado Gazetteer* (1871), p. 264.

whole pile appeared to be drying up and crumbling away. So rare is the air, that consumptives reaching that altitude are quickly benefitted, or soon relieved by death.

[BACK TO KANSAS, JUNE 19]

At 9 o'clock P. M. we bid farewell to our kind friends, and start for Salina Ka. On the morning of the 19th we awoke at Carson City. Many wagon trains were here loading for the south. The sky is clear, and the hot sultry winds are almost suffocating; making our faces fairly burn we change our position for relief. Mirages were almost continually in view. Fine lakes could be seen near the horizon, with the waves rippling and rolling over their silvery surfaces, and their shores lined with a beautiful foliage of green groves. As we would near them, they would vanish away, and others appear in the distance. The scenery grows monotonous, we become weary and long for civilization. We arrive at Salina at 8:35 P. M. call on the Gov't land Ag't; find no lands of sufficient quantity for our purpose; being too near the limits of dry weather.

June 20th we start early and arrive at Junction City at 9 o'clock A. M. Visiting the Land Ag't here, we find 150,000 acres of land belonging to the Government and the K. P. R. R. Co. alternately that can be bought at an average of four dollars per acre, and we request the Ag't to hold it until he hears from us, as we are satisfied that we cannot get lands sufficient for the Colony under the homestead law. Leaving Junction City at 11:30 A. M. via. the M. K & T. R. R. we pass down the valley of the Neosho.

[IN ALLEN AND LABETTE COUNTIES, JUNE 20-22]

Stopping at Parkers for dinner, we arrive at Humbolt at 8: P. M. and stop at the Hildreth House, and while supper was being prepared, went to the Post Office receiving letters from home and from the headquarters of the Colony, telling us to go into Texas and see what could be done there, as the Colony would have no objections to going there.

The 21st we spend in writing letters and keeping up our memorandum; are called upon by some of Mr. Bostwick's relatives who reside here. We see more drunkenness here than we have seen in all our travels so far. The land in this region is well improved, where it is not owned by speculators. We could hear of no lands suitable for the Colony. Humbolt is situated on the east bank of the Cottonwood on high land, the soil is thin in and about the town, underlaid by a thick stratum of limestone; through which the blasting of wells is attended with great expense. One was being blasted near the

Hotel while we were there, each blast was succeeded by a perfect hail of stone on the roof.

On the 22d at 8:30 A. M. we start for Parsons. Just before arriving there, we fell in company with the Editor of a paper published at New Chicago,⁴⁰ on the L. L. & G. R. R; who told us that a very large amount of land had just been put on the market, by that road and that the lands were situated southwest from that place. On arriving at Parsons we took the next train back to New Chicago, and visiting the Ag't there, found that a difficulty was existing between the L. L. & G. R. R. and the M. K. & T. R. R. Co's as to the titles. Consequently no lands could be bought, and we thought it unnecessary to visit any of them. Two rival towns have sprung up here within a quarter of a mile of each other, near the Junction of these two roads. Like most of the western towns, the people were very anxious to encourage the location of a Colony near them. We found a Mr. Smith, who lived near the bridge in Cinthyan [Cynthiana] Ky. while the 118th Reg't of Ohio troops were guarding it; he seemed to take great interest in the welfare of the b-boys [boys?], many of whom, some of us were acquainted with.

[TO INDIAN TERRITORY, JUNE 23]

On the 23d we left for Big Cabin,⁴¹ Indian Ter. The soil appears richer and the general appearance of the country finer as we get farther south. The southern portion of Kansas is very fine, large fields of waving grain were just being gathered, while thrifty fields of corn were putting forth their bloom at from ten to fifteen feet above the ground; all vegetation seems rank and with the cattle on a thousand hills, seemed to invite the industrious emigrant to settle here. As we pass into Indian Territory the land becomes more level, and until we pass some distance through it, no habitations are visible.

The inhabitants of this section of the country, like the Heathen Chinee "are rather peculiar"; they boarded the train while running at the rate of thirty miles per hour, and kept a continual skirmish-

40. New Chicago, Neosho County, was laid out in May, 1870, at the crossing of the lines of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas and the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston railroads. The town made slow progress in the beginning. Trains were running on the M. K. & T., but there was no station here and all building materials, goods, etc., were brought from Humboldt, ten miles away, by team and wagon. With the building of a switch and depot and the subsequent completion to this point of the L. L. & G., business increased. Three other towns were laid out in the immediate vicinity: Alliance, Chicago Junction, and Tioga. Tioga was a bitter rival of New Chicago. After about two years of strife, all four towns were consolidated and the name Chanute was given to the new town in honor of Octavo Chanute, chief engineer of the L. L. & G.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 836, 837.

The New Chicago *Transcript* was published by Geo. C. Crowther. Crowther advertised the *Transcript* as the leading Republican journal in southern Kansas.—Smith's *Guide to the Southwest* . . . (R. F. Smith, publisher, Sedalia, Mo., 1871), p. 192.

41. A point about 30 miles below the southern Kansas border.

ing with the passengers. These miscreants are known there as the Green Fly, and are so troublesome that horses and cattle cannot venture into the fields during the day unless sewn up in covers, the consequence is, we see no herds of cattle nor horses in use as we pass through, the cattle retire to the groves during the day and graze at night, in order to escape these pests, while the horses are kept in their stables during the day, and worked at night, having to be well protected when working at any other time. The work of grading the M. K. & T. R. R. was continued only by moon light, while these pests were about, they remain but a few weeks, then entirely disappear to the relief of all.

Arriving at Big Cabin we find a shed about ten by twenty feet, which answers for Ticket Office, Express Office, and Freight Depot; another shed some fifty yards above the depot was used at Hotel and boarding house. Some sixty yards east of the depot was a Grocery and Refreshment Saloon. This building was weather boarded with the boughs of trees and shingled with army blankets. Stepping in we refresh ourselves with a glass or two of iced lemonade, when we seat ourselves on a rude bench in the shade and take a survey of the surrounding country, while some half dozen men are talking over the current events of the day. One of our party enquired of these men how far the Cherokee Indians lived, and was shown several farm houses in different directions, located near the timber along the streams. Waving fields of grain, and corn and fine gardens surrounded them. Large herds of cattle and horses were lying in the groves out of the reach of the tormenting flies. These they said were residences of the Cherokees. At this we were rather surprised and expressed ourselves in regard to the different habits of these civilized Indians and the savage and half civilized tribes through whose country we had passed.

We were then asked if we had ever seen any of the Cherokee Indians, answering them in the negative. We were told to look at the men surrounding us, as they are all Indians, with one exception. At this we are more surprised than ever, as there is but one person in the group, whom we would have charged with the crime of having any Indian blood in him. They enjoyed themselves with a hearty laugh at our expense; after which we all join in telling stories. The Indians coming out ahead. after shooting at target awhile with them, using Mr. Huffman's Ballard rifle, we go to supper.

Finding it impossible for us to get transportation through to Texas on account of the Green Fly, except by traveling altogether at night. This we did not fully appreciate and concluded to retrace our steps,

and in company with Gov. Harvey⁴² and suit of Topeka Ka. who had been on an excursion down to Pryor Creek, a few miles below us, we start for Fort Scott Ka. We found the Gov. to be quite a gentleman, and very willing to communicate all the information at his command, in regard to lands in Kansas. From him we received information of the sale of the Kaw lands by sealed bids,⁴³ directed to the Secretary of the Interior at Washington, said bids to be received until the following July. These lands were being sold by the Government for the benefit of the Kaw Indians.

Among the passengers was a gentleman from Texas who had just made the trip through. He said we were very sensible in not undertaking the journey to Texas at this time as it was almost an impossibility to get through. He had a horned frog which he was taking to New York, having captured it in Texas.

[ARRIVAL AT FORT SCOTT, JUNE 24]

Arriving at Fort Scott on the 24th at 2:30 A. M. we stop at the Fort Scott House, where we sleep until late breakfast in the morning. We receive no letters here as we had expected. The land Agents here could give us but little information in regard to lands in this section. There was great trouble existing at this time in regard to the Joy lands.⁴⁴ The settlers having preempted it as Government land, at the same time Joy held a patent from the Government for the same lands. We endeavor to get passes to Junction City, the Agent promising to telegraph to Sedalia for them. In the meantime we look at the country around Fort Scott.

Bostwick and Anderson go some five or six miles into the country, to visit Dr. Hayes, a friend of Bostwick's. The country is very rolling and bluff in many places along the streams. Limestone and coal crop out in all the ravines, and along the streams, yet the soil appears strong and very productive, being the finest fruit section of Kansas. Standing on an eminence on the farm of Dr. Hayes an extensive view of the surrounding country was had. Fine looking farms and Villages could be seen on all sides. To the eastward good farms and residences in the State of Missouri could easily be seen. The

42. James M. Harvey, governor of Kansas from January, 1869, to January, 1873.

43. Unsold and unallotted (Kaw) lands—181,212 acres—were offered for sale on sealed bids in 1871. Numerous bids were received, one of which called for the entire amount at \$2.42 an acre, but all were rejected on technicalities.—Paul Wallace Gates, *Fifty Million Acres* (Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 150.

44. James F. Joy, a leading figure in the railroad history of this period, purchased from the government in 1867, at \$1.00 an acre, all Cherokee Neutral lands not occupied by settlers and not improved. These lands, situated in the southeast corner of Kansas, comprised the present county of Cherokee, nearly all of Crawford, and a strip about 6 miles wide across the southern part of Bourbon. Joy was promoting the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf railroad (the Fort Scott Line). An estimated 2,000 families were living within the tract at the time of the sale and bitter strife broke out between these settlers and the railroad. U. S. troops were stationed in Crawford and Cherokee counties to preserve order. The conflict was resolved after several years, and emigration poured into the area.

Doctor returned with them. A very drenching rain came up on their return, and continued unceasingly for two hours, when it abated but continued raining all night. We took supper with the Doctor at the Wilder House,⁴⁵ after which we were entertained by a negro in the Office with music, songs and dancing, when we seek our beds at the Fort Scott House.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 25th the rain subsided, the sun came out brightly and the atmosphere became very hot and oppressive. We write to our friends at home and attended the Methodist Church, sermon from the words "If you gain the whole world and lose your own soul &c. In the evening we attend the same church and hear a very impressive sermon on prayer. An English book canvasser from St. Louis stopping at the same house with us appeared deeply concerned, and being called upon offered up a fervent petition, the greater part of which, was for the benefit of one of our own party.

On the 26th we post our letters, and going to the R. R. Agent, we find no passes for us yet. the Agent told us that the Superintendent was absent from home. We conclude to wait until the next morning, and if we do not get them, to proceed on our own account. After which we take a survey of the City, which is the seat of Bourbon County, and situated on the Marmaton river. At one time it was quite a formidable Military post,⁴⁶ built for the protection of the Missouri frontier, and was a great trading post with the Indians. The old Government Barracks are still standing and occupied as residences, having wide flights of steps ascending to deep porticoes above the basements, large windows and doors all fronting the Public Square around which they are built; large trees standing within the court formed by these buildings give signs of having been planted many years before. The buildings were erected parallel to the river, without regard to the points of the compass. This gives the place a bad appearance, for, being near the business portion of the City, which is built at right angles with the points of the compass, gives the streets an abrupt termination where they strike these old monuments of the past. There is a great spirit of enterprise among the residents, vieing with each other in the encouragement of manufactures in their midst. In the evening we attend church.

45. The Wilder House, built in 1863, was named for Carter Wilder, brother of Daniel Webster Wilder. It was known for many years as one of the best hotels west of the Mississippi.

46. Fort Scott, named for Gen. Winfield Scott, was established in 1842 on the military road that extended from the upper Mississippi to Louisiana. Troops were withdrawn in 1853 and the city grew up around the buildings. The fort was re-established during the Civil War as Union headquarters and supply depot for southeast Kansas. Several of the old buildings may still be seen on the plaza.

[EN ROUTE NORTH, JUNE 27-28]

June 27" Not getting the desired passes we start this morning for Americus, and after riding all day, over the same road we had travelled before, with a few pleasing incidents thrown in to dispel the monotony, we arrive there in the evening and stop at the Goddard House. Here Mr. Huffman found a distant relative of the same name a Physician and Druggist; at least they thought they were relatives, as they were both acquainted with Old Aunt Hannah in Kentucky. Mr. Bostwick also, found an old female acquaintance whom he had known in Mount Vernon. We were enlivened with music by a daughter of our Hostess, Mrs. Goddard.

June 28" At three oclock this morning a fearful storm of wind and rain came up making us think of seeking safety outside of the house, it passed over however without damage. At ten oclock we start out in a wagon with R. W. Randall Agent for the Kaw trust lands, we pass over some of the trust lands which are very fine, also R. R.—and individual lands. We find some very good farms along the Creek but found nothing, except in the Reservation that would answer the Colony. Mr. Randall gave us all the necessary papers and directions for putting in bids for the Kaw lands.

Americus is situated at the southern extremity of the Kaw Reservation on an almost level plain, for which the reservation is noted. There is fall enough to carry the water from the town southward. There is one United Presbyterian Church; two large dairies the machinery of which is propelled by wind, a very common means of propelling everything in the west, from Lyons City, or the city of stakes in Dickenson Co. Ka. to the powers that be in the great corporate body in the town of Greeley, Colorado. Town lots range in price from twenty five to two hundred dollars. Land sells at from four to twenty dollars per acre. The soil is black and is from two to ten feet deep. We visited one of the dairies and was shown the *modus operandi* of a *Cheese Mill*.

In the afternoon we leave for Junction City. Passing through the Kaw Reservation we count sixty six stone houses, built at intervals near the timber skirting the Osage [Neosho] river.⁴⁷ These houses were built by the Government for the use of this tribe, and they fully appreciate this kindness by living in tents or wigwams and huts near by, and keeping their horses and ponies in the houses.

47. Frank Haucke, "The Kaw or Kansa Indians," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (February, 1952), p. 43: "The government . . . built some 150 small stone buildings for the use of the individual Indian families. The Kaw Indians did not appreciate these stone houses and continued to live in their tents which they considered more healthful. However, in bad weather, they did stable their ponies in these buildings. Many of the agency buildings still stand on the Haucke land. We have tried to preserve them as much as possible."

Some of the Indians have been so generous that they have used the floors and roofs of their buildings for fuel, too lazy to carry wood from the timber a few yards distant. How is that? for "Lo the poor Indian." Their Reservation is nine miles in width from east to west, and fourteen miles in length.

[IN GEARY AND DICKINSON COUNTIES, JUNE 29-30]

Arriving in Junction City at 11: oclock at night, we stop at the Wakefield House near the Depot; crawl into a bed of dingy hue and lay awake until morning. June 29", We attempt to force down the most unpalatable mess of stuff for breakfast that we ever saw dished up but it was no use. quitting in disgust we called for our baggage, paid our bills with emphasis, and left them two dollars and twenty five cents richer in purse, and no poorer in provision than we found them, but alas! for our poor stomachs. We proceeded to the Pacific House, where we deposited our traps and then called on Capt. [A. C.] Pierce, the ag't of the K. P. R. R. lands. Looking over his plats, we conclude to visit Dickenson County. Starting out at ten oclock in a carriage with W. H. Wize (Pierce's clerk) we travel to the Southeast until 2:30 P. M. when we stop at the farm house of the Heuston brothers, where we feed our horses and get dinner. These three brothers own five thousand one hundred acres of land, two hundred of which are nearly enclosed by a stone fence, and under a high state of cultivation. They had five hundred head of cattle and two hundred head of calves, and were employing twenty men.⁴⁸

Here we found a new species of potato bug, being smaller than the old striped potato bug and of a dark slate color, with no stripes; they were doing much damage to the crop. Continuing our course southward through Dickenson Co; thence northeast we pass over high rolling prairie, our only objection to the land is, that it is rather too high, and would be subject to greater damage from drouth. Just as the Sun was nestling it's self for the night in a bed of varigated prairie flowers in the west, just at that time in the evening when feelings of loneliness and solitude are apt to overcome us, Our attention was suddenly arrested by seeing stakes driven into the ground, and we think we are intruders within the sacred resting place of the Red Warrior, but alighting from the carriage, we found that the stakes were numbered and marked, showing the Public Square, the broad Avenues and streets, College Block, Bank Block, Post Office Block, Fountain Square, and all those places, that looked so

48. The U. S. census for 1870 lists the following for one household in Union township, Dickinson county, designating all of them stock raisers and farmers: W. C. N. Houston, George A. Houston, Hunter A. Houston, and Charles M. Houston.

well on the plat in Junction City. This was Lyons City,⁴⁹ the great metropolis to which the industrious Ohio Colonist was to bring the fruits of his honest toil, and exchange for filthy lucre, or the rich products of foreign climes, which we were told would pour in from all parts of the world. Like the Queen of Sheba we thought the half had not been told.

Not a house was visible, except a farm house, about one mile to the eastward, to which we proceeded. Here we found Mr. Gillette stacking wheat. he offered us the hospitalities of his house until morning, which we gladly accepted. His farm consists of four hundred acres, eighty of which are under cultivation. The wheat crop was sown on raw prairie turned up only two inches in depth; it was now being gathered, and would average from thirty to forty bushels per acre. The improvements had all been made since April 1st 1870. Here was the first time we had ever seen raw bacon sliced and put on the table to eat, we had eaten it when we were compelled to from want of fire to cook it, but thought this a little too saving of labor, even for an Aboriginal, being somewhat squeamish on the subject of *Trichina Spiralis* we refrained from eating it. A heavy storm of wind and rain came up during the night.

June 30'' We start in the morning going to the northeast and cross Lyon Creek. The country is rolling, with deep rich soil, and limestone and clay subsoil. Fruit trees grow very fast, peach trees reaching five feet in height the second year. Arriving at Junction City at noon, we proceed to the Pacific House for dinner. After which we call at Cap't Pierces Office, and learn that the man of whom we had hired the horses, was raising a fuss and had charged extra for over driving. We immediately called on him and very forcibly impressed on his mind that he was mistaken. We paid him the amount we had agreed upon, and left him to swindle some one else if he could. We get plats of the different sections, over which we had passed, not forgetting Lyon City, after which we are ready to leave. In the afternoon we found Mr. Dust an Agent for the Nurseries at Sidney Ohio, who was doing a good business selling trees in this section of the west.

At 10:30 P. M. we go to the Depot to take the train for Kansas

49. "The name of Lyons is given to a new town lately laid out at the junction of West Branch with Lyons creek, in Dickinson county. . . . The proprietors, Messrs. Gillett, Barney, Hunnicutt and others, have evinced a care for the health and comfort of those who shall become citizens, by selecting a healthy and beautiful location for the town site. . . . [The] tract [is] nearly half a mile from the creek, entirely back from the low, boggy and unhealthy bottom land. . . . Town lots, we understand, are to be given to any who desire to improve. Stone for building can be obtained at the cost of quarrying. Land in this vicinity can be purchased at from 3 to 5 dollars per acre. Liberal inducements will be given to all kinds of tradesmen."—Junction City Union, June 17, 1871.

Woodbine is on the approximate site of Lyons City.

City, but the train being delayed twenty four hours in consequence of an accident to a freight train west, so we returned to the Hotel, to wait until nine oclock the next day, for the accommodation running from Junction City to Kansas City. We listen for some time to cornet music, by a Proffessor who was instructing a band here.

[EN ROUTE EAST, JULY 1-3]

July 1st was clear and cool. We leave at nine oclock, and after a dusty and wearisome ride arrive at State Line at five oclock P. M. Stopping at the Kaw Valley House, we brush off the dust, take a wash and are ready for supper. Maj Bostwick went up to St. Joseph on the first train to see a relative. Huffman and Anderson visited the Opera House to hear Duprez and Benedict's Minstrels, a first class troupe but a second class performance. On the 2d rain began falling about five oclock in the morning and continued until noon. In the afternoon we take a walk through the City. Bostwick came back in the evening.

On the 3d we leave at 6:30 A. M. Stopping at the Ives House in Sedalia we got a good dinner. In the afternoon we were shown through the town by one of the residents. Some very costly residences are built here, chiefly owned by Railroad Nabobs, Land Sharks and note shavers. An Indian show was advertized here to-day. We invest, and go in. On entering we find about one dozen Indians painted after the most approved style of Indian toilette, with no covering but breech cloth and leggins, they were dancing their different dances, whooping and Yelling like demons. They were taking considerable whiskey. One of the proprietors of the institution told us that it generally took a pint of whiskey each to get a first class Indian entertainment out of them. The perspiration was rolling down their bodies, washing great channels through the different colored paints with which they were smeared. Their performance might have been interesting to persons who had never seen Indians, but as we had been among them for the past seven weeks, they had no attractions for us, and we left before the conclusion of the performance. A very hard storm came up lasting about one hour.

We left Sedalia at 9:30 P. M. with a band of musicians who were going to blow their brains out, celebrating the glorious old fourth of July, they discoursed excellent music,—and we soon fell asleep. When we awoke they were gone and the fourth of July was dawning upon us. The train stopped a few minutes at Washington, when it was boarded by an army of women and girls selling fruit, coffee and refreshments.

[IN ST. LOUIS, JULY 4-5]

We arrive at St. Louis at 6:30 and stop at the Clarendon Hotel. Here we find everybody celebrating the day [with] military and civic processions: flags displayed from all public buildings and many private residences. We receive letters from home: saw the *steam man* that created such an excitement in the eastern cities. Mr. Huffman having paid his fare from Kansas City, we succeed in getting a pass for him to Cincinnati. In the evening we witness a fine display of fireworks, the whole City is in a blaze with many colored lights and it is near midnight before they cease.

On the morning of the 5th at five o'clock, we visit fifth street market, the best we have ever seen every thing offered for sale, as well as the persons offering them presented a neat appearance, a perfect system pervades the whole concern. During the day we write up our report, giving a full statement of the country passed over, recommending the Colony to call another convention, and amend their constitution, giving a committee power to buy Government or cheap Railroad lands, and recommending the appointing of another Committee, and that they be instructed to visit Texas, and if they could not suit themselves there, to return and visit the Osage lands in Reno and Sedgewick Counties, which could be bought for One dollar and twenty five cents per acre, also to visit the Railroad lands in Dickinson County, which could be bought at an average of four dollars per acre, we give our preference to Reno and Sedgewick Counties. In the evening we visit DeBarr's Opera House to hear Miss Lisa Webber.

[BACK TO CINCINNATI, JULY 6]

On the 6th We leave St Louis at eight o'clock in the morning on the lightning express. Take dinner at Vincennes Ind. and arrive at Cincinnati at 8:30 P. M. Mr. Huffman being quite unwell at St. Louis, and appearing to get worse during the day, we were quite uneasy about him.

On the morning of the 7th we meet at Mr. Huffmans residence on Walnut Hills; find him improving in health, we sign the report and hand it to the Secty. who had called on us there, with Mr. Mills, Mr. Chase, Norton and others. On the morning of the 8th Anderson and Bostwick proceed to their respective homes. Thus ending the duties of the first Committee for the location of the Ohio Soldiers Colony.

*"Haec olim meminisse juvabit."*⁵⁰

50. The *Aeneid* of Virgil, book 1, line 203. Translation of the passage is: Perhaps it will delight us hereafter to recall even the present things to mind.

Bypaths of Kansas History

AN EARLY-DAY COURT SCENE IN WICHITA

From the *Wichita City Eagle*, April 6, 1876.

The first term of the District Court began on the 13th day of June [1870]. It was held in the attic of a livery stable, nearly opposite the Empire House. Hon. W. R. Brown, of the 9th district, which included Sedgwick county, was the Judge. . . . The court room was provided with one chair which was occupied by his honor the Judge. The table for the accommodation of the lawyers consisted of two goods boxes set "end for end." The seats for the bar consisted of a two by six cottonwood scantling resting at each end on cracker boxes, and placed at a convenient distance from the table, and along which ranged the lawyers. Behind the boxes sat the Judge in his solitary chair with his right heel resting gracefully over his left knee, his right elbow resting upon the arm of the chair, and his chin firmly planted in his right hand, and his left hand in his pants pocket. The seats for the bystanders consisted of the same material and pattern as that for the bar, and ranged around the wall.

The trial docket consisted of a single sheet of foolscap paper, and the bar docket and the journal of the same. The cases at issue were three: one a murder case, one a State case against . . . Alexander Jester, charged with an assault with intent to kill, and the other a divorce case. The divorce case was tried, witnesses examined and a decree for the plaintiff, which was the husband. It was developed on the trial that the defendant in her playful mood had kicked the plaintiff out of bed and compelled him to sleep on the floor, and as they lived in a dug out, this was adjudged a sufficient "ground" to justify a divorce. The case of murder was taken, by change of venue, to Butler county. In the assault case the defendant interposed a motion to "squash" the information, which was done. It is a curious fact that no record of the proceedings of that court was made, and not even the scratch of a pen remains to tell the fact of the granting of that divorce.

SOCIAL LIFE IN COWLEY COUNTY IN 1873

From the *Winfield Courier*, November 13, 1873.

One of the roughest gatherings that ever met in Cowley county to chase the scratch of cat-gut round the room assembled at Hoerneman's on Little Dutch creek last Monday night. About sixty persons were present; crammed into a room some fourteen by twenty feet in size, in the centre of which two setts in cotillion were compelled to "all saschey." The honest sons and daughters of the soil were there in plain garbs; widows and widowers in whom the blaze of passion had burned the carbon of life to a cinder, were there triggered by art to hide nature's truth; chins were there that showed the eider down of tender teens, and the heavy hand of time's reproach; the tender maid just swelling with the truth of nature's possibilities, and the mother holding the unweaned offspring to her bosom, were there. The polished gentleman of travel, who speaks five languages correctly and fluently, and the tobacco

chewing bummer who could not speak one, were there; the mild and harmless, the swaggering and armed, and the "gay young man from town," were all there. To set the meaner elements of that heterogenous mass well in motion whisky was introduced. In a little while it could be smelled in the air, upon their breaths and clothes, seen in their eyes, and noticed in their "balance all," and down the throats of half the party. Even the cat-gut caught it, and slewed among the minor and major keys in reckless disregard of "tone." Halters to teams were cut, whips stolen, the road strewn with fence posts, three or four fights ensued, pistols drawn and bedlam mirrored. We have told enough; numerous other little things happened that won't do to tell.

PRICES CURRENT IN FORD COUNTY IN 1893

From "Concord Items" in *The Globe-Republican*, Dodge City, January 6, 1893.

NOTICE TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:—There will be an election of new officers on February 31, 1893, of the Hugging Society. Applications for membership will be received on the date named. Here is the scale of prices and benefits: Girls under 16 are not in it; from 16 to 20, 50 cents; from 20 to 24, 75 cents; school marms, 12½ cents; another man's wife, \$1.00; widows according to looks from 10 cents to \$3.00; old maids, three cents or two for a nickel. Not any time limit. Preachers are not charged. Editors pay in advertising, but are not allowed to participate until everybody else is through and even then are not allowed to squeeze anybody but old maids and school marms.

THE ROAD OVERSEER

From the *Irving Leader*, May 2, 1895.

A road overseer, my son, is a man elected by the people of a road district to make diligent search and plow up every piece of good road he can find. Each new one elected is also expected to kick on the road machinery purchased by the old board of township trustees and keep kicking until new is purchased. It is his duty also to leave such machinery out in the weather as much as possible so that it will be sufficiently eaten by rust to insure the next year's kick and purchase. No well regulated road overseer should repair any bridge or culvert until he has let the common herd drive around it through the mud for at least one year and not longer than two years. A road overseer who is well onto his job will never let the road get out of repair in front of his own premises—other roads in the district can take care of themselves. He is not supposed to be very particular about the condition of the road in front of his enemy's house—for this reason keep on the good side of the road overseer. Never run to this autocrat of the neighborhood with a tale of woe about the terrible condition of your road—he may notice it himself in a year or two. The road overseer cannot be legally held responsible for the dampness of the highway after a heavy rain. God bless the road overseer.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles of historical interest have continued to appear frequently in the Hays *Daily News*. Included in the past few months were: "Rise and Fall of Rome, Ellis County Capital of '67 With Fabulous Future," January 1, 1956; "History Refutes [Gloomy] Speculation of 1882 [by Noble Prentis] on Future of Mennonites in Kansas," January 29; "Legend of 'Wild Huntress of Plains,'" and "Nothing Humdrum in Early Life of Victoria," February 5; "Lincoln-Douglas Debates Left Early Imprint on Hays Editor [J. H. Downing]," February 12; "Ellis County 'on the Boom' as Early as 1876 With Taxable Property Over \$500,000 Mark," and "Ben Hodges, Last of Dodge Bad Men," March 11; "Hays Center of Buffalo Country in Mid-1800," March 18; "Kansas Old Timer [Edward Westfall] Describes Pioneer Days' Narrow Escape," April 22; "'Praying John,' an Early Day Ellis Pioneer 'Character' Startled Many," and "St. Fidelis Churchyard North of Victoria Great Tourist Attraction," May 13; "Prussia George Mysterious Early Day Ellis Character," May 27; "Cultured Woman [Mrs. Mary A. Wade] From East Makes Place for Herself in Wild West," June 3; "Hays Celebrated New Year's 1875 in Most Stunning Manner," June 10; "Tomorrow Will Be Eightieth Anniversary Custer's Last Stand," June 24; "'Calamity Jane' Was One Most Controversial Early Characters," and "Frontier Doctors Among Unsung Heroes of Early Western Times," July 8; "Stories of Early Day Violence Stark Realities [Court] Dockets Show," July 22; and "[Jack Downing] Tells Tale of Last Hays Indian Scare May 19, 1877," July 29.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* in recent months included: "Kansas Had a Prairie-Roving Capital in Territorial Days," by Jonathan M. Dow, January 28, 1956; "Short Story About Kansas ['The Regeneration of Colonel Hucks'] Started William Allen White Toward Fame," by Everett Rich, January 31; "Family Life of Kansas Pioneer in Letters of White Scrapbook," by Myra Lockwood Brown, May 12; "Gold Fields in Kansas Offered as Bait for Prospectors in 1859," by Gerald Renner, May 15; "His [James Dunlavy] Souvenirs Recall War Drama in Kansas," by Bill Einspanier, May 20; "Kansas Town [Enterprise] and Its One Industry Provide Lesson in Interdependence," a review of Edward G. Nelson's *The Company and the Community*,

by W. W. Baker, May 26; "Taking Time to Aim Straight Was Wyatt Earp's Formula for Life," Gary Farley, May 31; "In Baltimore Dr. John Ise of Kansas Is Dubbed a 'Dust-Bowl Mencken,'" by Jack Davis, June 24; and "Early Kansas History Centers on the Century-Old Town of Shawnee," by Elizabeth E. Barnes, August 4. Among articles appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Caldwell, Kas., Recalls Days of Longhorns on Old Chisholm Trail," by Della Marie McDonnell, May 2; "A Famous Kansas Clinic Inspired by Visit to the Mayo Brothers," a review of Walker Winslow's *The Menninger Story*, by Roger Swanson, June 8; "June's Final Week Is Famed as Custer Death Anniversary," June 27; and "'What's the Matter With Kansas?' Helped Win Election 60 Years Ago," by Everett Rich, August 15.

"Discovery of Lead Interesting Chapter in [Cherokee] County's History," an article originally published in the "See Kansas" series of the Wichita *Eagle*, was printed in the Columbus *Daily Advocate*, January 31, 1956. Also in the *Advocate* was a list of former officials of Cherokee county, May 7; and "G. A. Sanders Tells of Experiences as Early-Day Teacher," by Fayette Rowe, May 19.

Early in 1956 a series of three articles by Loverna Little Morris were published in the Emporia *Gazette*: "Healthful Climate and Slavery Issue Brought Settlers to Fremont District [Lyon County]," February 2; "Indian Scares and Rebel Raids Kept Settlers Alert During the Civil War," February 7; and "Big Stone House Built in 1875 Still Recalled as a Place of Enchantment," February 10. Other historical articles published recently by the *Gazette* included: "Steamboat Once Cruised Along Cottonwood River," April 10; "Razing of Old Landmark [Campbell House] in Plymouth Recalls Life of Lyon County Pioneers," by Mrs. S. H. Bennett, July 10; and "High Drama in Story of the Sac and Fox Tribes of Early Day Lyon County," July 14.

Historical articles in the Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle* in recent months included: "Bethany [Evangelical United Brethren] Church Had Start in 1872," February 25, 1956; "Did Chisholm Trail Reach Abilene?" by Howard Moore, May 2; "Long and Varied Life Is Displayed in 88-Year History of Abilene Schools," by Moore, May 23; "[Sterl] Home Tied Closely With Early History of Abilene," by Moore, May 30; and "Jesse James and Friends Once Visited Abilene," June 3.

After 87 years of use, the New Malden school, Atchison county, has been discontinued. Its history was printed in the *Horton Headlight*, April 2, 1956. Mrs. J. K. Trueblood was the first teacher.

Early Burlington history was recalled by Artis E. Lineback, LeRoy, in articles appearing in the *Daily Republican*, Burlington, April 2, 3, 1956. On April 10 the *Republican* published a biographical sketch of Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Dickinson by their son, J. E. Dickinson. An article by Fayette Rowe on the history of the Neosho river appeared in the *Republican*, May 23. This article also appeared in the *Wichita Eagle Magazine*, May 6.

Organized April 12, 1885, the First Baptist church of Conway Springs recently observed its 71st anniversary. A history of the church appeared in the *Conway Springs Star*, April 26, 1956. The Rev. J. M. Wood was the first pastor.

Noting the 75th anniversary of the Methodist church of Galesburg, the *Chanute Tribune*, April 24, 1956, printed a brief history. The building was erected in 1881 but religious work had been in progress for several years before that. On June 5 the *Tribune* published Fayette Rowe's "Trail of Tears' by Cherokee Indians," the story of the move of the Cherokees from Georgia to present Kansas in the late 1830's.

Fifty pages of historical articles on early Caldwell and Sumner county comprised the Border Queen and Chisholm trail edition of the *Caldwell Messenger*, April 30, 1956. This special issue was published in connection with the Chisholm trail tour to Caldwell and the opening of the Border Queen Museum there.

On May 3, 1956, the *Modern Light*, Columbus, published a review of the selection of county seats in Cherokee county. Pleasant View was the first, the honor then passed to Baxter Springs, and finally to Columbus. The *Modern Light's* historical column, "Do You Remember When," still appears regularly.

Wamego's 90th anniversary was noted by the publication of a brief history of the town in the *Wamego Reporter*, May 3, 1956.

Briggs school, near Junction City, had its beginning on April 1, 1877, with the formation of the district, according to a history of the school published by the *Junction City Union*, May 10, 1956.

Beginning May 11, 1956, a series on the history of the Hartford Collegiate Institute appeared in the *Hartford Times*. First action

toward establishment of the institute took place December 11, 1861, with the meeting of the Neosho Valley Educational Association of the M. E. Church. The Methodists planned a preparatory school for students who wished to enter college.

Near Hillsboro still stands a mud house built in 1877 by Peter P. Loewen, who had arrived a year earlier from Russia and joined the Mennonite colony. An article by Ruth Meyer in the *Hillsboro Star-Journal*, May 17, 1956, tells the story of the old house which was occupied until 1955.

The *Garnett Review*, May 28, 1956, published a history of St. John's Catholic parish in northeast Anderson county. The first building was started in 1881 and dedicated in 1882. A school and rectory were added in 1887.

An account of the Battle of Black Jack, June 20, 1856, appeared in the *Wellsville Globe*, May 31, 1956. Black Jack, near present Wellsville, was the scene of an encounter between John Brown and his followers and a group under Capt. Henry Clay Pate. The skirmish is famous as the first pitched battle between the Proslavery and the Free-State forces.

Articles in the June, 1956, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, included: "The Name of Topeka," by Russell K. Hickman; "Cyrus Packard," by Lilian Stone Johnson; and a continuation of letters written by Calvin Holman in 1869 from Kansas to his family in New Hampshire.

A column entitled "A Look in the Past—Wellington Historical Sketches," has been published in the *Wellington Monitor-Press* in recent months. A few of the subjects were: "Settlement of Wellington," June 6, 1956; "Wellington's First Business Firms," June 8; "Flouring Mill Was Wellington's First Industry in 1877," June 25; and "Many New Settlers Arrive in 1876," June 27.

A biographical sketch of Mrs. Ella Hodges appeared in the *Western Star*, Coldwater, June 8, 1956. Her father, Alfred North, brought his family from Indiana to Kansas in 1884 when Ella was 11 years of age. Their first Kansas home was in Attica.

On June 14, 1956, the *St. Francis Herald* began publishing a historical series called "Early-Day Events in Shaping an Empire," by Simon E. Matson. The first installment dealt with the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak and transportation to that area.

Some of the old buildings in McCune, the old Monmouth mill, and the McCune band of 1886 were the subjects of historical articles in the June 15, 1956, number of the McCune *Herald*. This issue was largely devoted to McCune's history.

The El Dorado *Times* published a 24-page "get-acquainted" edition June 19, 1956. Included were brief histories of El Dorado clubs, schools, churches, and other organizations.

"Lure of Land Ownership Brought Throngs of Easterners Out to Marshall [County] to Have Homes," an article on the settlement of Kansas, and particularly Marshall county, appeared in the Marysville *Advocate*, June 21, 1956. Also in recent issues were two articles by Gordon S. Hohn: "Broadway Hotel Location [in Marysville] Was Once Occupied by Matthias Bendel's Hall," June 28; and "Fourth of July Years Ago Was Time for Old Settlers' Picnics," July 5.

John Watson reviewed the history of the Kansas town with two names, Derby-El Paso, in the Wichita *Beacon*, June 24, 1956. Officially named El Paso when incorporated in 1903, the Sedgwick county community is more commonly known as Derby.

A history of the Colby Christian church was published in the Colby *Free Press-Tribune*, June 28, 1956. The church was organized in June, 1886, by a group of 11 persons.

"Early Day Fort Leavenworth, Missouri," by Clinton W. Kanaga, Sr., was the feature article in the July, 1956, issue of *The Trail Guide*, Kansas City, Mo., magazine of the Kansas City Posse of The Westerners. This military post was established in May, 1827, by Col. Henry Leavenworth, and in November was named Cantonment Leavenworth.

"Abilene Once Was Wildest Cowtown in U. S.," by Bill Burke, was published in the Salina *Journal*, July 1, 1956. Burke says that in 1870 and 1871 Abilene attained this distinction, and was the first of several famous Kansas cowtowns.

Heinie Schmidt's column, "It's Worth Repeating," continues to appear regularly in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City. Titles of a few recent columns were: "'Bad Man on the Pawnee' Was Horse Thief Smith," July 5, 1956; "Fearless Business Man [Frederick C. Zimmermann] Laughs at Valentine From Bat [Masterson]," July 19; "24 Miles of History To Be Seen on the Santa Fe Trail," August 2; "Rip-Roarin' Western Cattle Town Was Trail City," August 9; "Dodge Man [I. P. Olive] First Trail City Victim of Six Gun Battle,"

August 16; and "Early Day Cattlemen Promoted the National Trail," August 23.

Claffin's 55th anniversary was observed by the *Claffin Clarion*, July 12, 1956, with the publication of a 40-page anniversary edition. Settlement of the town began about 1887 but it was not incorporated until 1901.

Hoxie's 70th anniversary was observed with the publication of a town history in the *Hoxie Sentinel*, July 19, 1956. Compiled by City Clerk Ervin Morgan, the history gives 1886 as the date of the founding and organization of Hoxie.

"Early Day History of Quinter," by Henry Sprenger, began appearing serially in the *Gove County Advocate*, Quinter, July 19, 1956.

Indian "deviltry" in 1878 is described in a letter written by O. E. Heath, Ellis, to W. L. Saunders, Meriden, October 6, 1878, and published in the *Emporia Times*, July 26, 1956, with an introduction by Marie Dunn.

"Leonardville . . . 75 Years Ago," by Delia Marcellus, began appearing serially in the *Monitor-Regent*, Leonardville, August 2, 1956. Although there were settlers in the area in the 1860's, the town was not started until 1881 when a railroad station called Leonard was built on the site.

C. P. Townsley printed the first issue of the *Inland Tribune* at Great Bend, August 12, 1876, according to a history of the town's early newspapers in the *Great Bend Tribune*, August 6, 1956. However, the first newspaper to serve the community was the *Arkansas Valley* which made its appearance in 1872. A review of Great Bend's newspaper history for the period between the two World Wars was published by the *Tribune*, August 9.

Lead article in the August, 1956, issue of *American Heritage*, New York, was "The Needless Conflict," by Allan Nevins. The author presents the theory that "Had the United States Possessed three farseeing, imaginative, and resolute presidents instead of Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan, the [Civil] war might have been postponed until time and economic forces killed its roots." Also in the August issue was an article by Wayne Gard entitled "How They Killed the Buffalo," a review of how the enormous herds were almost depleted "in a little more than a decade."

Kansas Historical Notes

Russell N. Smith was elected president of the Stevens County Historical Society at a meeting in Hugoton early this summer. Other officers chosen were: Edith Thomson, vice-president; Margaret Morgan, secretary-treasurer; and Olive Kramer, advisory member.

The Wyandotte County Historical Society's museum at Memorial Hall in Kansas City was opened to the public June 10, 1956. Mrs. Clyde E. Glandon is president of the society, and Harry Trowbridge is museum curator. Another society project is to beautify Huron Indian Cemetery of Kansas City.

Officers who will plan the 1957 Medicine Lodge Indian peace treaty pageant were elected at a meeting of the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty Association July 9, 1956. They include: W. Luke Chapin, president; Jack Trice, Jr., first vice-president; Arthur L. Slamal, second vice-president; Harvey H. Hayness, third vice-president; John W. MacGregor, secretary; Ralph C. Hall, treasurer; Mrs. Keith S. Simpson, pageant chairman; and C. R. Gordon, L. F. Gilmore, H. Lynn Randels, and Kenneth Kaufman, executive committee. The association also voted into the bylaws, as an additional purpose of the organization, the construction and maintenance of a Barber county historical museum.

Formation of an Arkansas City-Cherokee Strip Museum Association was started July 18, 1956, with a meeting of the museum committee of the Arkansas City Chamber of Commerce. The committee voted to ask clubs, lodges, churches and other organizations in the area each to appoint a member to the proposed association.

Shawnee observed its 100th anniversary with a week-long celebration which began August 4, 1956. The program included the appearance of "pony express" riders, a mock bank robbery and chase, a mock hanging, a re-enactment of Quantrill's raid on the town, and a parade.

Haven's fifth annual fair and its 70th anniversary celebration were held August 9, 10, 1956. Elected pioneer king and queen were William Mueller and Mrs. Edith Astle.

The name of the Saline County Historical Museum at Salina has been changed to Smoky Hill Historical Society. In its new quarters the museum is averaging more than 2,000 visitors a month. The official opening ceremony for the museum in its new location was held October 28, 1956.

In observance of its 100th anniversary the First Congregational church of Manhattan recently published a 70-page pamphlet by Charles M. Correll entitled *The Manhattan Congregational Church, 1856-1956*. The church was organized on January 6, 1856, in the cabin home of Dr. and Mrs. Amory Hunting.

A 20-page pamphlet entitled *A History of Trade Unions in Kansas*, by Marc Karson, was published by the Kansas State Federation of Labor in March, 1956.

First Hand Historical Episodes of Early Coffey County is the title of a recently published collection of pioneer stories, written by Coffey county pioneers, including George Throckmorton, Judge B. L. Kingsbury, H. A. Fry, and Jane Hunt, which have been published at various times in *The Daily Republican*, Burlington.

During recent years the Bureau of Business Research, University of Kansas, has been preparing reports on Kansas economy. The first volume in a series for southcentral Kansas was published early this year. The title of this 287-page, paper-bound volume is *An Economic History, 1500-1900*, and its author is Richard Sheridan.

Rinehart & Company, Inc., has just published a new edition of Francis Parkman's *The Discovery of the Great West: La Salle*, edited by William R. Taylor.

A 128-page mimeographed book entitled "A History of Paola, Kansas," compiled by Mrs. Berenice Boyd Wallace, recently made its appearance. Paola was incorporated in 1855 by an act of the legislature.

The experiences of many of our grandparents have been graphically set down by Roscoe Fleming in his unusual "poem that is not a poem," entitled *Kansas: "Ad Astra Per Aspera."* The work which originally appeared in the Denver (Colo.) *Post*, is now available in a 23-page booklet for one dollar. It may be obtained from the author, 43 S. Clarkson Street, Denver 9, Colo. Illustrations are by Albert Earl Robinson.

Biographical sketches of 52 pioneer families are included in the 137 pages of *The Prairie Pioneers of Western Kansas and Eastern Colorado*, by John C. and Winona C. Jones, published in 1956 by the Johnson Publishing Co., Boulder, Colo.

Mrs. Lettie Little Pabst's reminiscences of her childhood in Kansas during the "gay nineties," have been published by Vantage Press, New York, in a 153-page volume entitled *Kansas Heritage*.

Errata and Addenda, Volume XXII

Page 2, line 15, Harry S. Hall should read Harvey S. Hall.

Page 59, last line, Horace J. Wilkie should read Horace T. Wilkie.

Page 63, line ten, Mrs. J. L. Grubauch should read Mrs. J. L. Grubaugh.

Page 109, four lines from bottom of page, Nacgdoches, Tex., should read Nacogdoches, Tex.

Page 182, line five, John S. Nesbitt should read John H. Nesbitt.

Page 227, Footnote 9, *University Studies*, v. 38, should read *University Studies*, v. 37.

Page 228, Footnote 13, in which "the dreams of glory" should read in which appear "the dreams of glory."

Page 295, line 19, November 17 should read November 7; line 20, November 24 should read November 25.

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