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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

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Volume XXIII
1957

(Kansas Historical Collections)

VOL. XL

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Topeka, Kansas

THE
HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

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Contents of Volume XXIII

Number 1—Spring, 1957

	PAGE
THE INVENTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIAL TELEPHONE: The Contribution of Three Lindsborg Inventors	Emory Lindquist, 1
With portraits of John Erickson, Charles J. Erickson and Frank A. Lundquist, facing p. 8, and photographs of early dial telephones, between pp. 8, 9.	
MANHATTAN'S OLDEST HOUSE WAS BUILT BY DAVID A. BUTTERFIELD, C. W. McCampbell,	9
With photographs of Poyntz avenue, Manhattan, in 1860, between pp. 8, 9, and the David A. Butterfield residence, Manhattan, facing p. 9.	
THEATRE IN KANSAS, 1858-1868: Background for the Coming of the Lord Dramatic Company to Kansas, 1869 (Part One, Leavenworth),	James C. Malin, 10
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; Address of the President, PECK'S BAD BOYS, the Story of the 35th Infantry Division in World War I, by Wilford Riegle; Election of Officers; List of Directors of the Society,	54
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY,	Compiled by Alberta Pantle, Librarian, 85
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	104
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	105
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	108

Number 2—Summer, 1957

	PAGE
A SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND STRUCTURES IN KANSAS	118
With photographs of Allen county jail, Iola; Gen. Frederick Funston home, near Iola; officers' quarters, old Fort Scott; "Fort Blair" blockhouse, Fort Scott; birthplace of Amelia Earhart, Atchison; birthplace of Arthur Capper, Garnett; Pawnee Rock, Barton county; boyhood home of Dwight Eisenhower, Abilene; Irvin Hall, Highland Junior College, Highland; Constitution Hall and Lane University, Leocompton; Iowa, Sac and Fox Presbyterian Mission, near Highland; Old Castle Hall, Baldwin; "Cathedral of the Plains," Victoria; Fort Harker guardhouse, Kanopolis; boyhood home of Walter Chrysler, Ellis; Fort Hays blockhouse, Hays; Santa Fe trail ruts, near Dodge City; "Tauy" Jones house and Silkville colony, Franklin county; Shawnee Methodist Mission, Fairway; covered bridge, Leavenworth county; Mark W. Delahay and Fred Harvey homes, Planters' House, Leavenworth; Point of Rocks, Morton county; "Last Chance" Store and Kaw Methodist Mission, Council Grove; Pottawatomie Baptist Mission building, near Topeka; Fort Larned, Pawnee county; cabin of Dr. Brewster Higley, Smith county; El Cuartelejo monument, Scott county; Brookville Hotel, Saline county; "Cowtown Wichita," Sedgewick county; birthplace of Damon Runyon, Manhattan; Fort Wallace cemetery marker, Wallace county; First territorial capital, Fort Riley; Pond creek stage station, Wallace county; cave in Battle canyon, Scott county; Hollenberg ranch Pony Express station, Washington county; Moses Grinter house, Wyandotte county, and Beecher Bible and Rifle Church, Wabaunsee, between pp. 144, 145.	
A FREE-STATER'S "LETTERS TO THE EDITOR": Samuel N. Wood's Letters to Eastern Newspapers, 1854	Edited by Robert W. Richmond, 181
THEATRE IN KANSAS, 1858-1868: Background for the Coming of the Lord Dramatic Company to Kansas, 1869 (Part Two, Atchison, Lawrence and Topeka)—Concluded	James C. Malin, 191
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	204
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	211
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	221

Number 3—Autumn, 1957

	PAGE
THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION: An Analysis of Its Membership	Robert W. Johannsen, 225
With picture of Gen. John Calhoun, <i>facing</i> p. 240, and photograph of portion of first page of the Lecompton constitution, <i>facing</i> p. 241.	
THE ORIGINAL LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION RETURNS TO KANSAS AFTER 100 YEARS	244
THOMAS BENTON MURDOCK AND WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE,	
Rolla A. Clymer, 248	
With portraits of Thomas Benton Murdock and William Allen White, <i>facing</i> p. 256.	
THE STORY OF FORT LARNED	William E. Unrau, 257
With a sketch of Fort Larned (1867) and a photograph (1886), <i>facing</i> p. 272, and a facsimile of first page of <i>The Plains</i> , an 1865 Fort Larned newspaper, <i>facing</i> p. 273.	
NOTES ON TWO KANSAS IMPEACHMENTS: Josiah Hayes, 1874, and Theo- dosius Botkin, 1891	Cortez A. M. Ewing, 281
TRAVELING THEATRE IN KANSAS: The James A. Lord Chicago Dramatic Company, 1869-1871. (In two installments, Part One),	
James C. Malin, 298	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	324
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	326
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	333

Number 4—Winter, 1957

	PAGE
AN ARMY HOSPITAL: From Dragoons to Rough Riders—	
Fort Riley, 1853-1903	George E. Omer, Jr., 337
With photographs of the hospitals of Fort Riley in 1854, 1865 and 1889; main post dispensary, 1889; hospital ambulance, 1900; the medical detachments of 1870 and 1900, and portraits of Medical Officers Joseph K. Barnes, James Simons, William A. Hammond and Bernard J. D. Irwin, <i>between</i> pp. 352, 353.	
A KANSAS REVIVAL OF 1872	William E. Berger, 368
THE KIOWA AND COMANCHE CAMPAIGN OF 1860 AS RECORDED IN THE PERSONAL DIARY OF LT. J. E. B. STUART,	
Edited by W. Stitt Robinson, 382	
TRAVELING THEATRE IN KANSAS: The James A. Lord Chicago Dramatic Company, 1869-1871—Concluded	James C. Malin, 401
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	439
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	441
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	445
ERRATA AND ADDENDA, VOLUME XXIII	448
INDEX TO VOLUME XXIII	449

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE INVENTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIAL TELEPHONE: The Contribution of Three Lindsborg Inventors.	Emory Lindquist, 1
With portraits of John Erickson, Charles J. Erickson and Frank A. Lundquist, <i>facing</i> p. 8, and photographs of early dial telephones, <i>between</i> pp. 8, 9.	
MANHATTAN'S OLDEST HOUSE WAS BUILT BY DAVID A. BUTTERFIELD,	
	C. W. McCampbell, 9
With photographs of Poyntz avenue, Manhattan, in 1860, <i>between</i> pp. 8, 9, and the David A. Butterfield residence, Manhattan, <i>facing</i> p. 9.	
THEATRE IN KANSAS, 1858-1868: Background for the Coming of the Lord Dramatic Company to Kansas, 1869 (Part One, Leavenworth)	
	James C. Malin, 10
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; Address of the President, PECK'S BAD BOYS, the Story of the 35th Infantry Division in World War I, by Wilford Riegler; Election of Officers; List of Directors of the Society,	54
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.	Compiled by Alberta Pantle, Librarian, 85
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.	104
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.	105
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.	108

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THE COVER

An Alexander Gardner photograph of 1867 which he titled: "U. S. Express Overland Stage Starting for Denver From Hays City, Kansas."

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXIII

Spring, 1957

Number 1

The Invention and Development of the Dial Telephone: The Contribution of Three Lindsborg Inventors

EMORY LINDQUIST

THE Smoky valley in central Kansas, peopled by Swedish immigrants in the 1860's, has made a distinctive contribution to the best tradition of fine music and art. The Lindsborg "Messiah" chorus and the great artistry of the late Birger Sandzén have greatly enriched the cultural life of the Plains area. This valley also furnished the setting for the careers of three people of Swedish ancestry, whose creative ability was turned into inventions. They were two brothers, John and Charles J. Erickson, and Frank A. Lundquist. These men shared their talent primarily in making substantial contributions to the invention and development of the dial telephone.¹

The story had its beginning on the Erickson homestead, three miles northeast of Lindsborg, where Anders Erickson and his wife, Anna Maria, settled in 1869. They came in April of that year from Värmland, Sweden, to share in founding the Lindsborg community.² Anders, the father, had unusual talent as a mechanic; he was recognized in the entire area for his skill as a blacksmith, and as a fine craftsman, working in metal and wood. The sons watched their father perform difficult tasks with simple equipment. With the passing of the years, a shop measuring 14 by 9 feet was provided for

DR. EMORY KEMPTON LINDQUIST, a former president of Bethany College, Lindsborg, is dean of the faculties at the University of Wichita. He is author of *Smoky Valley People* (1953).

1. John Erickson was born in Långbanshyttan, Sweden, January 25, 1866. He died on October 18, 1943. Charles J. Erickson was born at Lindsborg on July 23, 1870. He died on September 28, 1954. Frank A. Lundquist was born in Galva, Ill., June 23, 1868. He died on April 6, 1954. Biographical information on the Ericksons is found in *Svenska Nyheter*, Chicago, July 19, 1904.

2. The Anders Ericksons came prior to the 250 Swedes, who immigrated from Värmland in May, 1869, under the leadership of Rev. Olof Olsson. About one-half of the group came to the future Lindsborg community.—Emory Kempton Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People. A History of Lindsborg, Kansas* (Lindsborg, 1953), pp. 5-16.

the brothers, adjoining that of their father. Here they dreamed, planned, and worked.

In an account written by Charles Erickson, the younger of the two brothers, is found a description of their early activities and their relationships with Frank A. Lundquist, a friend and associate.³ The brothers knew no limits to their plans for inventions. Charles pointed out that their first project was to solve the perpetual motion problem! They worked on it for three years, but were forced like countless others to abandon it. They next turned toward the invention of a "horseless buggy" to be driven by gas explosion. The engine functioned, but it did not generate adequate power. The creative spirit continued to challenge the youthful inventors as described by Charles:

John and I stuck to the old game and were busier than ever. Our workshop on the farm was a busy place day and night during the Winter months and whenever opportunity presented itself in the Summer, and the dusky kerosene lamp gleamed until midnight almost every night. At the time we were struck by the automatic brain storm. We had many irons in the fire, a printing telegraph, a new principle for a phonograph to store the sound without mechanical engraving and an automatic piano player. We had a connection in Denver that financed the work as far as paying for the material and patents, if we should get that far. The tools and machinery we made ourselves, such as lathes, gear cutting machines, and drill presses.⁴

The careers of the Ericksons and Lundquist were influenced greatly by the residence which the latter established in Chicago, where he worked for the Chicago Telephone Company for six months. Lundquist was interested in an invention relative to the telephone. The development of his ideas based upon a visit to a hotel in Salina, where he observed the operation of the telephone exchange, has been described by him as follows: "The idea occurred to me then that some day those connections would be made automatically. I loitered around the hotel lobby and made a regular pest of myself examining that switchboard and revolving that thought in my mind. Then I went back home and began to figure and tinker away with the idea."⁵ Lundquist had a little shop in the loft of an old red barn at his home in Lindsborg, where he tried to translate his

3. Letter, Charles J. Erickson to Carl L. Olson, April 2, 1932. Lundquist was the son of Mr. and Mrs. N. P. Lundquist, who came to the Lindsborg community from Illinois in 1870.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Lindsborg News-Record*, July 6, 1923.

ideas into reality. He subscribed to one scientific magazine, whose contents he studied carefully.⁶

Lundquist, according to Charles Erickson's account, continued to emphasize his interest in an automatic telephone and told the brothers that someone in Chicago was trying to develop this system. The basic patent on the telephone was obtained by Alexander Graham Bell in 1876. Three years later, in 1879, an automatic switching system was devised by David Connolly, T. A. Connolly, and J. T. McTighe, although it was not practical. The reference by Lundquist was undoubtedly to the device created by Almon B. Strowger in 1889, which developed into a successful automatic switching system. On November 3, 1892, the first exchange, which accommodated about 75 subscribers, was opened at La Porte, Ind.⁷

The response of the Erickson brothers to the possibility of developing an automatic telephone is recorded by Charles as follows:

After John and I thought the problem over for a few minutes we saw that it could be done on somewhat the same principle as the printing telegraph we had underway. After we had explained to Frank how we saw it possible, he was up in the air with enthusiasm and said that if we could produce such a system it would be a gold mine and worth more than all the inventions we were working on. He became very insistent that we tackle the problem and lay all our work aside for the time being. . . . This happened about the 1st of November, 1892, and by the New Year we had a model completed with a capacity of one hundred contacts or lines. We also had a calling device finished to operate the switch with.⁸

Financial support for the new project was secured by Lundquist from Gust and John Anderson, grain dealers in Lindsborg and Salina. The kerosene lamp burned far into the night in the small shop on the Erickson homestead near Lindsborg as the invention was redesigned and perfected.

The time had come when the trio decided that their automatic telephone should be presented to the world. The place chosen was Chicago. On March 14, 1893, Carl O. Pearson, a friend and neighbor, brought the Ericksons and their precious invention in a

6. *Capper's Weekly*, Topeka, July 28, 1923.

7. These early developments are discussed in R. B. Hill's "The Early Years of the Strowger System," *Bell Laboratories Record*, New York, v. 31 (1953), pp. 95, 96; R. B. Hill, "Early Work on the Dial Telephone Systems," *Bell Laboratories Record*, New York, v. 31 (1953), pp. 22, 23. Strowger was a mortician in Kansas City, Mo., before entering the field of telephonic inventions. He left the Strowger Company for reasons of health in 1896. He died in St. Petersburg, Fla., in May, 1902.

8. Charles J. Erickson to Carl L. Olson, April 2, 1932. When Mr. C. M. Candy, chief patent attorney for Associated Electric Laboratories, Inc., presented the Talbot G. Martin award to Charles J. Erickson at Chicago on December 15, 1938, he exhibited an automatic switch made by the Erickson brothers before they came to Chicago in 1893.—*Telephony Magazine*, Chicago, February 4, 1939, p. 32.

spring wagon to the Lindsborg railroad station for the beginning of the fateful journey to Chicago. Upon arrival in Chicago, an old store front was rented as a workshop and equipped with necessary tools and machinery, including a foot-power lathe. Money was scarce and other employment could not be obtained. This was a time of real hardship for the eager Lindsborg inventors. A group of Chicago Swedes became interested in the proposed automatic telephone, but this was a precarious venture, and adequate financial support was not available.

The pattern changed, however, toward the end of 1893, when two men, A. E. Keith and A. B. Strowger, contacted the Lindsborg inventors and requested a conference with the objective of discussing the automatic telephone. Charles Erickson has described the situation as follows:

Previous to our time in this field, about a year earlier, a company was organized in Chicago for the purpose of developing an automatic telephone system, namely the Strowger Automatic Telephone Exchange Company, and as a last resort we invited this company to look into what we had developed. As for having anything in the shape of an automatic telephone system they were in much worse shape than we were. They realized their own weakness and were as close to throwing up the sponge as we were, so they gladly and quickly accepted our invitation, and the following morning two of the company's engineers appeared on the scene and introduced themselves as Messrs. A. E. Keith and A. B. Strowger. After a couple of hours's discussion and exhibiting they were pretty well spirited up with enthusiasm and admitted that what we had was quite a bit further advanced than their own. The result was that they made us a proposition to join their company. . . . This took place at the close of the year 1893, and so ended our first year of pioneering work in quest for gold on the inventor's rocky road on unexplored ground. Up to this time we had designed three types of switches, two in Chicago and one in Kansas." ⁹

When the Lindsborg inventors joined the Strowger Company, the latter had a small exchange at La Porte, Ind., which required five lines to every telephone. The automatic telephone was advertised at that time as the "girl-less, cuss-less, and wait-less telephone." The Erickson's invention required only two lines. Strenuous efforts were made to improve the system. Charles has pointed out that the first product was a system with one hundred line capacity, but soon this proved inadequate. The capacity was increased substantially from time to time. The inventors worked steadily and imaginatively. In 1895 application was made for a patent, which became No. 638,249, issued to A. E. Keith and the Erickson brothers in

9. Charles J. Erickson to Carl L. Olson, April 2, 1932.

1899. It recognized a type of switch quite similar to the modern step-by-step switch.¹⁰

The most important developments with which the Erickson brothers were associated received the finishing touches in the summer of 1896. The future of the automatic telephone was limited by the number of lines required. Keith and the Ericksons worked steadily on a new system "employing the trunking or transfer principle in order to remove the limitation on the size of an automatic exchange imposed by the necessity of multiplying all of the subscribers lines to each switch."¹¹ The patent for the 1,000-line trunking system by Keith and Ericksons was applied for on June 23, 1897, and Patent No. 672,942 was granted on April 30, 1901. Charles has described the background factors as follows:

John and I had long before this time decided on the one and only principle to follow to success. We realized at the start how impractical and impossible the principle was that we had started on and that all others had followed in their attempt to develop an automatic system. The second principle entertained by John and myself remained quite hazy for a long time. The problem of dispersing the mist was hard and seemed impossible at times, but the hobby for unsolved problems still lived in us and the will that always finds a way drove us on, and as the work went on a spark now and then dislodged some of the doubt and between hope and despair we paved the way to the crowning day of our labor. Three years passed by before we saw the way clear to give the principle a test and on June 6, 1896, we put the finishing touch on the most important model ever built in the field of automatic telephone engineering, and after a few demonstrations, the work was pronounced a success. The doors were now open to a field of great possibilities of which the boundaries have not yet been explored.¹²

Lundquist, who had left the Strowger company in 1896, received Patent No. 776,524 in 1904 for the automatic selection of an idle trunk.¹³

The most dramatic contribution of the Ericksons in telephony is associated with the invention and development of the dial telephone. Application for the patent was made by Keith and the Ericksons on August 20, 1896, and Patent No. 597,062 was granted on January 11, 1898. The dial method was based upon a finger wheel dial instead of the push buttons, which were cumbersome and impractical. The dial method, with the switching and trunk systems, provided full

10. Hill, "The Early Years of the Strowger System," *loc. cit.*, p. 96; Hill, "Early Work on Dial Telephone Systems," *loc. cit.*, p. 28.

11. Hill, "The Early Years of the Strowger System," *loc. cit.*, pp. 99, 100.

12. Charles J. Erickson to Carl L. Olson, April 2, 1932.

13. Hill, "The Early Years of the Strowger System," *loc. cit.*, p. 100.

access to the vast resources of a telephone exchange. R. B. Hill, an authority in telephony, has described this important development as follows: "Dialing a number wound up a spring whose tension, when the finger was withdrawn, caused the dial to return to its normal position. The return rotation was limited to a moderate speed by an escapement mechanism, and, during the return, the required number of circuit interruptions took place to control the movement of the central office apparatus."¹⁴ C. M. Candy, chief patent attorney for Associated Electric Laboratories, Inc., at a testimonial dinner for Charles in Chicago in December, 1939, described the invention: "This dial was circular like the present dial but instead of holes, it had lugs on a finger plate, which were finger 'holds' rather than holes."¹⁵ This invention was a distinctive and unique development; the principle has not been superceded. The inventors from the Smoky valley, who had always placed themselves on the line of discovery, saw a further realization of their hopes and dreams.

The Erickson brothers continued their association with the Strowger Automatic Telephone Exchange Company until 1901, when the Automatic Electric Company was organized at Chicago. They became development engineers and remained with that organization until time of retirement. The handful of men, including A. B. Keith, Almon B. Strowger, Charles J. and John Erickson, and Frank A. Lundquist, the last three from Lindsborg, shared in the development of a great industry. The Automatic Electric Company, Chicago, now employs 6,000 men and women.¹⁶ Strowger-type equipment serves more telephones in the United States and throughout the world than all other automatic systems. The system was introduced abroad for the first time in 1898 by the use of a 200-line switchboard in London. A 400-line system was established in Berlin in 1899. The system was later installed in Canada, Cuba, Australia, Argentina, Hawaii, New Zealand, India, and South Africa, and elsewhere in the Far East and Europe.¹⁷ Leslie H. Warner, a graduate of

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 99. It is important to identify this basic fact. While the principle of the automatic telephone was known prior to this time, the important invention of the dial telephone, with its unique features, resulted from the patent issued to Keith and the Ericksons.

15. *Telephony Magazine*, February 4, 1939, pp. 32, 33. The first dial telephones were installed at Albion, N. Y., in 1896.—"The Story of the Automatic Electric Company" (Chicago, N. D., mimeograph), p. 10.

16. John and Charles J. Erickson were the sixth and seventh employees of the original company and its first two development engineers.—*Telephony Magazine*, February 4, 1939, p. 32.

17. "The Story of the Automatic Electric Company," p. 7.

Wichita High School East and the University of Wichita, is president of the Automatic Electric Company.

The Erickson brothers and Lundquist established an enviable pattern in the field of inventions. John was credited with 115 patents. Charles had a total of 35 patents. The latter was characterized by a philosophical type of mind, exploring theoretically the laws of nature. He was often called upon by company associates to solve complicated problems and met with great success. Both men received the Talbot G. Martin award for distinguished service in telephony. The award was made to John in 1936 and to Charles in 1938. The record of their achievement is impressive. Outstanding contributions were made by them in the invention of the dial telephone, the piano wire switch, the automatic selection of an idle trunk, the pay stations for automatic subscriber lines, the preselection of trunk lines, etc.¹⁸ Lundquist applied for more than 100 patents on the automatic telephone.¹⁹

The pattern of development from the first experiments on the homestead north of Lindsborg until the day of triumph has been described by Charles Erickson as follows:

From that early frosty dawn of March 14, 1893, that brought the hours of parting from the peaceful prairies of Kansas to the momentous day of June 6, 1896, when the finishing touches were put on the most important model ever produced in the automatic telephone field, there were cloudy and stormy days in which [we] pioneered in unexplored grounds of research. But now and again there came a ray of sunlight to inspire new hopes, to encourage [us] to continue to struggle. And the day that served to crown [our] achievement did arrive, the queen of communication, "The Machine Girl," was completed; then to be abused and ridiculed in infancy; now adopted and praised by all nations.²⁰

In May, 1951, dial telephone service was installed in Lindsborg by the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company.²¹ The grandchildren of the Swedish pioneers became once again the beneficiaries of the vision and energy of an earlier generation. Millions of people throughout the world share daily in the convenience of the dial telephone, which owes so much to the dreams and hopes of these young Kansans in the Smoky valley.

While the pattern of life brought fame to the Erickson brothers

18. *Telephony Magazine*, February 4, 1939, pp. 32, 33; *Capper's Weekly*, Topeka, July 28, 1923.

19. *Capper's Weekly*, July 28, 1923.

20. *Lindsborg News-Record*, February 2, 1939.

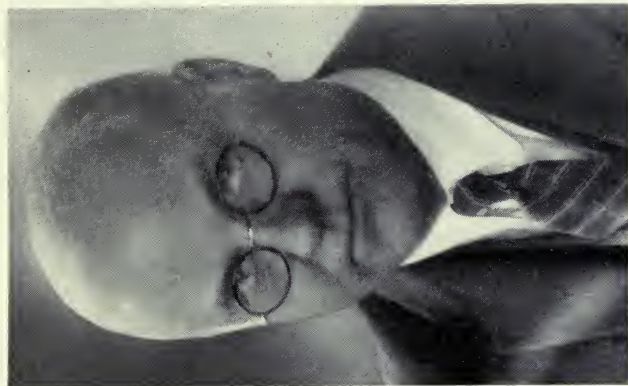
21. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1951.

in distant places, there was for them across the decades a fond remembrance of the early days in Kansas. Charles described his feelings on the occasion of a testimonial dinner in 1939:

A sheltered nook in the Smoky Valley of Central Kansas today preserves the crumbling and forgotten monument to the model that substituted brains and fingers of iron for the human—the workshop that cradled the “Machine Girl.” Forgotten that monument may be, but there linger therein many and sweet memories of happy days of long ago for two who began their work there.²²

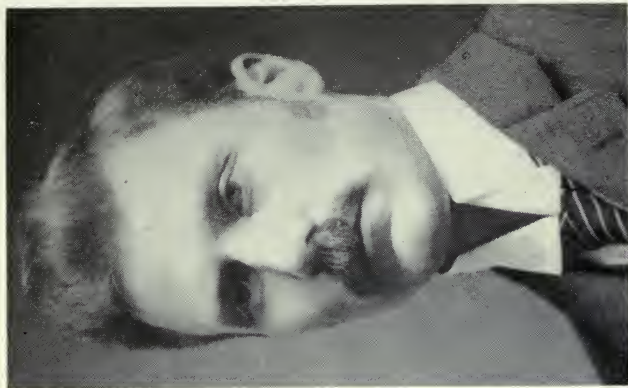
22. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1939. The small frame building in which the Ericksons worked is located on the farm of Carl O. Pearson northeast of Lindsborg.

KANSAS DEVELOPERS OF THE DIAL TELEPHONE



John Erickson
(1866-1943)

Courtesy Automatic Electric Co.



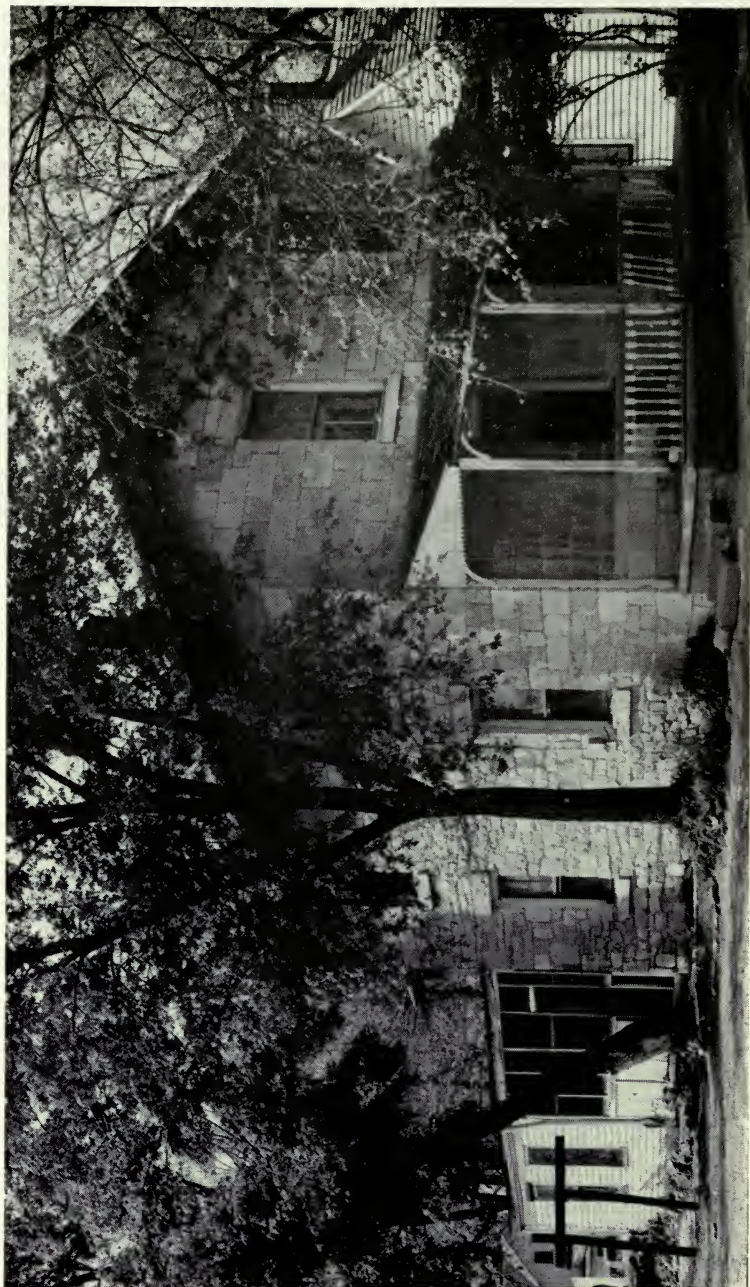
Charles J. Erickson
(1870-1954)

Courtesy Mrs. T. E. Vanlaningham.



Frank A. Lundquist
(1868-1954)

Courtesy Mrs. Alma Kinney.



The oldest residence still standing in Manhattan. The main stone section was built about 1857-1858 by David A. Butterfield who later was to operate the famed Butterfield Overland Dispatch stage lines. *Manhattan Mercury Photo, 1955.*

Manhattan's Oldest House Was Built by David A. Butterfield

C. W. McCAMPBELL

A SEARCH of several years has revealed the fact that the oldest residence in Manhattan is the stone house at 307 Osage St., shown in the accompanying photograph. It is still in good condition and occupied. Two frame rooms have been added since the original structure was built. It is now owned by A. W. Torluemke.

The exact age of the house is not certain. The original owner, David A. Butterfield, bought the site from the Manhattan Town Association on July 18, 1857, for \$50. On July 8, 1858, he mortgaged it to John Mails for \$400, with interest at 20 percent. The mortgage includes this statement: "Lot 150, Ward 2 . . . meaning and intending the lot on which David A. Butterfield now lives." The house therefore was built between July 18, 1857, and July 8, 1858.

Several publications dealing with early Manhattan state that William Goodnow built the first and David A. Butterfield the second stone house in Manhattan. The Goodnow house was torn down some years ago. Earlier frame houses have passed out of existence.

David A. Butterfield was born at Jay, Maine, 1834, and came to Kansas in 1856. He was elected sheriff of Riley county in 1857. The records of the New England Emigrant Aid Company contain references to Butterfield's operation of its mill at Manhattan in 1857 and 1858. By the middle of 1858, however, he may have been in the process of transferring his work and residence to Junction City, for a letter from a correspondent of that city published in the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, on June 26, 1858, reported: "Mr. D. A. Butterfield of Manhattan, has purchased a steam saw mill, has it now in town, and is being put up as rapidly as possible. In connection with the saw mill, he will have a grist, shingle and lath mill."

Butterfield moved to Denver in 1862 and returned to Kansas, at Atchison, in 1864. He organized that year Butterfield's Overland Dispatch, a famous freighting concern which operated between Atchison and Denver. It failed in 1866 and Butterfield moved to Mississippi. Later he located in Hot Springs, Ark., where he established a horse-drawn street car line. He was killed there on March 28, 1875, in a quarrel with an employee.

DR. C. W. McCAMPBELL is a professor of animal husbandry emeritus at Kansas State College, Manhattan.

Theatre in Kansas, 1858-1868: Background For the Coming of the Lord Dramatic Company to Kansas, 1869

JAMES C. MALIN

I. INTRODUCTION: LEAVENWORTH, THE METROPOLIS

THE history of theatre in Kansas begins, for all practical purposes, with the decade 1858-1868. Attempts at dramatic entertainment prior to 1858 were isolated, but that year brought some semblance of orderly development and continuity. Furthermore, that decade possessed an approximation of unity, characterized by the tradition of the resident theatrical company and the "star" system. The condition which marked the coming of the Lord Dramatic Company to Kansas, in the season of 1869-1870, indicated a sharp break away from the earlier general theatrical practices in the country as a whole—one that crystallized in this particular area during the late 1860's. A comparatively detailed historical treatment is required to differentiate the decade 1858-1868 from everything that was to come after, and to explain how the change came about that introduced James A. and Louie Lord, and road shows like them. A number of factors were involved in so complex a transition, both as related to the country as a whole and to the local area, but among the Missouri river elbow cities and the interior towns of Kansas, the advent of railroads was critical.

For practical purposes, also, the history of this decade of theatre in Kansas is virtually the history of Leavenworth theatre, 1858-1867. But it is related in a major fashion to St. Joseph, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. Necessarily the population of Kansas towns afforded something of an index of the ability of each to support theatrical production of any kind, but the theatrical history of each was different. Until the late 1880's Leavenworth was easily the metropolis of Kansas. The only challenge to that generalization would be to consider within the Kansas context the Greater Kansas City metropolitan area, which was mostly on the Missouri side of the line.

In the appended table the population figures are compiled for ten Kansas towns. The first four are important only to the first period

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of theatre, but all are pertinent to the second. By 1880 Atchison, the second city of 1860, appeared to be about to challenge Leavenworth, but leveled off to a condition almost static. The changing relative positions of Lawrence and Topeka between 1860 and 1880 are important to the story. As the state capital, Topeka emerged rapidly from a village into a substantial city with a population structure peculiar to its political character. Lawrence, which had occupied a prominent role during territorial days, declined relatively in status and became very nearly static. Theatrewise, it was rated a poor show town. Fort Scott, the fifth city in 1870, had been too small in 1860 to be listed separately in the federal census. It was too small to support a resident theatre, either with or without the star system, in both periods, although the attempt was made in 1870, spring and fall, immediately after the advent of the first railroad from Kansas City. Even with the rail connections, it was relatively isolated from other large towns in either Kansas or Missouri that could provide receipts to meet high time and money costs incident to travel.

POPULATION OF TEN KANSAS TOWNS, 1860-1890

	1860	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890
Leavenworth	7,429	17,873	15,136	16,546	29,268	19,768
Atchison	2,616	7,054	10,927	15,105	15,599	13,963
Lawrence	1,645	8,320	7,268	8,510	10,625	9,997
Topeka	759	5,790	7,272	15,452	23,499	31,007
Fort Scott	....	4,174	4,572	5,372	7,867	11,946
Emporia	....	2,168	2,194	4,631	7,759	7,551
Junction City	217	2,778[P]	1,782	2,684	3,555	4,502
Salina	....	918	980	3,111	4,009	6,149
Wichita	....	....	2,580	4,911	16,023	23,853
Wyandotte (After 1886 Greater K. C. Kansas)	....	2,940	4,093	3,200	12,086	38,316

The 10th Census of the United States, 1880, left Junction City, blank, indicating that the figure given by the preceding census was not accepted as valid. Possibly the figure should have been 1,778.

II. BUILDINGS USED FOR THEATRICAL PURPOSES

Prior to 1870 Leavenworth's theatrical history had been associated primarily with four different buildings, essentially successive structures. Although not specifying in what building, on November 29, 1856, the *Kansas Weekly Herald* reported that Gabay's Theatricals had been playing that week to crowded houses. The editor went on to point out that Leavenworth needed "a TOWN HALL for Concerts, Theatricals, Public Meetings, &c. Who will take the lead in this matter . . . ?" Although not designated as a theatre, Melodeon Hall served in that capacity in April, 1858, and later. Not until March, 1858, was the Varieties or Union Theatre provided.

BURT'S UNION (MARKET BUILDING) THEATRE

The announcement was made in March, 1858, that H. T. Clark & Company, apparently the owners, "are fitting up the large hall on the corner of Delaware and 3rd streets for a Theatre. It is being fitted up in real city style. . . . The stage and scenery are in perfect order. The floor is elevated, and good seats so arranged that those in the rear can see as well as those in front. About 500 persons can be comfortably seated." On March 23 the theatre opened and continued until April 16, when it was closed for repairs and preparation of new scenery. The newspaper accounts were not explicit about the situation, but some inferences appear to be reasonable. Probably the first opening was a trial run and a calculated risk in which no more money was invested than was absolutely necessary to test out the possibilities.

The experiment had proved sufficiently successful, apparently, to justify a heavier expenditure and some substantial changes in management. George Burt, who had been identified with St. Joseph theatre, had been engaged as stage manager as well as actor, was a scene painter, and was credited with being the architect of the Smith Theatre of St. Joseph. He was now made manager of the operating company, which was a local group. The seats were cushioned, and the aisles matted:

The scenery has been remodelled and renewed generally; but the best feature of the late improvement is the "drop curtain," designed and executed by Mr. Burt. It represents the "National Flag" falling in waving folds of "Red, white and blue" upon a marble pavement. Upon the pavement is the word "Union," in large letters of gilt. The design is worthy of the author, the execution artistic in the highest degree, and the effect is charming.

Thus the Varieties Theatre became the Union Theatre. In this fashion, even the theatre in Leavenworth, a city Democratic in politics and reputedly Proslavery in sentiment, reflected the critical political issue of the day. Also, Burt announced explicitly that there would be no barroom either in or about the theatre. This was in deference to "the ladies [who] can in future feel no repugnance in visiting the Theatre. . . ."

For two and a half months the Union Theatre carried on with apparent success, when fire burned it and both sides of Third street eastward from Delaware street until it had destroyed 35 buildings. The loss was estimated at \$250,000. In describing the fire loss, the best available account of the setting of the Union Theatre emerged. The building was known as Market Hall. The basement was occupied by a billiard and bowling saloon; the first or ground floor by the City Market; the second floor by the city recorder's and the

marshal's offices and the Union Theatre. In view of this description of the basement occupants of the building, one is left to wonder how Burt's assurance about the elimination of the barroom atmosphere was implemented. With the burning of their own building, the Union company fell back, temporarily, upon Melodeon Hall where a benefit performance was given for the relief of fire victims.¹

THE NATIONAL THEATRE

Within a week of the Union Theatre fire, a move was made to build a new theatre to be ready for operation by September 15. In fact, the opening of the National Theatre did not occur until the second week in November. Burt and Hunter promoted the enterprise and designed and painted their own scenery. Emphasis was placed upon the point that this building was constructed for a theatre, with stage, private boxes, dress circle, orchestra, parquette, gallery, and other arrangements. In fact, Leavenworth insisted that it was the only "theatre" west of St. Louis; at the entrance was the box office and on either side were two large doors. The building was 40 by 100 feet, and the stage was 35 feet deep and 28 feet wide. Although not explicit, the description implied that this was a ground floor theatre, not a second or third floor hall above business establishments. The location was Shawnee and Fifth streets.²

Theatrical operating companies kept the theatre in active use with substantial continuity for about two years, or until mid-September, 1860, after which it experienced a checkered career. It became the American Concert Hall in July, 1861, and by early 1863, was operated as the Varieties Theatre. Attempts were made on different occasions to burn it. In August, 1863, a grand jury had returned an indictment against the "Moral Show" (its familiar appellation), as a public nuisance. After being unoccupied for some time the first attempt to burn the building occurred in November, 1863. In August, 1869, the show was finally closed out—"a relic of infamy gone." Partly burned in June, 1870, the comment was significant, that although the fire was extinguished nobody "cared in particular whether the filthy old concern was reduced to ashes or not." At one time, and possibly throughout its history, this building was owned by a Philadelphian.³

1. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, March 13, 20, 27, April 17, 24, May 1, July 17, 24, 1858.

2. *Ibid.*, July 24, October 16, 23, 30, November 13, 1858.

3. Leavenworth (Daily) *Conservative*, July 7, 10, September 18, December 28, 1861; March 23, June 14, November 19, December 9, 1862; July 25, August 9, 20, November 13, 1863; *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, July 26, August 9, 13, 1863; *Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, August 3, 1869; June 15, 1870.

THE UNION (STOCKTON HALL) THEATRE

Stockton Hall at the southwest corner of Delaware and Fourth streets was built late in 1858 and advertised as available after November 22 "for Balls, Parties, Concerts, Lectures, &c., &c."; a "NEW AND SPACIOUS HALL, THE LARGEST AND FINEST IN THE WESTERN COUNTRY. . . ." In the winter of 1861-1862, when amusement for the military personnel became important to Leavenworth, theatrical activity revived. The Melodeon Concert Hall was refitted for operation, but more important was the conversion of Stockton's Hall into a theatre. Under the circumstances, the *Daily Times*, January 24, 1862, was convinced "a well managed theatre will pay." On March 20 George Burt and his wife Agnes opened it as the Union Theatre. Under changing management, operation was continuous under that name until the building burned January 25, 1864. The Union Theatre was a second floor affair, at the time of the fire the ground floor was occupied by a drug store, a saloon, and a wholesale liquor store, while the basement accommodated a pork-packing establishment. At the time of the fire the property was owned by a Cincinnati man.⁴

THE NEW UNION THEATRE

Soon after the burning of the Union Theatre (Old Stockton Hall) a new building was undertaken, to be opened in September, 1864. It was located upon the old site at Delaware and Fourth streets, 48 feet on Delaware and 90 feet on Fourth street, two stories, the theatre occupying the second floor. The ground floor was occupied by two of the same tenants, the drug store and the wholesale liquor business, who had used the former building, and a new saloon. At the time of the opening of the new theatre the description of this saloon made it appear as attractive as possible: "A perfect little bower of beauty—mirrors and marble, crystal and coral, decanters and demijohns, is the New Theatre Saloon on Fourth Street." The main entrance to the theatre itself, on the second floor, was also from Fourth street, while the gallery entrance was from Delaware street. The stage of the theatre was 30 by 40 feet, with green room and dressing rooms under the stage, and an entrance from Fourth street. The theatre capacity was 700. When reporting progress in April, the *Daily Times*, April 21, consoled itself that when completed the metropolis of Kansas would again enjoy legitimate drama. The opening occurred September 10, 1864, with

4. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, November 22, 1858, February 5, April 23, 1859, January 24, March 20, 1862, January 26, 1864.

Sheridan Knowles' play "The Hunchback" presented by the resident company.

Only five years later the *Times and Conservative* lamented that the old building was misnamed an Opera House—its acoustics were bad, its condition filthy, and it was dangerous because the old exit from the gallery had been removed. In November of the same year, when the tenor Brignoli had offered an operatic concert, the editorial comment was even more blunt: "We received many complaints and would not speak of it but that there is always something wrong with it [the Opera House]. If the proprietors cannot keep it in good order they should not rent it. The community are getting tired of going into a hog pen unless it is warmed."⁵ The conclusion to be drawn from these candid indictments was unmistakable—a new theatre was necessary. Not until 1880, however, was the new Opera House a reality—on Shawnee between Fifth and Sixth streets, with a capacity of 900. Thus in December, 1869, when James A. and Louie Lord first visited Leavenworth and revived theatrical activity, in spite of the disparagement about its acoustics, filth, and danger, they played in the old (five years old) Opera House.

Leavenworth had other public halls which were used for entertainment, special events, and meeting places for organizations. The most pretentious of these was Laing's Hall, over business establishments, located on the northwest corner of Delaware and Fourth streets. It was described as being designed to accommodate 1,000 persons in comfortable arm chairs, and was dedicated April 12, 1864, by the Leavenworth Musical Association. Apparently it was not equipped for theatrical performances until sometime during the 1870's.⁶

III. THEATRE MANAGEMENT

RESIDENT COMPANIES

The term "theatre" was used, during the 1850's and 1860's, two ways. It was applied interchangeably to either the building or to the company of actors who performed there, often leaving to the reader the task of discriminating from the context in each particular case which was meant. The exact character of the chain of business relations involved between the owner of the building and the actor on the stage is seldom available to the historian, and cannot be

5. *Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, August 1, November 11, 1869.

6. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, December 10, 1863; May 7, June 22, 1864; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, April 10, 23, June 23, 1864.

dealt with in the present essay except in the most general terms. The preceding section has described something of the buildings used for theatrical purposes in Leavenworth. The present section deals in general terms with the management of theatrical production, but even this simplified approach is sufficiently complicated to confuse anyone.

When transportation was slow, unreliable, and expensive (Missouri river navigation was closed by ice about three months of every year) theatrical operations had to be geared to the realities of the situation. Whether in the Missouri river cities, or further east, the resident theatre (theatrical troupe or company) was one possible answer. When Gabay's Dramatic Troupe visited Leavenworth early in November, 1856, the *Herald* comment reflected this situation: "We learn Mr. Gabay proposes at some future time making permanent arrangements for a theatre in this place. We need a Town Hall for Concerts, Theatricals, Public Meetings, &c." Such a "permanent . . . theatre" would require continuity of proprietorship and management as well as a company of actors who would prepare a long list of plays permitting a change of bill each night without too frequent repetitions. To avoid monotony several leading actors would be required and further diversification could be achieved by bringing in stars from time to time on short engagements who might feature plays not on the home list, the resident company playing the other parts, providing support for such stars. The resident theatre might make outside engagements, leaving the home theatre building vacant from time to time or permitting its use on such occasions by other forms of entertainment. The St. Joseph Theatre, the Union Theatre at Leavenworth, and as late as 1870 the Olympic Theatre at Fort Scott undertook to function upon such a basis.

The use of the term stock company as applied to the Kansas theatre of this period has been purposely avoided. Although it was the technical term used in the profession for certain types of theatre, sometimes being substantially the equivalent of the Leavenworth situation, yet both the meaning of the term and the status of the Leavenworth Theatre were quite variable and the application to the Kansas theatre might serve only to confuse further the history that is being presented. The term resident theatre has among other things the virtue of being descriptive of the nature and objective of the institution as Leavenworth and Atchison saw it. Also, the term resident theatre has the further merit of contrasting sharply with the term traveling theatre, a difference which is the focus of this study.

In other words, this is not a treatment of the changing internal structure of the acting profession in its own right, but a presentation of the relations of theatre as an institution to the changes taking place in the structure of society under the influences of technology, particularly the displacement of water communications by mechanically-powered land communications, together with a recognition of all that this meant to the individual and to the community in relation to entertainment.

The success of the resident theatre system depended upon more than a population large enough to meet theoretical support requirements. In some respects continuity in management and soundness in long range planning were more important than the continuity of acting personnel. Yet a measure of stability for the membership was desirable to attract good actors who might also be good citizens. Actors and the public might soon tire of each other. Mutual respect between the actors and the public both on professional and personal bases was peculiarly necessary in small cities. For those actors who did have families, the resident theatre could be made attractive. Not only did theatre face these problems, the schools and churches had many of the same difficulties. To meet the problem of the minister and his congregation tiring of each other, the Methodist Episcopal Church made annual appointments, and usually limited reappointments. Theatre had no overhead organization to administer such an approach. In a sense, it was near the opposite extreme in its lack of any organized institutions.

For the decade of Leavenworth theatrical history, 1858-1867, under review, the principal proprietorships of the acting companies centered successively around four men; a theatrical association for which George Burt was manager, April, 1858, irregularly to 1860 (?), 1862; A. S. Addis, a local photographer, March, 1862, to January, 1864; W. H. Coolidge, druggist, April, 1864, to May, 1866; and George D. Chaplin, actor, August, 1866, to November, 1867. Addis and Coolidge were local business men, not actors; Burt and Chaplin were actors as well as operators and depended upon financial support from others not named. For two years, 1867 to 1869, Leavenworth had no theatre. In the sense of permanent resident theatre, a statement of conclusions would seem almost superfluous. Yet a more intimate view of the workings of Leavenworth theatre are revealing and rewarding.

The operating association for the Leavenworth Varieties Theatre of 1858 secured the services of George Burt and his "talented and charming wife" Agnes. His specialty was "low comedy," and in

addition he was a scene painter. Mrs. Burt played the leading feminine roles of lighter nature usually, and she sang and danced. Burt's major responsibility at the start, however, was that of stage manager. After the trial run of March and April, 1858, and the reorganization, Burt became the manager of the theatre, under the new name Union Theatre. In his announcement to the public he insisted that "The 'Varieties' [Union Theatre] is emphatically a local institution—the first regular Theatre in Kansas—(owned by an association of well-known men, who have used every exertion for its advancement) and as such will be supported and protected by our citizens." The *Herald*, whose editor, L. J. Eastin, was a theatre patron, took similar ground—"the 'Theatre' is now a fixed institution of Leavenworth."⁷

Scott's Theatre, playing at Melodeon Hall in April and May, 1858, was operated by a man-and-wife team, Mr. and Mrs. D. L. Scott. Late in May, J. C. Thorne was brought to the theatre, and after mid-June C. R. Thorne was manager of the Union Theatre. The C. R. Thorne family, father, mother, and two sons "chips off the old block" were well known in the west. The fire of mid-July closed their career at this Union Theatre.⁸

The project for a new theatre, which became the National, was promoted by Burt and Hunter. When the National Theatre opened September 10, 1858, Mr. and Mrs. Burt were still favorites, but another man-and-wife team, well known to the river towns, Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Walters, were hired to sustain the heavy characters. The National's management changed rapidly; Burt and Coutra, April, 1859; Conrad and Haun, June, 1859; Langrishe and Allen, November, 1859; Thorne and Burt, December, 1859; and Burt again in April, 1860. Its management during its last months is not clear.

The *Daily Times* gave theatre its editorial support and when the outlook appeared discouraging, September 8, 1859, wrote of the role of theatre as follows:

The question of whether we are to have some standard place of amusement is being freely canvassed. The old National looks "like a banquet hall deserted." As the evenings grow longer, and the time gradually approaches for overcoats and fires, our "homeless" and restless citizens are growing exceedingly anxious and restive. We have a host of unmarried folk in Leavenworth who would patronize most anything in the theatrical line, and we cannot see why a theatre well conducted would not be well supported.

During the winter of 1861-1862, with military personnel to enter-

7. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, March 13, 20, 27, April 3, 10, 17, 24, May 1, 15, 1858.

8. *Ibid.*, April 24, May 22, June 5, 12, 19, July 10, 17, 1858.

tain, George Burt and George Gosling had remodeled Stockton Hall as a theatre, but Addis bought into the Union (Stockton Hall) Theatre in March, 1862. He was listed as manager, but the staging of shows fell to Burt at first and then to John Templeton who quarreled with Burt and dismissed him in July, 1862. Templeton's control under the Addis regime lasted until July, 1863, when he and a group of the company resigned, in protest of their treatment, and founded a traveling company under Templeton's management. George D. Chaplin became manager of the Union Theatre under Addis in July, 1863, continuing until January, 1864, when the company broke up in a quarrel with Addis over salaries. This theatre building burned and Addis' theatrical career as promoter ended.

The new "Leavenworth Theatre" in the rebuilt Stockton Hall opened in September, 1864, under Coolidge as manager as well as proprietor, with Henry Linden as acting and stage manager. With some modifications in the proprietorship, this management continued until May, 1866. The Chaplin Opera House (Stockton building) opened in August, 1866, and operated under his control during the season ending in June, 1867; and in reality his management continued from September to November, 1867, when the company broke up in a scandal. For this misfortune the blame did not rest directly upon Chaplin, but lacking adequate financial resources apparently he had found it necessary to make an arrangement that later brought disaster to his enterprise. In the briefest terms, a Leavenworth business man invested in an actress, Susan Denin, making her manageress, with Chaplin as stage manager. The company opened September 7, 1867, running until late October when an engagement in Kansas City took them out of town for several days, reopening in the home theatre November 5. Two days later, without notice, the company went to St. Joseph where they played between two and three weeks, again disappearing without notice—the company had collapsed when the sponsor decided not to continue paying deficits. Possibly the sponsor and Susan had quarreled. In a lawsuit which followed, the main facts became public property.⁹

During the winter seasons of 1867-1868 and 1868-1869 Leavenworth had no theatre, although the "Varieties" flourished until closed August, 1869. This fulfilled the lament and prophecy of the *Conservative*, November 24, 1867:

9. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, September 6, 10, 1864, June 27, September 9, 10, 1865, August 19, 1866, August 7, September 7, October 23, 1867; *Daily Conservative*, November 2, 3, 5, 8, 12, 27, 28, 1867.

Our people have very generally concluded that they are to have no theatre to entertain them this winter. Many of them even regret not having encouraged Manager Chaplin, while he was here, and as they are at a loss to know how to pass the long evenings, would probably be willing to go now and see Julia Dean, Mrs. Gladstone, or some of the other artists of *ordinary* ability, who have appeared in our city to \$50 audiences during the past year. On the whole, we are inclined to think the pleasure seekers of Leavenworth don't want a theatre. They will probably be gratified, for a time at least.

Indeed the winter of 1869-1870 was well along before a break came. Early in November, 1869, the tenor Brignoli, en route to California, stopped for two days, November 9, 10. He presented an operatic concert the first night, which included the first act of "Lucia di Lammermoor" and the third act and garden scene from "Faust," and on the second night came Rossini's "Barber of Seville." It was following the Brignoli performances that the *Times and Conservative*, November 11, rendered its blunt verdict that: "The community are getting tired of going into a hog pen unless it is warmed." Between that time and the appearance of the Lords, December 20, the opera house had been the scene of a minstrel show from St. Louis, and a tragedian who read a number of dramatic roles and poems.¹⁰ Of course, this did not mean that Leavenworth had no entertainment of any kind; only that there were no theatrical performances. From time to time the opera house and other public halls had many kinds of amusements and lectures, some good, and some very bad.

THEATRE CIRCUITS

Not only was theatre in the west in a state of flux, such was its conspicuous characteristic elsewhere. One of the innovations was the theatre circuit in some form. Thus whatever the origin of the shows, they were assured a place in the offerings of the member theatre in each city in the circuit.

H. R. Camp, of Kansas City, was reported to have arranged for a circuit including Leavenworth to begin in January, 1864. Apparently this was premature.¹¹ In 1871 the Western Star circuit, including Kansas City, Leavenworth, St. Joseph, and Omaha, was under the management of J. A. Stevens of Kansas City, Mo., where he headed a theatrical company. Apparently this circuit was based upon stock companies and stars. In November, 1872, Stevens took his company to Topeka for an experimental two-night engagement to test out the feasibility of including Topeka in the circuit. The fol-

10. *Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, November 4, 9-11, 14, 22-28, December 9, 1869.

11. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, October 27, 29, 1863.

lowing year reference is found to a Missouri river circuit, which included Omaha, Lincoln, St. Joseph, Leavenworth, Topeka, and Kansas City. It provided billing among member theatres for traveling dramatic companies.¹² In the West these projects were conspicuously experimental and transitional, and were introductory to more stabilized practices of the 1880's, if anything in theatre can be properly termed stabilized.

IV. THE ACTORS

THEATRE BEGINNINGS, 1858-1860

In dealing with the management of theatres and dramatic companies, necessarily something about the actors who appeared on the stage has been included. Several of the managers were actors in their own right. The story of George and Agnes Burt is the first and most conspicuous case in point. When they came to Leavenworth in March, 1858, Mrs. Burt was given a special introduction through the medium of a letter from St. Joseph where she was well known. The writer defended the theatre in general but in particular declared:

In view of a vulgar prejudice which has obtained to a great extent in the towns of this region, I will add that Mrs. Burt's course in this city, has been such as to gain for her the respect and esteem and love of all who have become acquainted with her, and such as proves her title to move, as she always has, in the best social circles. Of her abilities as a talented and sprightly actress, you will not say I have spoken too enthusiastically when you have witnessed them.¹³

Some days later, and on the basis of her Leavenworth performances, the verdict was that: "This talented and accomplished actress and lady has obtained for herself in this community an enviable reputation. She plays, sings and dances well, and so far has given universal satisfaction." A few nights later her "Castinet Dance" was said to have been "perfectly bewitching," and she was presented with a gift by a number of gentlemen, headed by Judge G. W. Purkins.

Additions were made from time to time to the original Burt company. Among them, in June, 1858, were Mr. and Mrs. Pennoyer, and in November Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Walters.¹⁴ The wives in both of these man-and-wife teams were distinctly the better halves. Also during this first period in Leavenworth's theatrical history the

12. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1871, February 6, 1873, February 3, 1875; *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, September 28, 1871, February 7, 1873; *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, November 28, 1872.

13. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, March 20, 1858.

14. *Ibid.*, June 5, 12, November 13, 1858.

beginnings of the star system were introduced, although not so labeled. This is of some importance because at a later time Addis was credited with this innovation.¹⁵ Among the several stars, Eliza Logan must be mentioned in particular. She appeared in April, 1859, for two weeks, beginning April 11, the plays including "Ingomar," "Evadne," "Lucretia Borgia," and "Romeo and Juliet." In introducing her it was said: "Her name may be found on the brightest page of American Drama. Miss Logan is not a glaring meteor, flashing through the histrionic world; but she is a sweet morning star, whose chaste and mellow light gives assurance of its immortality."¹⁶ Not only did she impress the scribe of the *Herald*, but Mr. and Mrs. Burt named one of their daughters Eliza Logan Burt. Another daughter was named Clara, possibly for Clara Walters.¹⁷

One of the points made in the press when Burt first arrived in Leavenworth was that he was "determined to elevate the character of the Stage in this upper country, and place it upon a proper basis." Upon occasion the *Herald* featured the evaluations of outsiders who were supposedly more objective than local critics. One of these strangers who attended the theatre during a brief visit to the city, commented favorably upon a number of the actors by name, particularly the Burts in "The Lady of Lyons," "Ingomar," "The Maniac Lover": "In a word, the Union Theatre has a company of professional artists, the majority of whom are competent to appear on the boards of any theatre . . . in elevating the standard of the legitimate drama, and in establishing an institution that should meet with the hearty support of every lady and gentleman in Leavenworth of scholarly attainments, refinement and intelligence." On the same day the *Herald* editor commented that: "The stock of performers is everything that it should be, embracing actors of every variety, and well capable to fill the characters of any play, however numerous."

Nearly a year later the *Times* admitted that: "Our neighbors of St. Joseph and Kansas City laugh at us, and call us sneeringly, the 'Cottonwood town.' So be it. Let those laugh who win." Again a stranger was quoted: "despite your newness, and the suddenness of your being, yours is the only place which imitates—which has the

15. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, December 8, 1863.

16. Eliza Logan (1829-1872) was a member of the Cincinnati theatrical family of Logans, and sister of Dr. C. A. Logan, the distinguished Leavenworth physician, who had located at Leavenworth in 1857. She married George Wood, theatrical manager in her home town, later in 1859 and retired from the stage.

17. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, April 9, 16, 23, 1859; *Daily Times*, April 11-23, 1859, December 20, 22, 1866.

air and look of a metropolis." Also, Leavenworth was still proud of George and Agnes Burt because they were held "in the highest esteem by our citizens, not only for the interest they contribute to the stage, but for their social qualities."¹⁸

The Thorne family played at Scott's Theatre in May and stayed to perform at the Union Theatre, C. R. Thorne beginning in "The Wife," June 2, and later playing "Richard III," and "Othello." Mrs. C. R. Thorne played Amelia in the last named play. In July Thorne was in charge of the Union Theatre. When the National Theatre opened in November, 1858, Mr. and Mrs. Burt were on hand for the lighter parts and Mr. and Mrs. Walters for the heavier parts. In November, 1859, the Thornes took over the National and the next month the Thornes, Burts, and J. R. Allens worked together for a time. Burt became ill, and the Thornes and Allens went to St. Joseph. Burt, who had been having reverses, became involved in lawsuits, but in April, 1860, the *Times* reported he had been vindicated—"Burt is indomitable . . . and we may soon expect to see the National again in its glory." Conditions were against the theatre during the next months, the year of the great drought, and the National closed in September leaving Leavenworth without a theatre until 1862. Not at the National, but at Stockton's Hall, a benefit was scheduled for Burt on September 1, 1860. The *Times* urged: "Let all who can scare up a quarter, invest it in making him a bumper. He has fought hard here for his honorable profession, and as the pioneer of Leavenworth histrionics should never be slighted by our people."¹⁹

During these trying years of beginnings, the Burts, the Thornes, and the Allens were closely identified with the area, particularly with St. Joseph and Leavenworth. The elder Thornes retired from the stage in 1862 and settled in California.²⁰ Part of the personnel of these early years carried over into the second period beginning in 1862, but most of it in the later years was new.

BEN WHEELER AND AMERICAN CONCERT HALL, 1861—

When the National Theatre suspended in September, 1860, Leavenworth was left without any regular place of amusement other than the saloons, billiard halls, and places of a still lower order that did not advertise or receive locals notice. Nevertheless a vacuum tends

18. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, March 27, May 22, 1858, March 26, 1859; *Leavenworth Weekly Times*, April 23, 1859.

19. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, May 22, 29, June 5, 12, 19, July 10, November 13, 1858, March 26, June 18, December 24, 1859; *Daily Times*, November 9, 17, December 8, 14, 1859, April 17, 1860.

20. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, May 2, 1862.

to be filled by something, and such was the case in Leavenworth. Starting operations in Melodeon Hall, on Cherokee street, Ben Wheeler, a flamboyant local "character," launched the American Concert Hall during the winter of 1860-1861. On April 9, 1861, the *Daily Conservative*, D. W. Wilder, editor, either as a "local" or as an unidentified advertisement, reported on the nature of the attractions: "Miss Fannie Gilmore in her songs and dances, Ben. Wheeler in his Irish comicalities, Pendergrast in the 'Happy Land of Canaan,' and Carroll and Lynch in their negro eccentricities, are unapproachable, and present an array of talent unequaled in the West." In this "varieties" type of entertainment "stars" came and went and the composition of the company changed with some personalities persisting over a substantial period of time.

When the American Concert Hall moved to the old National Theatre, July 10, 1861, the features stressed were songs, dances, plays, and burlesques "never before produced in this city." Furthermore, the advertisement boasted that the price had been reduced "from one dime to 10 cents." Of the opening it was said that "the elephant 'Columbus' was hugely ludicrous, and the operatic burletta, 'Oh hush,' was immense." The following week came the "Orphan Girl," and the "Masquerade Ball," and the source of income to supplement the reduction of price "from one dime to 10 cents" was revealed to the historian who otherwise might be naive and might worry about how so low an admission fee could finance a show advertising at least a half dozen named stars: — "Major John" at the bar contributes to the comfort of the spiritually inclined." Possibly some sense of the degradation involved was reflected in a paragraph in which a parallel was drawn:

The old National Theater, wherein Hamlet and Romeo were wont to be murdered, and Shakespear's [sic] ghost haunted the grim-visaged representatives of his fertile brain, is now the nightly scene of Afric's fair sons excentricities [sic], interspersed with a variety of entertaining amusement.

But the burden of the article in which the above paragraph occurred was praise of the merits of the current show and its particular star:

Miss Gilmore is gifted with rare musical talent, and in to all of her melodies she throws her whole soul, imbuing each with a touching pathos, and feeling that strikes the heart, and like sweet melody lingers to please the people of Leavenworth, and they can properly show their appreciation by attending her benefit on Saturday night.

With a change of bill the following week the public was assured: "No plays will be introduced that need shock the nerves of the most

fastidious." Sure the American Concert Hall was well on its way to earning its ironic appellation the "Moral Show."²¹

The opening of the Civil War in April, 1861, inaugurated a feverish activity of military preparations. These were momentous weeks of decision for everybody. The selfish, the insincere, the charlatan had an opportunity, and many made the most of it. Ben Wheeler, colonel, if you please, went to St. Louis to see Fremont about military matters and reported satisfactory arrangements for his military company, the Fusileers, which would appear soon on dress parade at the American Concert Hall. Soon the *Conservative* began to ask what had become of them—had they gone south to join the Confederacy? They did not appear in the mayor's parade, and the *Conservative* inquired again about the mystery. The excuse given was that they were too busy preparing the next play: "He Would Be a Son of Malta," which opened September 10. The Fusileers were called to meet at the theatre September 18. The following evening a new program was presented, including "The Omnibus" featuring Ben Wheeler and others: ". . . those who thirst will be attended to promptly by the lady waiters, or by 'John' at the bar. The utmost order and decorum is preserved in every part of the house, and everything is conducted with the strictest regard to propriety." And so it went—"rich, rare and racy" into the winter of entertainment for soldiers and others that season of 1861-1862. But what became of Ben and the Fusileers is not clear. The management of the Concert Hall changed rapidly.

In July, 1862, a facetious paragraph referred to both the American and Fusileers, but without giving much tangible information:

The Ancient and Honorable Fusileers, Col. Ben Wheeler, commanding, J. R. O'Neil Captain and A. G. G. G. (awful glorious, great gun), have consented to come out, march and show themselves on the Fourth. Since last year's festivities they have seen much action in the tented, contented and discontented field. Persons wishing to unbend and recreate themselves should go to the meeting at 4 o'clock this afternoon, at the American, when recruits will be received. Under the new law half the bounty will be paid on enlistment.

In December, 1862, Maj. Ben Wheeler was reported to have opened a saloon "in the lately remodelled and renovated Moral Show building." Apparently his venture did not last long, because the notorious "Varieties" took over under different management during the winter of 1862-1863, and in spite of encounters with the law survived until its final closing in 1869.²²

21. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, April 9, July 7, 9, 10, 11, 16, 21, 25, 28, 1861.

22. *Ibid.*, August 27, 28, 31, September 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 18, 19, October 30, November 10, 13, December 1, 5, 10, 12, 28, 1861, March 23, 25, June 14, 26, 27, July 1, 3, 20, 22, 31, November 19, December 9, 1862, July 25, 26, August 9, 1863; *Daily Times*, March 23, 25, 30, April 1, 2, 4, May 12, June 10, 1862.

BURT AT THE UNION THEATRE, 1862

As actor, in differentiation from his career as manager, George Burt's reception was cordial when he undertook, in February, 1862, to operate the Union (Stockton Hall) Theatre. Before regular productions began a benefit for Mrs. Burt was announced for March 20. The play was to be "Honey Moon." The "local" of the *Conservative* pronounced Burt "the best theatrical manager in the West"—

The house will be crowded and the crowd will be delighted. Manager Burt, we are glad to state, has opened the Union on an entirely different principle from that which has heretofore governed our theatrical representations. It will be strictly fastidious and our best people will favor it with their patronage.

The *Times* "local" agreed that the heading "Mrs. Burt's Benefit" was enough to attract all play goers: "Many of our citizens remember and appreciate her good qualities as a woman and actress, and will fill the house . . . Burt will be on hand with his usual budget of fun."

The *Conservative*, March 21, announced sadly:

Burt has postponed that Benefit. He says he has lived here five years and always brought a drenching storm whenever he advertised a Benefit. In the fall of '59 he left the stage for other pursuits; hence that unprecedented Drought [of 1860]. We think it will pay those who drive over the prairies to get up a purse and send Burt out of the State, to be brought back by the farmers on the first indication of a dry season.

The *Times* continued, March 22, that despite the weather, Burt was determined to satisfy the fun-loving people of the city by opening the Union Theatre: ". . . we will not be responsible for damaged vest buttons and buckles, when Burt opens his budget of fun."

Again a benefit for George Burt was announced on April 3, for that very evening—"Benefit of George Burt (The Aquarius of Kansas)." Three comedies constituted the bill: "Toodles," "Merry Clobber," and "Ellsworth Tableau." But the "local" of the *Conservative* commented: "Go early and get a good seat, it will be a gay old time—if it don't rain." The *Times* version reported that: "Burt, by special request of many of our citizens, will open Union Theatre Hall to-night, and entertain his many friends for an hour or two . . . assisted by his 'better half'. . . ." Also, several young men had volunteered to take part. The plays listed by the *Times* were "He Had a Brother," "Why Don't She Marry?," "Merry Clobber," and "Toodles." Neither paper reported next day upon the show. Not explicit in these notices was the fact that Burt had

not assembled a complete company and was not yet producing plays. That accounted for the reference to volunteers who were making a show possible.

When the announcement came, March 26, that Addis had bought the Gosling-Collins interest in the Union Theatre, making Burt manager, the *Conservative* observed:

The well established character of this gentleman as manager, and the high popularity he has attained as a comedian will make the "Union" the chief attraction of the city. As an artist, Burt stands pre-eminent in his profession. His National drop curtain would grace any theatre in the country, and is a work of art of which our citizens should be proud. Burt has struggled through hard times, ruinous law suits and numerous opposition to establish a good theatre in Leavenworth, and he is justly entitled to the encouragement and support of our citizens.

On April 5 the *Conservative* announced a benefit for Mr. and Mrs. Kent and again took advantage of the occasion to elaborate upon the debt owed to Burt:

The efforts of Mr. Burt to revive the drama in this city have been perfectly successful. He has succeeded in producing fine pieces and making a place of amusement fitted for the enjoyment of the best class of people. Our community is indebted to his exertions for this privilege, and they have shown their appreciation of his services by full houses every night of the new season.²³

But about a month later, in alarm (?), the *Conservative* asked: "Where is Burt? We must send for him and have him get up a Benefit. He is now at Fort Riley and they have showers there every day. Burt is the only man equal to the dry emergency and must be obtained at any cost." The occasion for the absence of Burt and Addis was the troop movements of April and May, 1862. A May 25 local reported that "Mr. Addis, Deguereotype Artists, has returned from an extensive and profitable trip through the State. . . ." Thus Burt and Addis had been reported at Lawrence where the show business was good on account of the troop assignments there. Early in May they moved on to Topeka, and later came the report quoted from Fort Riley. The next major movement of military personnel came the last week of May when named Wisconsin and Kansas regiments were marched to Fort Leavenworth for transport by steamboats. A soldier writing from Fort Riley, May 22, reported: "Fort Riley is ours! Yesterday the 'Home Guards' evacuated the Fort, 'retreating in good order,' and save the bedbugs and gray-backs who hold a life lease on the place, we are the undisputed possessors." As no one seemed to understand the purpose of the marching and

23. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, January 24, March 20, 22, April 3, 1862; *Daily Conservative*, February 4, March 19, 20, 21, 26, April 3, 5, 1862.

counter-marching, or of the unpredictable transfers of officers, or of the merits and status of the quarrel between Gov. Charles Robinson and the Lane faction about who controlled Kansas regiments, morale was very low. Apparently, the soldier badly needed amusement that would relieve his mind even temporarily of troubles.

The return of Burt and Addis to Leavenworth near the end of May was thus geared to the military situation. Also, the makeshift theatrical company had served its purpose. Addis went east for photographic equipment and to engage a new theatrical company. Burt remained in Leavenworth to keep the show going, opening May 27 with a four-play bill: "Kiss in the Dark," "Yankee in Kansas," "Brown's a Brick," and "Irish Assurance." Interspersed, of course, were songs and dances.²⁴

In view of this background, the events of the following weeks are particularly difficult to accept. The new Union Theatre company brought in Misses Julia and Lola Hudson, Miss Helena, and Mr. Wilson, but most important to this story John Templeton as stage manager and leading man. Mr. and Mrs. Burt remained, Burt being listed as manager. The opening occurred June 17 with "The Avenger" and "Honey Moon." The second night the plays were "The Stranger" and "The Limerick Boy," on the third night, "Black Eyed Susan" and "The Rough Diamond," on the fourth night, "Camille," and on the fifth night, "The Taming of the Shrew" and "Family Jars." Though hot were the summer days, every seat was reported taken; then special ventilation was improvised to insure greater comfort. Both the *Times* and the *Conservative* were generous in their praise of the venture, the latter emphasizing that it is "a first class place of amusement where persons of refinement can go and be delightfully entertained;"—"It is an orderly and comfortable place." The *Times* observed that "A well patronized theatre is an evidence of unusual prosperity or depression, as in the latter instance people *will* go to drive off the 'blues,' and in the former because they want amusement, and think they can afford it."

The dramatic critics were less generous with individuals. Templeton cast himself and Miss Helena in the leading roles for most of the plays and he was pronounced only "fair," or "Templeton did better, much better, than we anticipated as 'William' [in "Black Eyed Susan"] night before last, and as 'Armand' [in "Camille"] last evening . . . a really fine actor." Miss Helena received the best press although that may be a reflection of a male bias in

24. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, April 12, May 7, 1862; *Daily Conservative*, May 15, 25, 27, 28, 1862.

an age which was peculiarly a man's world—she “took the house by surprise on Friday evening by her correct and spirited rendition of ‘Camille’.” The play “Camille” was repeated twice soon thereafter. The *Times* commented that: “The play is one of those which may be termed terribly sensational and wholly French. . . .”

The Burts got few good parts during these opening days of the season. When the comedies “The Serious Family,” and the “Two Gregories” were to be presented, the *Conservative* local said: “We want to see Burt’s ‘Aminadab’ for we think he will do it to perfection.” This was the same day that the *Times* pronounced Templeton’s playing in “Camille,” the previous night’s offering, as only “fair” while saying that: “Burt’s Izak was a happy conception well rendered, as are all his comedy parts. . . .” And Miss Hudson was referred to as “refreshing” in the role of “Marie.”²⁵

Trouble was brewing and quickly came to a climax. In the papers for July 4 the advertisement of the Union Theatre changed form, dropping Burt’s name from the position of manager. The Burt benefit announced for July 16 met the usual Burt luck, rain and poor receipts. In the controversy Burt was dismissed. Friends of the Burts met at the Planters’ House, July 25, to try to arrange a proper benefit, but apparently failed. Templeton issued a card July 27 stating his side of the case and alleging that Burt had had no financial interest in the Union Theatre since Addis had bought control, and worked on a salary basis, had managed nothing, his listed position as manager of the Union Theatre having been merely a courtesy title. Whatever the merits of the controversy, for the time being, the Burts were again eliminated from Leavenworth theatre activities. Although out of sequence, perspective may be better focused to quote the *Conservative’s* compliment to the Burts in announcing their benefit with the comedies “Asmodeus,” “Lottery Ticket,” and “Omnibus.” “Mr. and Mrs. Burt take a Benefit to-night at the Theatre. Unless Burt’s usual luck of a rainy night follows him, the house will be packed to overflowing. . . . The public are more indebted to Mr. Burt than to any other person for having a Theatre here, and his long and successful labors should meet with a substantial reward from his hosts of admiring friends.”²⁶

Replacements were brought to the Union Theatre in July and only about four weeks prior to summer closing, August 19, Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Walters who were already known to Leavenworth, and Henry

25. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, June 17-22, 24, 25, 1862; *Daily Conservative*, June 17-22, 24-25, 1862.

26. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 16, 25, 1862; *Daily Times*, July 16, 17, 25, 27, 1862.

(Harry) Jordan, and Mr. Charles. They appeared for the first time in Sheridan Knowles' "Hunchback." The *Conservative*, July 23, took exception to the conduct of Jordan: "Jordan ought to be told, and we think we will do it, that profanity and vulgarity are not wit." Other personal comment on the company pronounced Mrs. Walters as "a good actress and sings finely," and except for Eliza Logan, Miss Helena was the best actress to visit Kansas.

The impression Mrs. Walters made on the *Times* critic, as of August 5, 1862, was expressed freely on the occasion of her benefit, when she played in "Ireland as It Is" (Judy O'Trot), and "A Loan of a Lover": "The bill might be more attractive, perhaps, or at least not so stale, but she has friends enough to fill the Hall, just for the pleasure of hearing her sing 'Annie of the Vale,' and the 'Flag of the Free'; and besides no one would tire of her inimitable rendition of 'Judy O'Trot.'" She was scheduled to sing other songs, one of which was "I Have No Money," in the second play. After the event, the *Times* continued August 7:

Mrs. Walters' benefit on Tuesday night was a perfect triumph, which she must be proud of as long as her recollection of it lasts. She has made an impression during her engagement here, and given us a sparkling and vivacious originality which months of cut and dried conventionality will fail to extinguish.

On the occasion of the closing of the summer season, the *Times* August 17 undertook to sum up the high points of the theatrical situation, evaluating several personalities by name, apparently condemning others by silence, but paying respects adversely to one in forthright terms. Addis was complimented as "successful" in his role of manager, "earning the good will of the entire company." Burt and his friends would have dissented. Miss Helena and Mrs. Walters were linked: "Both favorites with our play goers, it would be difficult, perhaps, to say which has made the deepest impression. The former has charmed all by her very natural and correct style of acting, while the latter, as an actress and vocalist, has taken a new lease of admiration of our citizens." Templeton came in for praise as "an indefatigable worker and fully competent manager. . . . As an actor he has made himself many friends. . . ." Jordan was rated as a number one comedian. And O'Neil: "What would they do without . . . [him], who not only gets up the scenery in a truly artistic manner, but plays everything from 'Brabantio' to 'Lady Creamley.' He is at home in anything among the 'wings.'" No mention was made of Mr. Walters. Apparently his habits had made him a controversial subject, and as will come out later, most unpopular. But, as with a bee, the sting of the *Times* summary was in its tail:

Wright—cannot consider his visit to Leavenworth as either a pleasant or agreeable episode in his latter day experience. Well, we are a stupid set, thus to ignore the presence of live genius; unable to distinguish between excellent and execrable; which reflection may, in a measure, console the aforesaid for any chagrin at his lack of success here.

THE TEMPLETON REGIME, 1862-1863, AND
MRS. WALTERS' PEOPLE'S THEATRE

The fall theatre season of 1862 got off to a slow start. Templeton was retained by Addis as manager because, as the *Conservative*, September 14, put it, he "gave such universal satisfaction last season." With a short company the opening came September 16 with "The Stranger" and "Irish Lion." On the fourth night "Camille." Templeton and Miss Helena took the leads, with Mr. and Mrs. Jordan in secondary and comedy roles. A new danseuse, Mlle. Aubrey, was announced October 4, "said to be skilled in the 'poetry of motion,'" and the reappearance of Mr. and Mrs. Walters came October 6. The following day the *Conservative* reported that they drew an unusually large audience: "The Union has now an efficient company, and can do up the 'legitimate drama,' as well as the farce, the song and the dance in good style." But the *Conservative*, of which D. W. Wilder was the editor, had not been satisfied with some things:

We have thought for some time that we would make a friendly suggestion to the manager of the Union Theatre, but have deferred it for some time. We propose to do so now. He must have noticed that the conduct of a large portion of the audience, particularly those who occupy the rear of the building, is not such as should be allowed in places where ladies and gentlemen are expected to be present. Yelling, blasphemy and vulgarism, will do more to break down the institution than the best *artistes* in the country can do to build it up. We believe that this accounts for the fact that fewer of the best portion of our people attend the Theatre of late than formerly. We do not attribute blame to the manager or proprietor, and believe they will see that the fault is corrected.

Others must have been dissatisfied and less tactful, because a later note reported that: "Mr. Templeton, Manager of the Union Theatre, still survives, all rumors to the contrary notwithstanding."

In spite of the unusual reception given to Mrs. Walters upon her first appearance in October, she was not cast for important roles or given prominence in billing. Principally, she was mentioned as featuring ballads and the favorite songs of the day. Eventually, on December 4, she was allowed a benefit, taking her turn as a secondary member of the company, but the *Conservative* gave her a very special notice on the preceding day:

Of Mrs. Walters hardly too much can be said in this city, where her appear-

ance upon the stage is always a signal for applause, where she has never sung a song that was not *encored*, and where her versatile talents and irrepressible mirth have won for her, from first to last, the hearty good will of the whole community. She deserves a house crowded from dome to foundation, and she will have it, and hundreds will snarl at Addis and at Leavenworth because there is not a house here big enough to hold them.

The following day the praise continued:

She has labored long and faithfully to please the Leavenworth public, and render the Theatre a pleasant and attractive evening resort, and has so far succeeded as to excite rounds of applause at her appearance each evening. We hope to see the house well filled. . . .

The *Conservative* was no doubt sincere in its praise of Mrs. Walters, but the editor was also propagandizing for a new theatre building, which he said was "greatly needed." One of the leading business firms was understood to be planning a new building at the corner of Delaware and Third streets, its dry goods business on the first floor with a theatre above.

A final round of benefits occurred at year's end and the first days of January, 1863, before the season closed January 17. Templeton led off and afforded the *Conservative* an opportunity to say kind things: ". . . no man ever worked harder or more successfully to please his patrons, and render our Theatre a first class one. . . ." In this reference was made both to his managerial function and to his "proving himself an actor of uncommon merit." Mrs. Walters' second benefit came January 16, 1863, in "Wandering Boys," and "Irish Diamond."²⁷

MRS. WALTERS AND THE PEOPLE'S THEATRE

The reasons are not clear why a long vacation was taken by the Union Theatre from January 17 to March 11, 1863, when a new company was assembled. Actors had to eat the same as other people, so the members got up a series of shows of their own for which Addis permitted the use of the Union Theatre. But he made the matter plain to the public: "The vacation exhibitions given now are got up by the company for their own benefit. Mr. Addis has sent Mr. Templeton East to engage a new company, and does not wish to have it understood that the present performances are his regular Theatre. . . ." This was printed February 4, the day before Mrs. Walters' benefit was scheduled. The series of shows had opened February 3, and the *Conservative* reported that: "This institution opened as successfully as ever last night. A good audi-

27. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, September 14-20, October 3-5, 7, 8, 21, December 3-5, 24, 28, 1862, January 16, 17, 1863.

ence was in attendance and everything passed off nicely." Difficulties developed from another direction. Mr. Walters had not been mentioned in the theatre reports which praised Clara Walters so generously, but obviously he was unpopular as the following notice makes only too evident:

Owing to the threats against Mr. Walters, by some rowdies in town, that gentleman will not appear to-night at Mrs. Walters' benefit. . . . This change will preclude the possibility of any trouble, and no one need have fear of a disturbance. An efficient police force will be present and if any rowdie interrupts the performance, he will be instantly arrested.

Five days later, February 10, but whether or not the threat of difficulties at the theatre was a manifestation of general conditions or strictly personal is not clear, the commanding officer of the Military District of Kansas, Brig. General Blunt, proclaimed martial law in Leavenworth. Mrs. Walters was personally popular with the military people at the Fort, and presented a musical entertainment there February 26, postponed from the previous night on account of a storm. Early in March she accepted an invitation from citizens to present a musical and dramatic entertainment at the German Theatre Hall, March 4, but the public was assured that the saloon operated in connection with the hall would be closed. She was assisted by other members of the company. As the number of chairs available was not sufficient, Mrs. Walters tried to rent additional chairs from the Union Theatre, but Addis refused permission. This led to a public controversy in which she proved Addis untruthful, but also deprived herself of employment when Addis reopened.²⁸

The new company secured by Templeton for Addis was only partly new: George D. Chaplin, Frank Roche, Harry and Anne Stone, Mr. and Mrs. Wildman, Mary McWilliams, Miss Miller, and Mr. Smith. Seven of the old company were retained, including Miss Helena, and Mlle. Aubrey. Chaplin and the Stones were the important additions, especially Chaplin, formerly of the New York Winter Garden. After his second appearance he was rated "the best actor who has ever visited Leavenworth." The *Conservative* protested his playing female parts, insisting that he was too good for that. On March 18 he played "Othello" to Templeton's "Iago." On April 20, the star system made its appearance again; Mary Shaw for two weeks, Cecile Rush for three weeks, C. W. Couldock and daughter Eliza for nine days, and Kate Denin for two weeks. These stars, together with the new members of the company, made possible

28. *Ibid.*, February 4, 5, 7, 11, 25, 26, March 4, 8, 10, 1863.

the presentation of a number of plays seldom if ever offered in Leavenworth. Cecile Rush was particularly popular in "Fanchion" and played it five times during her visit; "Ida Lee" was played three nights. On this and later visits Couldock and daughter played his specialties, "Willow Copse," "Chimney Corner," "Richelieu," "Merchant of Venice," "King Lear," "Romeo and Juliet," "Louis XI."

But Addis had not taken a true measure of the woman who was Clara Walters, without a husband to complicate her life. She arranged for the remodeling of a hall on Delaware street, between Fifth and Sixth streets, naming it the People's Theatre, of which she was the sole lessee, with J. R. Healey of the former company as stage manager, and Col. Lyman Eldridge as treasurer. She was the first woman theatre executive in Leavenworth. The *Conservative* greeted her venture cordially: "The company is said to be an excellent one, and under the energetic management of Mrs. Walters, who is herself one of the best actresses and singers of the West, we doubt not will draw crowded houses." This was April 10, and the People's Theatre opened the following night.

The first regular performance, April 13, opened with a "Grand Musical Olio"—"The Battle Cry of Freedom" (new) by Mrs. Walters, "Robin Rough" (duet) by Mrs. Walters and Mr. Healey, a ballad by Healey, and a ballad "Kathleen Mavourneen" by Mrs. Walters. The featured play was Sheridan Knowles' "Hunchback" and the afterpiece comedy, "The Irish Tutor." The company was strengthened by new members as time passed, Arnold and Rogers, both from Cincinnati, and April 29 the star of them all, Sophia, the little daughter of Col. C. R. Jennison, jayhawker, saloon keeper, gambler, horseman, and political boss of Leavenworth's third ward. Her "Eva" played to Mrs. Walters' "Topsy" in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," George Aiken's version, was a smash hit. It ran four nights—"Miss Sophia Jennison's 'Eva' was superb." She showed "self possession and grace" in her first appearance upon the stage. After May 6 Mrs. Walters took her show to Lawrence, returning at the end of the month. On Saturday night, May 30, after the play was over she collapsed and was unconscious until after daylight Sunday morning. The responsibilities of business management and acting had proved too great a burden.²⁹

Apparently Clara Walters spent the month of June recuperating her health, but possibly she had taught Addis a lesson. At any rate, July 2, she was advertised to play Beatrice in "Much Ado About Nothing" at the Union Theatre. The local observed that drama

29. *Ibid.*, April 10 through May 6, June 2, 1863.

lovers would learn with pleasure of her return after so long a retirement and predicted the largest audience ever to assemble in the hall. Mrs. Walters was featured regularly during the next two weeks when the theatre closed for the summer. Furthermore, she had good parts, playing heavy roles not formerly associated with her career, including Queen Elizabeth in a second Shakespearean play "Richard III." The closing announcement listed the members of the company who would be retained for the fall opening—the two principals were Mrs. Walters and George Chaplin whose theatrical careers were to be closely linked for several years.³⁰

The return of Mrs. Walters, whether causal or casual is not certain, coincided with the publication, July 2, of a card by John Templeton and six other members of the company, including Miss Helena and Mlle. Aubrey, announcing their resignations: "to preserve ourselves from theatrical imposition, and to maintain the decent dignities of ladies and gentlemen." Chaplin became both acting and stage manager, combining Templeton's position of acting manager with his own as stage manager. Chaplin's end-of-season benefit came July 10: "With Mrs. Walters to support him as leading lady, we should be glad to see Chaplin become a permanency in our midst, for none who have played here have more friends among our play goers."

Evidently the affairs of the company were not functioning smoothly because the *Times*, July 12, enigmatically explained: "When Stone announced on Friday evening that the next would be positively the last night of the season, he probably forgot the fact that Mrs. Walters was justly entitled to an extra night in consideration of her laborious efforts to amuse our play-going public." With this apologetic introduction, the *Times* announced the farewell benefit for Mrs. Walters to occur Monday, July 13, in the plays "Ben Bolt" and "Grandmother's Pet,"—"with a pleasing interlude of vocal music in which herself and Miss Shaw will appear. Give her a bumper."

Having been with the company for only the last days of the season, July 2-11, the announced closing date, nine show nights, a rigid application of the custom of theatre, might not have recognized Mrs. Walters' rights even though she had appeared as the leading lady. Miss Helena, the season's leading lady had resigned. But, in any case, the *Times* announcement gave the impression that the benefit was probably only an oversight in publicity. The *Conservative*, of the same date afforded a contrasting version of the situation; that

30. *Ibid.*, July 2 through July 14, 1863; *Daily Times*, July 2 through July 14, 1863.

the benefit was tribute initiated independently of Addis if not actually in rebuke:

The patrons of the drama and the public generally will be pleased to learn that Mr. Addis has given the use of the Theatre, and the old company of favorites have volunteered their services for a farewell benefit to Mrs. Walters tomorrow night. Never, since the first dramatic entertainment given in this city, has an actress been upon Leavenworth boards, whose popularity has equalled or been as long continued as that of Mrs. Walters. Stars from Eastern cities have visited our city, who for a few nights have carried an expectant public by storm, and after their departure the first appearance of the old favorite would be more enthusiastically received than ever. In short, while she remains, no other actress can usurp *her* hold upon the admiration of the patrons of the drama. She has contributed more than any other member of the profession to the entertainment of the theatre goers in the city, and on the occasion of her benefit to-morrow night the hall should be filled as it never has been before.

Some people do not seem to learn easily. Others find it impossible to learn any lesson well. Possibly the belated consideration of Mrs. Walters' case, if the implications of the *Times'* version were true, or permission for her friends to use the theatre, if the *Conservative* interpretation was correct, reflected somewhat of a bad conscience and a making of amends for the chair-renting incident, her omission in the spring from the reorganized company, and her single-handed challenge in launching the People's Theatre. Whatever may have been the reasons, and the true inwardness of the affair may not have found expression in the press: "Mrs. Walters' benefit was the largest of the week, and one of the finest houses of the entire season. This is the best evidence of the appreciation in which she is held by the play going public." The season really did close the next night, with the Ladies' Aid Society benefit from which Addis was reported to have paid that organization \$120 and possibly as much as \$150. In commenting on the close of the season the *Times* praised Addis, and Chaplin since he "took the reins." The editor insisted that the hall was not large enough and hoped for a new theatre by 1864.³¹

During this long vacation Addis followed a policy rather different from that of the earlier period. He announced a series of concerts, beginning August 1, featuring Mrs. Walters. The second concert was scheduled for August 15 but was postponed due to illness. On August 21 came the Quantrill raid in Lawrence, and Addis arranged an early extra performance of his new theatrical company for August 28, the proceeds to go to the Lawrence victims.³²

31. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, July 10, 12, 15, 1863; *Daily Conservative*, July 2-4, 7 through 15, 1863.

32. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 28, 31, August 15, 28, 29, 1863; *Daily Times*, July 28, August 1, 25, 27, 1863.

THE CHAPLIN REGIME, 1863-1864

The regular fall theatrical season for the Union Theatre, 1863-1864, opened August 29 with a few new faces in the company, and Chaplin in the managerial role as leading man. Mrs. Walters and a new member, Annie E. Dillingham, shared the feminine leads. In the "Lady of Lyons," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Les Miserables" (Fantine and the grown-up Cosette), Mrs. Walters played the leads, but Miss Dillingham played Juliet to Chaplin's Romeo. None of the local company, however, had much opportunity for personal publicity in print because the time was well filled with the passing succession of "stars"; Ettie Henderson, C. W. Couldock and daughter Eliza, Mr. Neafie, Emily Thorne, Carlotta Pozzoni, Jean Hosmer, Cecile Rush, and J. Wilkes Booth. At first the local actor who played the lead opposite the star was billed by name, next only the local company collectively was listed, but quickly even that recognition was usually eliminated, the star shining in lonely splendor. Couldock had the advantage over the others listed because his daughter always played the feminine lead.

Between stars, however, the local company carried on, and were recognized for benefits. Mrs. Walters was so honored November 13. The *Times* took advantage of the occasion that day and the next to pay her the highest compliments:

The favorite pre-eminent of the Leavenworth play-goers, Mrs. C. F. Walters, has a benefit this evening at the Union. . . . Mrs. Walters has been among us longer than any other lady on the boards. . . . [Exceedingly versatile—comedy and tragedy.] Whatever have been the "foreign" attraction [star] the appearance of Mrs. Walters has always been the signal for the heartiest applause. . . .

The critic's appraisal after the event was even more enthusiastic:

We like home feeling. There is truth in the old saying "The prophet has no home in his own country," yet, if rightly applied, there is no justice in it—the home man and the home feeling should be first.

Theater goes like "stars"—so do we. But these stars should not blind us to home worth. Yet they do, and often when they should not.

Of course, stock-actors are always the subject of abuse. We are so familiar with them that we do not acknowledge their worth. This is wrong. Stand by home men wherever they are, and by home talent wherever it shows itself.

We make these remarks especially in reference to Mrs. Walters. She is always equal to her part. She is rarely inferior to the "stars" who shine around her. The glitter of her coronet is as bright as the brightest we have seen in those who are called or considered "above her." See her where you may—be Mrs. Walters in an ordinary or extraordinary part—let her appear as she may—still, she is always excellent—always acts well, and does well.

One characteristic marks her, and it is a shining one—telling alike upon

actor and audience—*life*. She is full of spirit; she never lags; the fire of the heroine she represents is in her, and she flashes it out. That fire is in her song. It is in all she does and says—and, hence, she is, and should be, a favorite of the public.

Her reception last night proves the truth of all we say. It was stirring and earnest. It proved that *the* home actress of Leavenworth is appreciated.

For some reason not clearly apparent the editor of the *Times*, December 8, saw fit to discuss the star system, prefacing his comments by a theatrical interpretation of an index of prosperity of a city. As a general rule, he argued, "the best criterion we can have of the prosperity of a city is the extent of patronage bestowed upon amusements. To be sure there are exceptions to this rule"—people may wish to escape from trouble—they "may wish to obliterate the blues or find a temporary relief from anticipations of bankruptcy." But the editor insisted that such exceptions did not apply to Leavenworth. Credit for the high position of the theatre in Leavenworth was assigned to Addis "and to no other can be accredited the introduction of the 'star system' which while it may be decried in certain quarters, is the present policy of the stage." He insisted that only this system had made possible "those dramatic 'luxuries,' Fanchon, Chimney Corner, Evadne, &c., as performed by the first artists in the country, and produced in a style that would be creditable . . . to any theatre in the West." Of course, this led up to a plea for a new theatre building suited to the metropolitan position of Leavenworth.

All this was a strange preface to what followed. The same issue of the *Conservative*, January 3, 1864, that reported the joint curtain call an enthusiastic audience had given Mrs. Walters and Chaplin for their acting in "Black Eyed Susan," reported the alterations in the heating system that assured patrons that the theatre would be "thoroughly heated." Then came the turn of fate. On the night of January 5 the gas gave out leaving the theatre dark. By January 10 apparently substitute lighting had been provided or the gas had been restored, but the audience was dismissed because of differences between the management and the actors about salaries. Mary Gladstane, the star who should have played January 4, was snowbound and did not arrive until January 13 after the salary quarrel had closed the theatre. Announcement was made, however, that the theatre was available to her to present her own performance, and that Chaplin and Walters would co-operate. But already a benefit for them had been arranged at the Turner Hall for January 13, along with the comment that they had not

participated in the controversy. This is difficult to reconcile with other data. At any rate, Miss Gladstane left Leavenworth without appearing on the stage.

When the storm broke, the *Times*, January 12, editorialized:

It is somewhat strange that Leavenworth must be periodically bored by the quarrels of actors, actresses and managers. Last night, at the Union, the audience was treated to a dish that has been served semi-occasionally since the first time a theatrical company performed in this city. Will not managers be just? Our citizens will support a good theatre, let it be managed by whom it may, but not at the expense of those who depend upon their profession for subsistence.

In contrast, the same editor in the same issue remarked pointedly: "The difficulties at the Union Theatre do not deter our German friends" at Harmony Hall giving "German Emigration to America," and "The Bewitched Villager." This is a reminder that the Turnverein and its related activities deserve a full historical treatment that lies outside the scope of this essay.

In the *Evening Bulletin*, January 12, Chaplin issued a "card" alleging that Addis had said that if the falsehoods reported the previous evening at the theatre were retracted, he would pay full salaries and give benefits, thus acknowledging the season's end. Chaplin's response to this proposal was explicit; that he had stated no falsehoods therefore there was nothing to retract. Addis replied about money matters the following day in the *Conservative*, Chaplin rebutted the same day in the *Bulletin* and introduced a new factor even more explosive than money. After calling Addis a liar and detailing the alleged lies, Chaplin continued: "His reasons for not liking the *ladies* of the company, I have only lately discovered: there is scarcely one he has not *grossely* insulted and in every instance he has been indignantly *repulsed*." Chaplin closed by asserting that he stood ready to swear to these statements. Addis replied with a libel suit. The *Times* quipped: "Between manager and actors, the public is having as much fun as they would if the Union was in full blast."

The first hearing on the Addis-Chaplin suit was held Saturday January 16, when the case was dismissed on technicalities and a new suit filed immediately which was set for hearing the following Monday. The court room was filled, according to the *Times*, with rowdies and lecherous individuals who enjoyed the lawyer's examination of the ladies who blushed at the indelicate details they were required to relate. Among the witnesses was C. F. Walters who was handled by the *Times* as follows:

That nice young man—truthful young man—C. F. Walters, *skevire*, is in town. He appeared at the Police Court yesterday, and testified adversely to the veracity of a woman who has supported him when he couldn't raise a five cent piece. As a matter of course, his testimony was ruled out. It's a pity such a *thing* could not be kicked out of town.

No longer did the *Times* treat the controversy as providing "as much fun as" the theatre "in full blast."

Suffice it to say, the whole proceedings—from beginning to end—were indelicate and disreputable alike to all parties. . . . The course pursued by manager and company, in this affair, will do no good to themselves or the profession. It conveys the idea that quarrels, rascality, bad morals, and obscenity are the necessary consequence of the introduction of the drama. . . .

The editor had already given his readers what he considered wholesome advice:

No theatres, no snows [shows], no dances, no amusements of any kind in our city at present. Some of our citizens are turning their attention to more serious matters, as this evening at the M. E. Church will convince anyone who will visit the interesting meetings now being held there. It is well. There is something beyond the pleasures and pastimes of this mundane sphere, and it is the duty of every one to obtain the pleasure which the consolation of religion alone can give. We advise our citizens to attend these meetings. They may reap some benefit, and it certainly can do no harm.

But in fact there were competing institutions and even actors had to eat. A saloon occupied a part of the first floor of Stockton Hall which housed the second floor Union Theatre and the proprietor inserted the following advertising local:

Since the smash-up of the Union, Cooter *pere* has been giving, and will continue to give, a series of concerts, in the "Green Room" With "legitimate artists," a "legitimate manager," and no "half-salaries," the institution is bound to run. "The best of wines, liquors and cigars to be had at the bar." P.S.—No pretty waiter girls. Take suthin, Doc?

This was the situation when on the morning of January 25 fire broke out above the stage in the Union Theatre destroying the whole structure. The theatre had occupied the second floor; Coolidge and Company drug store; Ashton & Bros., wholesale liquor; and Cooter's Saloon occupied the ground floor, and the Ashton & Bros., pork packing establishment operated in the basement. Cooter moved what he had saved back to his old location on Third street, between Delaware and Shawnee streets:

Cooter—the indefatigable, unconquered Cooter—is on his pegs again. . . . The season will open tonight [January 29] with a new Opera, written expressly for the occasion by the Colporteur. A talented corps of artists will render it in the inimitable manner for which they are so well known.

Chaplin, Mrs. Walters, and the theatre company went to New Orleans to play at DeBar's Theatre. The *Times* devoted a full paragraph to praise of Chaplin's year at Leavenworth. "In the thankless *role* of Manager . . . he has acquitted himself to the satisfaction of even the most fastidious. . . ." Addis did not continue in the theatre business. For the evening of January 28, the third day after the fire, a meeting was called to consider the organization of a fire department to replace the existing fire companies.³³

THE LINDEN REGIME, 1864-1866

The Leavenworth Theatre, successor to the Union Theatre, opened September 10, 1864, in the new building erected upon the Stockton Hall site. No proprietor was indicated, but W. H. Coolidge, proprietor of the drug store which occupied part of the ground floor, was listed as manager, with Henry Linden as acting and stage manager. The play was the "Hunchback." The company was short-handed and the reception given it was not enthusiastic. The show closed October 2, for winter preparations and for Linden to recruit additional talent, also to play an engagement on his own account in Kansas City. The local paper became restive at his delay in returning, but November 24 the theatre reopened. Linden and wife, and J. B. Turner played the leading parts until January, 1865, when a succession of stars was imported: Ettie Henderson, Carlotta Pozonni, Mary Gladstane, Rachel Johnson and B. Macauley, McKean Buchanan and Virginia Buchanan. J. B. Turner played "Nick of the Woods, or the Jabbenainosay," which was repeated several times before the end of the season, but the play that created a sensation was the "Octoroon" by Boucicault which played ten times in succession, barring a single night interruption, and several times at intervals later in the spring. This phenomenon drew from the *Times*, February 21, on the occasion of the announcement of its tenth showing, a long editorial on the failure of the legitimate drama in Leavenworth, which may have had a meaning beyond the single issue of artistic excellence:

All efforts to establish the legitimate drama in this city have heretofore failed, and they will continue to fail so long as the majority of the theater-going people care more for sensation than acting, more for loud talking and fierce gestures than correct reading and natural motions. The Hunchback was played last night, to a comparatively small house, the greater portion of which was undoubtedly attracted more by the announcement that Linden would play "Cuffy"

33. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, January 6, 7, 10, 12, 14-17, 19, 21, 26, 29, 1864; *Daily Conservative*, January 3, 5, 13, 15-17, 20, 22, 1864; *Evening Bulletin*, Leavenworth, January 12, 13, 1864.

in a negro farce, than by the first named piece, and although the play was well put on the boards, and better rendered than expected, it failed to interest the audience, or extort from it one single round of applause. We advise the management to stick to the sensational. It is better suited to this community, besides being more remunerative. To-night, at the earnest solicitation of a large number of persons, the "Octoroon" will be played again. Owing to the bad state of the weather, last week, many persons were prevented from seeing it, and as it is decidedly sensational, it of course attracts attention and created a desire in the minds of theatre-goers to witness its representation.

The theatrical season 1865-1866 continued under the same management, but the proprietors were designated as Coolidge and George Ummethun, the resident agent of the Cincinnati owner of the building. Again the company opened short-handed, Linden himself being absent. The *Times*, September 10, 1865, editorialized in a satirical attack upon the "poor simpleton public" and its absurd expectations, not realizing realities, including "the risks and vicissitudes of railroad and steamboat navigation." Linden appeared finally on September 16.

Again, during this season stars dominated the scene for most of the time: Blanche DeBar, Ettie Henderson, C. W. Couldock and daughter (twice), Cecile Rush (twice), Jenny Hight, Yankee Locke, Pauline Cushman, Marietta Revel, Susan Denin, Fannie Price, the Maddern Sisters, but more unusual three members of the local company were given star status, two for a week's run each, Mrs. Linden being the first.

In February, 1866, two old friends returned to the Leavenworth theatre, George Chaplin and Clara Walters. During their absence, since the break-up of the Union Theatre in January, 1864, they had been reported as playing in the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans in May, 1864. Both were in Leavenworth a short time in June, 1864, and gave concerts in Laing's Hall. In December of the same year Clara Walters was reported as making a sensation in New Orleans with "The Ticket-of-Leave Woman," a burlesque on "The Ticket-of-Leave Man." Chaplin passed through Leavenworth again in May, 1865. Now, upon his return to Leavenworth Theatre, Chaplin played Saturday, February 3, to Saturday of the following week as the star after which he took his place in the company. Mrs. Pennoyer was again a member of the company and played the feminine lead, but without star billing. The following Saturday Clara Walters was the star and remained as a regular member of the company.

During his week as star, Chaplin played "Ingomar," "Hamlet," "Money," "Macbeth," "Lady of Lyons," and "Madelaine." It was

recalled that he had been a universal favorite some two years earlier, but in commenting upon individual roles, the *Times* was patronizingly complimentary: "Hamlet" was a "very creditable rendition;" his "Money" was "far beyond mediocrity;" his "Macbeth" was "not so perfect as in previous efforts;" and finally: "He is emphatically a good actor. . . ." Clara Walters, specializing in the lighter characters, played in "Perfection," and "Ireland as it is." The *Times* introduced her as "an old favorite . . . and if reports speak truly, has greatly improved during her absence." After the event the *Times* reported that in spite of the rain and mud she drew one of the biggest houses of the season: ". . . We do not think she has any superior in the delineation of Irish character."³⁴

CHAPLIN AGAIN, 1866-1867

The Chaplin Opera House opened the 1866-1867 theatre season on August 20, virtually a "new" opera house after the summer's remodeling operations. The personnel included names from the previous winter; Clara Walters and Mrs. M. A. Pennoyer in particular. The first plays were "Honey Moon," and "Sarah's Young Man," followed by another favorite pair, "Lady of Lyons," and "Lottery Ticket." The third night brought an Irish play "Arrah-na-Pogue." Although the critic pronounced the company as yet awkward, this play had four successive showings, including Saturday matinee, giving way to J. E. Little's "Richard III" on Saturday evening. Repeat performances became frequent during this winter, both by stars and the resident company. The traveling stars were Miss Leo Hudson, Blanche DeBar, C. W. Couldock (alone), Emilie Melville, Mrs. J. H. Allen and D. R. Harkins, Cecile Rush, Jean Hosmer, Stuart Robson, Lotta and Joseph Proctor. In December the Burt family, with two small daughters, returned to Leavenworth, being assigned stardom. Furthermore, Jean Clara Walters, as she was now officially billed, had her turn from the local company as star in January, 1867.

The Burt family had been reported, during the winter of 1862-1863, to be operating a theatre in Grand Rapids, Mich., but otherwise information about the period of their absence from Leavenworth remains a blank. The prospect of their return was announced December 16, 1866, and on the 18th notice was given of the "first appearance of Mr. Burt, and the youthful prodigy Eliza Logan Burt." On December 20 Burt and little Eliza Logan played "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," and were such a hit that, including Saturday matinee,

34. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, May 7, June 22, 23, September 6, 8, 10, October 2, 27, November 17, 24, December 9, 1864, February 21, May 5, June 27, September 10, 1865, February 3, 5-11, 13, May 18, 1866.

they played it four successive times—Eliza Logan Burt “as ‘Little Mary’ is the attraction in the piece.” On Monday the Burt family presented “Uncle Tom’s Cabin”: George playing Gumption Cute; Mrs. Burt, Aunt Ophelia; and of course, Eliza Logan starred as Eva. Christmas day Burt played his famous role in “Toodles.” The elder Burt daughter, Clara, was featured one night as a vocalist. After the cordial star-rated reception the Burt family settled down as members of the company.

In April, 1867, apparently the usual Burt luck was present. Mrs. Burt and Eliza Logan were to have a benefit April 6, but it was postponed until April 10. A special attraction was provided, a card picture of the little girl being presented to each woman attending the theatre. About this time, apparently, the Burt family started a new venture, a traveling company, a partnership known as the Johnson and Burt Theatrical Troupe, which played at Lawrence, Kansas City, and Atchison. In 1876 the Burt family was still in the field as a traveling dramatic company appearing in Independence, Kan., the week before Christmas. A benefit was given to the Burt children (Clara not being mentioned, but two new ones being present): Eliza (now 15), Willie, and Nellie.³⁵

The theatrical season of 1867-1868, at Leavenworth, “managed” by Susan Denin, added nothing to the glory of Leavenworth theatre and ended shortly after a few minor stars had appeared: Belle Boyd, LaBelle Oceana (who had starred formerly at the American Concert Hall), Mary Gladstane, and Madame Scheller,—and of course Susan herself. Then followed the two-season theatrical blank, 1867-1868 and 1868-1869, before the Lord Dramatic Company appeared in December, 1869, a complete traveling theatrical company, not a resident stock company—traveling-star combination. The Lords represented a new order in theatre.³⁶

Too much should not be made of the adverse criticism of the theatre or of the obvious failures of the theatre and of its public in Leavenworth. Theatre everywhere and always was in crisis—that is its normal condition regardless of place or time, or whether it thrives

35. Independence *Kansan*, December 15, 22, 1876. At Atchison, the *Daily Champion*, April 13, 1866, gave Eliza Logan’s age as five which would have made her 15 in 1876 when at Independence. If Clara had survived the rigors of traveling theatre, she may have been in school or married.

36. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, August 19, 1866, through June 20, 1867, covers the daily offerings and comment thereon, but a few particular issues may be designated to document particular statements in the foregoing narrative; August 26, September 14, December 16-30, 1866, January 6-13, February 3, March 17, April 5-7, 10, May 6, 1867. The *Daily Conservative* provides similar daily coverage, but some dates of particular interest for the history of the Burt family are December 11, 1862, January 11, 1863.

The fall season of 1867 is covered by both papers, the *Times* and the *Conservative*, September 7, November 27, 1867, some issues of particular interest are *Daily Conservative*, November 8, 12, 19, 24, 27, 28, 30, 1867.

or dies only to live again in a different form. Primitive or "civilized" people insist upon escape into a world of make-believe in some guise, and for manifold purposes.

V. NOTES ON THE PLAYS

No complete record of the plays presented in the Leavenworth theatre between 1858 and 1867 can be compiled. Prior to the spring of 1859, for example before Eliza Logan was star, no formal theatre advertisements appeared, and besides the newspaper files preserved are incomplete. The "local" column contained comment and announcements, however, with an approximation of regularity. After the summer of 1862, a fairly complete record is available. A large part of the plays must be classed as ephemeral, with emphasis upon the comedy and farce side. Nevertheless, the showing of Shakespeare's plays and other classics, "The School for Scandal," and "She Stoops to Conquer," for example, was substantial; "Othello," "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Richard III," and "King Lear" appeared about in that order of frequency; and besides there were occasional showings of "The Merchant of Venice," "Much Ado About Nothing," and "As You Like It." Other plays that were popular included several drawn from English literature; dramatized versions of Dickens' "Cricket on the Hearth," "Chimney Corner," "Oliver Twist"; Tennyson's "Dora"; Scott's "The Bride of Lammermoor," "Rob Roy," and "The Lady of the Lake." From the French were "Fanchion, the Cricket," "Camille," Hugo's "La Tour de Nesle," and "Les Misérables," besides several of lesser merit. From the German examples were "Ingomar," "Leah (Deborah) the Forsaken," and Schiller's "Robbers." The better American literature did not contribute much, but Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" appeared in two or more dramatizations. Plays involving the American Indian were represented by "Metamora," "Wept of Wish-ton-Wish," the farce "Pocahontas," and the frontiersman of Kentucky and the Indian in the dramatized version of R. M. Bird's "Nick of the Woods, or the Jibbenainosay." Besides the ubiquitous Negro (burnt-cork) minstrels of continuously declining quality, plays using the Negro, with exceptions to be mentioned later, dealt with him only as a comic character.

Social problem plays were fairly conspicuous, "The Poor of New York," "Under the Gaslight," the "Drunkard," and "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." Irish plays were probably the most numerous of any single class, a list of over 20 in number has been compiled, all treated the Irish as comic characters or in ridicule. Dion Boucicault's "Colleen Bawn," first produced in New York in March, 1860, is an excep-

tion.³⁷ Kate Denin first brought it to Leavenworth in June, 1863. In offering "Ireland as It Is" to the Atchison audience it was characterized as an Irish national drama sympathetic to the peasantry: "This thrilling picture of the struggles, trials, and self-denials of the Irish peasantry has been universally acknowledged as the most beautiful and touching domestic drama ever placed upon the stage."³⁸ Of course, the play "Robert Emmett" was unconcealed Irish nationalist propaganda based upon the revolt of 1796.

The star system determined largely the choice of plays presented, the more prominent of these luminaries specializing in a limited number of roles. Necessarily, in the West, the theatres found their choices of stars limited by availability. From 1863-1867, C. W. Couldock offered quite regularly "Willow Copse," "Chimney Corner," "Still Waters Run Deep," "Richelieu," "Louis XI," "King Lear," "Othello," and others, with slight variation. Cecile Rush was almost sure to present "Fanchion," "Evadne," the "Hunchback," etc. Others seemed to follow the changing fashions.

Of the playwrights represented, the most conspicuous was Dion Boucicault, born in Ireland, then of the New York theatre. The leading version of "Rip van Winkle" available after 1850 was that of Charles Burke, but in 1865, Boucicault's appeared. Boucicault's "The Poor of New York," which compared victims of the panics of 1837 and 1857, was offered first in New York, and later in Leavenworth in October, 1859. His "Octoroon," based on Mayne Reid's "The Quadroon," was first played in New York in December, 1859, and created a sensation in Leavenworth in February, 1865. "Colleen Bawn," and "London Assurance" made frequent appearances in 1863 and later. Tom Taylor's plays were popular, particularly "Still Waters Run Deep," "Our American Cousin," and "The Ticket-of-Leave Man."

Some plays were so striking in their impact upon the public as to stimulate a demand for repeat performances. Partly, no doubt, the effective combination of actor and play were the explanation rather than the content of the production itself. On occasion this occurred with the local resident company, but more often it was associated with a limited number of stars. In a few cases the preoccupation of the public with a particular subject might account for the response. In May, 1859, Miss E. Mitchell, advertised as a niece of Booth, played "The Mormons" four times and in October, 1859, the

37. Arthur H. Quinn, *History of the American Drama, From the Beginning to the Civil War* (New York, 1923), p. 377. Quinn limited his generalization that there was only one such Irish play to the use of the better common class of the Irish and other conditions which might make his verdict rather drastic.

38. Atchison *Daily Champion*, February 21, 1866.

Langrishe-Allen St. Joseph Theatre company played "The Poor of New York" at the National for three nights. Public interest in subject matter as social issues of the day no doubt contributed to the demand. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was played once in October, 1859, five times in August, 1862, and four times in April, 1863, and raises the perennial question about the hold exercised by both the book and the play upon the public in the United States and abroad. "Camille," played by the local company, was offered twice in June, 1862. The enthusiastic response, December, 1862, to "The Lady of the Lake," played by Clara Walters and Healey of the resident company would seem to provide no special circumstances other than good acting. American themes were treated in "Nick of the Woods, or the Jibbenainosay" (twice) in January, and "The Hidden Hand" (four times) in April, 1863, by the resident company. Mary Shaw played twice each "Our American Cousin" and "Child of the Regiment" in April, 1863, while Cecile Rush gave "Fanchion" (four times) and "Ida Lee" (three times) in April-May, 1863. Kate Denin's presentations of "Colleen Bawn" and "East Lynne" (twice each), occurred in June, 1863.

A year and a half later the "Octoroon" sensation, ten nights, by the resident theatre company, in February, 1865, must have been associated with the state of public sentiment near the end of the Civil War in relation to abolition of slavery and the race issue which it raised. But the Maddern Sisters may have been responsible for the run of "Three Fast Men" for six nights in May, 1866. In August of the same year the resident company presented the Irish play "Arrah na-Pogue" four times. The success in August, 1866, of such widely different plays as "Mazeppa, or the Wild Horse of Tartary" (six nights) and "Putnam," a story of the American Revolution (two nights), must have been due primarily to the star Miss Leo Hudson. The "Sea of Ice" was first presented in Leavenworth in October, 1866, by the local company for a five-night run. The return of the Burt family, with the spotlight upon little Eliza Logan Burt, may help to explain the four-night run, in December, 1866, of "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." The vogue of the "Seven Sisters" in January, 1867, was only partly the responsibility of "Lotta," because the local company played it for two nights in the February following. Also, the resident company played "Rosedale" (Wallock's 150 night sensation in New York) for four nights in June, 1867. "The Black Crook" run of 18 days in July and August, 1867, was clearly a combination of high pressure advertising and a sensational show. In retrospect, this record reveals a peculiar grouping of repeat performances in two

chronological spots, April-June, 1863, and May-October, 1866, for which there does not appear to be any assignable reason.

These repeat performances were one thing, but long-term popularity of a play regardless of players is quite another. Shakespeare and the classics held their own remarkably well in Leavenworth during the decade 1858-1867, but were losing ground near the end, and during the next decade. Other plays of a serious nature whose popularity persisted included the "Hunchback," "Evadne," "Lucretia Borgia," "Don Caesar de Bazan," "Ingomar," and "Camille." Of a less serious nature, or in some cases farcical, were "The Lady of Lyons," "Our American Cousin," "Toodles," "Ireland as It Is," "The Serious Family," and the farcical afterpieces, "The Limerick Boy," "The Lottery Ticket," and "Jenny Lind." The social problem plays "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," were of course in a class by themselves. What provided the hold of these plays upon the public imagination is one of the intangibles that eludes all attempts at explanation. Likewise, when "The Lady of Lyons" was billed for July 24, 1862, the *Daily Times* protested that it would not draw, that it was played out and should be laid on the shelf. Afterwards, the editor had the courage to admit his error—it drew a large audience and went off remarkably well. Several of these well-worn pieces continued to be standard fare for nearly two more decades.

An extended reference to "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has been deferred until this stage in the discussion. The vogue of the original book, prior to the Civil War, was phenomenal and no more than a reference to that fact need be made here. The play presents some special problems. In Leavenworth, a town with a strong Southern background, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was first presented on the stage October 24, 1859, to a house "quite well filled." In fact, the reporter said: "It was by all odds the largest audience of the season."

Considering the limited extent of the company and their facilities for rendering a scenic piece of this description, the play was excellently gotten up, and the parts rendered in a respectable manner.

We trust that its representation will fill the depleted treasury of the managers and make the Theatre no longer desolate with a beggerly array of empty seats.

The evening did not pass, however, without trouble: "The William Yerby, who became so indignant at the Anti-Slavery sentiments of Uncle Tom as to compel the police to remove him from the theatre, and for which on Wednesday he was fined by the Recorder, has, we understand, not subdued the pugnacious propen-

sities he then exhibited." On the same day as the trial, "he challenged Marshall Malone to fight a duel with Colt revolvers, large size, at sixteen paces." Also, the report circulated that he threatened the press: "Oh, dear! how we quake in our stocking-feet," jeered the *Times*.³⁹

The second presentation of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" came in August, 1862, and prior to the preliminary emancipation proclamation. Also, this was near the beginning of the Addis-Templeton regime at the Union Theatre, and soon after Mrs. Walters' arrival. She played Topsy, and the *Conservative* conceded that "a better Topsy than Mrs. Walters cannot be produced." Nevertheless, Editor Wilder was not happy. He conceded something, however, that the presentation "did the highest credit to the manager, Mr. Templeton, and the scenic artist, Mr. O'Neill. . . ." What distressed Wilder was that in the midst of the Civil War a Proslavery version had been presented:

The version used, however, leaves out Legree and some of the most important scenes, and makes Uncle Tom a mere obedient servant. As it was put on the boards in New York Uncle Tom's Cabin would be good for thirty nights. We are not more pro-slavery than New York City, and there is no necessity for catering to that sentiment.

True, it ran five nights only in Leavenworth, not thirty.⁴⁰

The *Times* reacted positively also to this wartime offering of "Uncle Tom's Cabin": "The most popular dramatization of modern times, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' will be produced for the first [*sic*] time in this city, at the Theatre this evening. Jordan does Uncle Tom, Mrs. Walters, Topsey, Miss Mann, Eva, and Miss Helena, Eliza Harris." After the second performance the *Times*, August 8, also exploded about the alleged Proslavery version:

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" is announced at the theatre for this and to-morrow evenings. A crowded house greeted its first production, Wednesday night, and we can unhesitatingly say that so far as it goes the play was excellently put upon the stage, and in the leading characters well done. Mrs. Walters' "Topsey" is an interesting and truthful portraiture of a character very common on the plantations of the South; Miss Helena succeeds admirably, as she ever does, in the effective part of Eliza Harris, the fugitive quadroon; Jordan's "Uncle Tom" is a fine piece of character acting, and Healey does the generous Kentuckian, Fletcher, in a manner that all along carries with it the sympathies of the audience; but nevertheless the omission of the scenes with Legree and Cassy, and the death of Uncle Tom, make the play seem as incomplete as if one had read only the first volume of the book itself, with no chance of getting the remainder of the story. Lack of people may be sufficient excuse for shortening the play, and we would much rather this were the case than that it were done

39. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, October 26-28, 1859.

40. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, August 6-9, 1862.

to spare the sensibilities of the resident remnant of Border Ruffianism in the city. The whole piece,—and it can be done by one or two “doubles”—would draw a good per cent on the cost of its presentation and the money invested for canvas and colors. Except in a few minor points the play is exceedingly well done. The crossing scene is well contrived; but were we disposed to be critical we might ask how it is that feudal banqueting goblets find their way into a Kentucky tavern? or why Tom Loker and Haley are made to resemble a couple of grog shop loafers rather than the flashy “traders” they are intended to represent? Little Miss Mann’s “Eva” is a surprising performance, in view of her inexperience, Wednesday evening being the first time she has ever appeared on the stage. In a little time, however, her slight monotony will wear off, and her rendition of “the flower of the South” be all that can be asked for.

In April, 1863, Leavenworth again saw “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” on the stage, a four-time run with Mrs. Walters again as Topsy and Sophia Jennison as Eva at the People’s Theatre. The *Conservative* noted with satisfaction that George Aiken’s version of the play was to be used, and recalled the past:

It has been put on the boards once before in this city, but mutilated in the most approved pro-slavery style. We sincerely hope and trust that such will not be the case to-night. It is one of the most exciting pieces ever written, and we believe the management of the People’s will present it in a masterly manner.⁴¹

The play was given again in September and December, 1863, and January, 1864, but in Leavenworth its popularity was limited. In Atchison, according to the *Champion*, “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” was seen for the first time on April 30 and May 1, 1866. In conclusion, whatever the meaning may be, the great vogue of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” in its dramatized form in Kansas, came after the Civil War and after the abolition of slavery was an accomplished fact. Furthermore, “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” either in book form or in play form was really popular only among white people. To self-conscious Negroes, Uncle Tom’s submissiveness and the patronizing attitude toward the negro race were offensive. Only Eliza’s escape stirred the race pride and that was not central to the original conception of either the book or the play. In its wanderings as a stage play, except for Topsy’s antics, Eliza and the pack of hounds became the focus of the play’s more sensational advertising.

Introduced during the decade of the 1860’s were a number of new plays that proved durable. Those listed here in that category probably reached their peak of popularity in Kansas during the decade of the 1870’s, some continuing as standard even later. Although records are too incomplete to be certain about firsts in Leavenworth, Boucicault’s “Colleen Bawn” (1860), probably had its initial presentation in Leavenworth by Kate Denin in June, 1863. On the same

41. *Ibid.*, April 28-30, May 2, 1863.

visit she introduced "East Lynne." In April of the same year, with Amy Stone as Capitola, "The Hidden Hand" received a first local hearing. It was dramatized from Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth's novel of the same name. "The Ticket-of-Leave Man" came to the city in 1864, also by the local company. "Lady Audley's Secret" was introduced by Jean Hosmer in May, 1867.

Burlesques on great or popular plays, especially the tragedies, were a peculiar phenomenon. The first noticed was "Otello, or de Moor ob Wenis" in November, 1862. Another "Norma" has been found for March, 1863. The climax of this burlesque fad came during the season of 1866-1867; "King Lear, the Cuss," "Hamlet, or the Wearin of the Black," "Katherin and Petruchio" ("The Taming of the Shrew"), "Antony and Cleopatria," "Camille, or the Cracked Heart," the "Spectre Bridegroom," "Mazeppa, or the Wild Rocky Horse," "Lady of the Lions," "The Ticket-of-Leave Woman," and "The Ticket-of-Leave Man's Wife." Whether or not identified by the form of the title or by description as a burlesque, during the season, when one of the great plays or major current melodramas was played as the afterpiece, or by the comedy members of the company, it was almost certain to be a burlesque on the real play. Generalization about what this meant is difficult. Probably it was in part a reaction against the excesses and artificialities of the actors in both tragedy and melodrama. Also, it may be interpreted as a reflection of postwar cynicism following the emotional extravagances of the slavery crusade and war patriotism, and all the "moral" bombast and pretenses that had accompanied the "national" crisis. In part, almost certainly, it was escapism from postwar confusion, public and private; economic, social, religious, and political. But when all this has been said, the matter is still elusive.

VI. PRICES AND PATRONAGE

The prices of admission were not reported for 1858-1862. The advertisements of June, 1862, listed dress circle seats at 40 cents (ladies 25), a lady and gentleman 75 cents, two ladies and a gentleman \$1.00, parquette, 25 cents. In March, 1863, parquette seats were 50 cents, with the same lady-gentleman combinations, dress circle seats 40 cents, and the new gallery 25 cents. In the new theatre on the Stockton Hall site, in September, 1864, the dress circle and parquette seats were 75 cents, and the gallery and colored gallery, 50 cents. The same prices prevailed a year later. The Chaplin Theatre opened in August, 1866, at advanced prices: dress circle, men, one dollar, ladies 75 cents, lady and gentleman

\$1.50, parquette 75 cents, the galleries 50 cents respectively. Reductions came within the month. The boxes for eight persons were \$8.00, dress circle and parquette, 75 cents, the galleries 25 cents. The season of 1867 began with dress circle and orchestra chairs 75 cents, parquette seats 50 cents, and the colored gallery 25 cents.

VII. MORALS

Some form of dramatic representation seems to have been an essential aspect of all cultures since primitive times. Theatre per se is a-moral, its ethical significance depending upon its use. Among primitive peoples the dramatic forms were conspicuously religious and ethical, yet in modern society a separation occurred in which theatre came to have many associations of essentially an opposite social nature. Some of these have been revealed only too clearly in the present study. Leavenworth had over 200 license-paying saloons, in November, 1858, constituting a source of substantial city revenue. A saloon, in the form in which such institutions operated during the third quarter of the 19th century, was often if not usually housed in the same building as the theatre. The Market building, which housed the first Union Theatre in 1858, had a saloon in the basement, and one of Burt's first steps as theatre manager was an attempt to dissociate in the public mind the theatre and the saloon.

"Order and decorum" were promised in 1858 as they had been promised in 1856 when Gabay's Dramatic Company played in Leavenworth. A third aspect of assurances related to the respectability of the acting personnel. Thus the Burts, especially Mrs. Burt, were spotlighted in the social scene as good citizens. They were determined to elevate the stage and overcome the "vulgar prejudice" that obtained in the towns of the area. A particular bid was made for the patronage of women. About 100 "ladies" were said to have been present on the occasion of Mrs. Burt's benefit in April, 1858. If true, this meant that one of every five persons in the "full house" of 500 was a woman. Even this optimistic estimate, however, left theatre attendance primarily an aspect of a man's world.

The theatre had its competitors in the entertainment field in the form of minstrel shows, varieties (which "covered" a multitude of sins), and showboats. During the years 1858-1859 the Gambrinus Saloon offered its free concert every night in addition to a free lunch. Of course, the liquor that was supposed to accompany these was not free. The American Concert Hall, with its 10 cent admission charge, was only one step removed from the Gambrinus estab-

lishment. Reality was represented, therefore, in the plea of September 8, 1859, for some decent place of amusement for "unmarried folks" without homes where they could spend their evenings. After the National Theatre reopened to a precarious existence, the *Times*, October 13, urged support for "a respectable place of amusement" and warned: "The supply is regulated by the demand." Several days later substantially the same advice was repeated, but the National Theatre managed to operate only irregularly for less than a year more.

Soon after the Union Theatre was re-established in Stockton Hall in 1863, a saloon on the ground floor, an actor was admonished by name that "profanity and vulgarity are not wit," and over a year later another actor was reprimanded for drunkenness on the stage which required a replacement during the evening's production. On October 3, 1862, the *Conservative* insisted that audience behavior was a responsibility of the management. The quarrels between managers and companies over contracts and salaries came to a climax in the libel suits of January, 1864. The *Times'* admonition was to the point, that such scandal "conveys the idea that quarrels, rascality, bad morals and obscenity are the necessary consequences of the introduction of the drama." Benefits to good causes to offset the public's moral sensibilities were futile gestures, whether to the new Christian church building fund, the Hospital fund, the Ladies Aid Society, or the Lawrence Quantrill massacre sufferers. Nor did reduced admission charges for women offset moral delinquencies at the theatre.

Possibly absentee ownership of the buildings equipped for theatre may have had a bearing on saloon and theatre in the same structure: a certainty of rental income to offset risk. The National Theatre building was Philadelphia owned, and the Stockton Hall was Cincinnati owned. The Union Theatre advertisements (old Stockton Hall), during the hot summer months of 1863, reminded patrons: "Ice Water in the Theatre for the accommodation of Ladies and Children." Should it be necessary to point out the implication? When the theatre in the new Stockton Hall opened in September 1864, the ubiquitous saloon was on the ground floor. However, on the occasion of Clara Walters' vacation concert in the Turner Hall Theatre, she had the saloon closed for the evening. But Clara Walters was more than offset by Susan Denin, and Leavenworth Theatre was discontinued for two years on that note.

(Part Two, the Theatre in Atchison, Lawrence and Topeka, Will Appear in the Summer, 1957, Issue.)

The Annual Meeting

THE 81st annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 16, 1956.

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

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 16, 1956

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

Two members of the Society's board of directors died during the past year: Mrs. W. D. Philip, Hays, and Henry S. Blake, Topeka. Mrs. Philip, a life member since 1918, had served on the board of directors continuously since 1931. A resident of Ellis county since 1886, she was the first student to enroll at Fort Hays State College when it was established. She early began to collect historical objects of northwest Kansas and contributed many fine relics, including an entire furnished room, to the Fort Hays museum. Mr. Blake, president and general manager of Capper Publications, was also president of the Capper Foundation for Crippled Children and was active in many other civic, state, and charitable organizations. The death of these two friends is noted with deep regret.

APPROPRIATIONS AND BUDGET REQUESTS

The legislative session which convened in January, 1956, was the first "budget session" under the constitutional amendment of 1954. It was immediately obvious that the session must find new sources of revenue to meet financial needs as listed in the governor's budget recommendations or pare budget requests in an attempt to stay within anticipated revenues. It chose the latter course, but still failed to hold the total budget within these limits. For the Society this meant that although necessary appropriations for salaries and normal operating expenses were made, almost all items of special maintenance were denied.

Major requests which were cut from the budget included completion of the air-conditioning system, installation of steel stack floors, replacement of main exterior doors, laying of asphalt tile flooring in the museum, and installation of two new flagpoles. In fact, the only important maintenance requests allowed were \$10,000 to continue the rewiring of the building and \$650 for new rear entrance doors. A request for funds to convert the garage at the Kaw Indian Mission, Council Grove, into living quarters for the caretaker, and to build a new frame garage and toolhouse, was rejected for the second time. All major requests for improvements at Shawnee Methodist Mission, near Kansas City,

were also denied. These included construction of an addition to the garage, erection of a chain-link fence, deepening of the West building basement and laying a concrete floor. The only maintenance appropriation made was \$3,500 for exterior and interior painting. The appropriation for operation of the Funston Memorial Home near Iola was only \$1,300, which with a reappropriated balance from the preceding fiscal year allows approximately \$25 per month for all expenses of operation exclusive of the caretaker's salary. For the First Territorial Capitol an appropriation of \$400 was made for exterior painting of the caretaker's cottage.

Budget requests for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, were filed with the state budget director in September. In addition to appropriations for salaries and operating expenses, the major items listed above were asked for again. New requests included \$800 for museum storage closets, \$1,350 for fire protection installations in the Memorial building, \$4,000 for modernization of plumbing, and \$5,300 for interior painting. For the First Territorial Capitol \$700 was asked for a new electric line, and a supplemental appropriation of \$1,200—to be added to the \$1,500 already available—was requested for replacing the roof. The Funston Home needs a new well and a flagpole, and \$600 was budgeted for these items. New maintenance items for Shawnee Mission included \$2,000 for waterproofing and \$3,000 for interior painting of the East building, and \$1,000 for tree-trimming.

Capital improvement items—relatively large amounts for long-time improvements and special maintenance of the buildings and properties—constitute in total an unusually large percentage of the budget. Yet these improvements are necessary and must be requested if administrative responsibilities are not to be neglected. Several of these requests undoubtedly will be cut from the final budget, but the Historical Society as trustee of the state must nevertheless point out the necessity for proper maintenance of the various properties.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Work on the cumulative index to the Society's publications—the *Collections*, *Quarterlies*, *Biennial Reports* and special *Publications*—was again interrupted in order to finish the index to the new two-volume *Annals of Kansas*. However, entries for the first ten volumes of the *Collections* have been completed, totaling an estimated 26,000 index slips for 4,280 pages of text.

News releases, taken from territorial and other newspapers of a century ago, are still being sent each month to the Kansas press. This program, launched two years ago as part of the observance of the 1954 territorial centennial, has been so well received by newspaper editors and readers that the articles will be continued.

The report of the survey of historic sites and structures in Kansas authorized by the 1955 legislature will be prepared for submission to the 1957 session. Although many sites and buildings have not yet been examined and will not be included in this report, it is expected that the work can be continued until all important historic sites are covered. A project of this nature, to be carried out efficiently and with a minimum of wasted effort, would require the services of a full-time staff member for the greater part of a year. Since this is impossible under present circumstances, it seems best to continue the survey as time permits and as personnel is available.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

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

<i>Source</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Agriculture, Board of . . .	Statistical Rolls of Counties, 1949 Population Schedules of Cities and Townships . .	1949 1955	1,699 vols. 4,031 vols.
Insurance Department . .	Annual Statements	1948	50 vols.
Kansas Judicial Council,	Correspondence and Papers, 1927-1946		1 box
Secretary of State	Original House and Senate Bills, Resolutions and Petitions	1895-1917	34 transfer cases

Annual reports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, were received from the accounts and reports division of the Department of Administration, director of Alcoholic Beverage Control, state auditor, Children's Receiving Home, Crippled Children Commission, Entomological Commission, Fort Hays State College, Horticultural Society, Industrial School for Boys, Industrial School for Girls, Larned State Hospital, Osawatomie State Hospital, Parsons State Training School, Real Estate Commission, Sanatorium for Tuberculosis, Division of Institutional Management of the Department of Social Welfare, Topeka State Hospital, state treasurer, and the Winfield State Training School. Annual reports were also received from the School Book Division of the Board of Education, the Board of Engineering Examiners and the state printer for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956.

A progress report on construction and remodeling programs in the state as of January 1, 1956, was received from the state architect's office. Also deposited in the archives was a copy of the "Transcript of Proceedings Before the Investigating Committee of the Kansas State Legislature, March 10-20, 1953," relating to the sale of a building at the Sanatorium for Tuberculosis at Norton.

A small body of county and local government archival material was received during the year. One volume, a "Record of Bond Undertakings, 1887-1909," originally in the district court of Stevens county, was added to the collections and some miscellaneous Stevens county records, including poll books and school bond election papers, 1888-1895, were lent for microfilming. Two volumes of Dickinson county commissioners' journals, 1861-1883, were microfilmed, as were two volumes of early Abilene city records—an ordinance book, 1869-1874, and a minute book, 1870-1876.

In co-operation with the State Records Board and the Governmental Research Center of Kansas University, the Historical Society helped sponsor a state conference on records management, June 26, 27, 1956. The conference was prompted by the ever increasing records problems being encountered by state agencies. Planned by the Governmental Research Center, the program consisted of lectures by Benjamin Cutcliffe of the General Services Administration of the U. S. government and discussion sessions led by Prof. E. O. Stene of Kansas University. Inventories of agency records, filing systems, records disposal and storage, and microfilming were topics discussed during the meetings. All sessions were well attended and nearly all state offices were

represented. Other studies and conferences now in the planning stage should eventually lead to a more efficient records program for Kansas.

A new assistant archivist, Carl W. Deal, joined the staff on May 10. Mr. Deal is a graduate of Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia and holds a master's degree in history from the Mexico City College.

LIBRARY

Alberta Pantle, acting librarian since the retirement of Helen M. McFarland, has been appointed head librarian. Miss Pantle has been a member of the staff since 1940.

The number of patrons using the library again reached a record high. During the year 4,041 came in person, of whom 1,444 worked on subjects pertaining to Kansas, 1,620 on genealogy, and 977 on general subjects. Inquiries by correspondence were predominantly on Kansas topics, ranging from a request from Woodstock, England, for information on the origin of Woodstock, Kan., to queries from several states concerning the authenticity of exploits of Wyatt Earp as portrayed on a current television program. Some of these inquiries were answered by sending 182 packages of material from the loan file, which consists largely of pamphlets and articles on Kansas subjects.

Five special newspaper editions and 2,066 miscellaneous issues were read and clipped in addition to seven daily newspapers which were regularly searched for Kansas items. All clippings are classified and catalogued by the library staff before being placed on the shelves. With the aid of a part-time assistant during the summer, clippings from 14 worn volumes, totaling 4,118 pages, were remounted. Much remounting remains to be done because many of the older clipping volumes are deteriorating.

A display of rare and interesting Bibles and other religious books from the library collection has been arranged on the third floor. Several hundred people, including groups of children from Vacation Bible schools in Topeka and the surrounding area, have made special trips to see the exhibit.

The 1850 federal census of Vermont was added to the microfilm collection of early out-of-state census records as a gift from the Kansas Society of Colonial Dames. The 1860 census of Missouri and Nebraska was purchased, bringing the number of states represented by these records to fourteen. Family histories and vital records were donated by the Kansas Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, and by a number of individuals. Some of these genealogies were written by Kansas people, others were old and out-of-print books which are rarely available for purchase.

Many Kansas churches celebrated their 75th or 100th anniversaries during 1955 and 1956. The library received copies of the following histories which were published as part of these celebrations: Atchison, First Christian Church, donated by the author, G. Harold Roberts; Hutchinson, Grace Episcopal Church, donated by Mrs. Vernon McArthur; Leavenworth, Christian Church and First Presbyterian Church, donated by John Feller; Manhattan, Congregational Church, donated by the author, Charles M. Correll; Topeka, First Congregational Church, donated by Mrs. Charles Galt. A collection of historical sketches of 11 Methodist churches in central Kansas was also received from B. F. Young, Winfield.

A number of reminiscences of early days in Kansas were given, among them *Mental Snapshots Along Life's Highway*, by Mrs. Lutie Van Velzer, and *Kansas*

Heritage, by Mrs. L. L. Pabst. Historical works received included "Ness County, Kansas, Histories," copied by Mrs. Minnie Dubbs Millbrook from manuscript and newspaper sources; *History of Easton, Kansas*, by Herbert C. Jones; and *Prairie Pioneers of Western Kansas and Eastern Colorado*, by John C. and Winoma C. Jones.

Total library accessions, October 1, 1955-September 30, 1956, were:

Books	
Kansas	304
General	541
Genealogy and Local History	110
Indians and the West	48
Kansas State Publications	59
Total	1,062
Pamphlets	
Kansas	814
General	389
Genealogy and Local History	35
Indians and the West	8
Kansas State Publications	238
Total	1,484
Clippings (bound volumes)	10
Magazines (bound volumes)	220
Microfilm (reels)	
Books, magazines, etc.	8
Census	17
Total	25

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

Twenty manuscript volumes and approximately 600 manuscripts were received during the year.

Mrs. Eugene L. Bowers, Topeka, gave 74 family letters, 1827-1879, and two manuscript volumes. Among the letters is a series written by Harrison Clarkson in 1868. Clarkson, then a resident of Indiana, was on a business trip to Kansas representing the Aetna Fire Insurance Co., and the letters offer a lively description of the places visited. Later the same year Clarkson removed to Topeka where he resided during the remainder of his life.

A small group of papers of Ebenezer Nicholas Orrick Clough was given by Mrs. Gerald Clough Bulkeley, Abingdon, Ill. Of special interest is a series of four communications by Clough addressed to the *Western Star* of St. Charles, Mo., in 1849, describing the Santa Fe trail from Independence to Council Grove as the author found it in 1847. Clough was a resident of Leavenworth for more than 40 years.

The Dickinson County Historical Society gave 25 historical sketches of that county. This society has collected biographical and historical information for more than 20 years and has filed copies of articles and sketches with the state Society.

A notebook containing papers of Albin K. Longren, pioneer airplane builder, was given by his brother, E. J. Longren, Topeka. The papers include a description of the Longren factory facilities at Topeka.

Minutes of the annual meetings of the Bar Association of Northwestern Kansas, 1929-1954, were received from Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell.

A collection of records of the James Turner furniture and undertaking business of Clyde was given by L. E. Turner, Clifton. The 17 manuscript volumes and six files of invoices cover the period 1883-1924. Included is one volume of minutes of the Clyde Development Company, 1904-1907.

Minutes of the Southwest Kansas Editorial Association, 1896-1945, were given by Earl Fickertt, Peabody.

An interesting single item received during the year is a letter by James Josiah Webb to his wife dated at Walnut Creek, Kansas territory, May 10, 1856.

Nine muster and pay rolls of the 6th regt., U. S. infantry, 1853-1855, were received. The rolls were dated at Camp Center, Ft. Riley, Ft. Atkinson, and Camp Precaution, all frontier army posts.

Other donors were: A. E. Anderson, Leoti; Jerome Beatty, Roxbury, Conn.; H. E. Breed, El Cajon, Cal.; Mrs. Luther Burns, Topeka; Mrs. Bernard P. Chamberlain, Charlottesville, Pa.; Mrs. Marion Catren, Olpe; Mary E. Clemens, Core, West Va.; Mrs. Anna Conwell, Topeka; Lois Coons, Parsons; Mrs. Paul Ernst, Olathe; Alan W. Farley, Kansas City; Dr. Madge Gabriel, Topeka; D. V. Godard, Albuquerque, N. M.; Mrs. Bert Hay, Holton; Mrs. Lloyd Hershey, Olathe; Dr. and Mrs. Gordon Hill, Topeka; Neal Jordan, Harper county; Charlotte McLellan, Topeka; James P. McCollom, Dodge City; James C. Malin, Lawrence; Dr. Karl A. Menninger, Topeka; Dorothy Murphy, Caldwell; Jennie Small Owen, Topeka; Mrs. Ben Pannkuk, Wisconsin Rapids, Wis.; the Jennie A. Philip estate; Mrs. Edward Rooney, Topeka; Julien V. Root, Boise, Idaho; Mrs. Leland Schenck, Topeka; Mrs. Clif Stratton, Topeka; Dr. E. B. Trail, Berger, Mo.; and J. A. Wells, Seneca, Mo.

Microfilm copies of the following have been acquired:

Diaries of Joseph Harrington Trego, Linn county pioneer, for the years 1844-1859. The originals were lent by Mrs. J. H. Morse, Mound City.

Diaries of Elizabeth Simerwell, daughter of the Baptist missionary, Robert Simerwell, for the years 1852-1861, in two volumes. Vol. 2 contains farm accounts of her husband, John S. Carter. The diaries were lent by Bessie E. Moore, Wakarusa.

Five letters of James E. Love, 1862. Love was first lieutenant, Co. K, 8th regiment, Kansas Volunteer infantry. The letters give details of the movement of troops from Camp Hunter to Aubrey, Johnson county. The originals were lent by Love's grandson, Lewis B. Stuart, St. Louis.

Medical records of Andrew H. Fabrique, pioneer doctor of Wichita. The records include a list of births, 1871-1876, and a visiting list for 1889. With the records was a ledger of the Tefft House, Topeka, 1868-1870. The originals were lent by Dr. Fabrique's daughter, Mrs. George T. Nolley, Wichita.

Records of the First Congregational church of Russell, 1886-1942. Originals were furnished through the courtesy of Mrs. Ralph Ewing, Russell.

Post returns of Camp Mackey, New Post Arkansas River and Ft. Atkinson, early 1850's. Film was obtained from the National Archives.

Papers in the claim of F. J. Marshall and Albert G. Woodward, Marshall county, for depredations committed by the Pawnee Indians, 1854-1855. Original documents are in the National Archives.

MICROFILM DIVISION

This year marked the tenth anniversary of the Society's microfilming program. Although some film was purchased earlier, it was in 1946 that the Society's camera was installed and a permanent microfilming program undertaken. As of September 30, 1956, nearly 4,200,000 photographs have been made, more than 380,000 of them during the past 12 months. This year there were 330,000 photographs of newspapers, and nearly 45,000 of archival records, with the balance divided between library and manuscript materials.

Work on the *Ottawa Daily Herald* was completed for the period November 18, 1896-November 27, 1952, a total of more than 148,000 exposures on 215 rolls of film. Microfilming of the *Herald* will be continued through 1954. The *Chanute Daily Tribune*, reported last year as microfilmed for June 22, 1892-November 1, 1915, was completed through 1954. Other newspapers filmed during the year were the *Cimarron Herald* and *Kansas Sod House*, July 16, 1885-March 25, 1886; *Coffeyville Journal*, January 1, 1900-December 31, 1920, and January 1-December 31, 1937; *Coldwater Republican*, November 27, 1884-December 30, 1886; *Coolidge Border Ruffian*, January 2, 1886-January 15, 1887; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, January 10, 1855-December 31, 1881 (with issues missing for December 7, 1874-January 6, 1876; October 19-December 31, 1879); and the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, July 1-November 13, 1874.

Archival materials microfilmed included 148 volumes of the state census of 1905 and two volumes of the census of 1925.

MUSEUM

The program of expansion and modernization of the museum has continued through the year. Its success in part is reflected in the attendance figures—41,702 for the year ending September 30, as compared with 36,097 for the preceding year.

Twenty new exhibit cases received last November have been fitted with displays depicting the early history of Kansas, from the migrations of prehistoric man and the expedition of Coronado to subjects of the territorial period and such personalities as Gov. Andrew Reeder, John Brown, and Abraham Lincoln. An additional 20 cases, funds for which were appropriated by the 1956 legislature, are on order and should be delivered next month. These will complete the renovation presently planned for the main gallery. An appropriation for the purchase of a third group of 20 cases is included in the budget for next year. These cases are to be used for Indian and military displays.

Two more period rooms have been finished since the last report: a farm kitchen of the 1900's and a parlor of the 1920's, though the latter still lacks a few articles of furniture and accessories. Three additional rooms are planned for this wing of the museum, but their construction probably must wait while the staff turns its attention to the east wing. In this area, as mentioned in last year's report, plans call for the development of a general store and post

office, a blacksmith and harness shop, a print shop, doctor's office, and a dentist's office.

Air-conditioning units to cool approximately one half of the museum area were put into operation for the first time last spring. They have not only made it possible for the museum staff to work far more efficiently but have been a major factor in increasing attendance during the summer months. In this connection a comparison of monthly attendance records is interesting. In July, 1955, 2,786 persons visited the museum, and in August the number was 3,772. A year later, when the air-conditioning was in operation, the figures for the same months were 4,571 and 5,755, an increase of approximately 2,000 for each month.

Another important stimulus to increased attendance has been the publicity given the Society by the two Topeka newspapers. The *Topeka State Journal* has printed each week a photograph taken from our files showing old buildings and street scenes. Inevitably such pictures revive interest in the past, and the credit line printed with each tends to focus attention on the Society and its work. The *Topeka Daily Capital* has been publishing on Sunday a "Museum Feature of the Week," pointing out by means of a photograph and brief descriptive paragraph some object which is displayed in the museum. Public response to this series has been excellent.

The museum's educational program also has continued to expand. Guided tours are available to groups upon request, and approximately 150 school and scout groups from all parts of the state have utilized this service during the year.

A photographic darkroom is operated as an adjunct to the museum. In addition to photographing and processing all pictures used in museum displays, the darkroom staff has been responsible for all photographic work for the *Annals*, the *Quarterly*, and for newspaper releases. It has rephotographed all the legislative pictures which formerly hung on the walls of the museum, and made them into panels of a size suitable for the new display wings on the third floor. A collection of color slides of state landmarks and historic sites, some of which will be shown at the meeting this afternoon, has been started. Many old photographs have been copied for better preservation, and hundreds of prints from the Society's files have been made for patrons.

Through the generosity of the Eisenhower Museum at Abilene a temporary exhibit of gifts and mementos belonging to the President is currently displayed in two cases on the fourth floor. A series of original Eisenhower cartoons by Karl K. Knecht, also lent by the Eisenhower Museum, may be seen in the glass panels in the third floor lobby.

There were 68 accessions comprising 456 objects during the year. One of the most important was a purchase of Indian materials relating to the Kansas area from the Beloit College Museum at Beloit, Wis. Although the Society rarely buys museum articles, the inadequacy of our Indian collections made it advisable to take advantage of this opportunity to obtain a number of interesting and valuable pieces.

Important accessions during the year include a collection of furniture from the Emma Lodean Hinton estate, Kansas City; the Lillian S. Guy Memorial collection of 142 items, many of them articles of clothing of the 1880's, received through Mrs. Frank Pettit and Hinkle M. Guy, Jr., Topeka; fixtures and

equipment from the general store and post office at Zarah, from Mr. and Mrs. Harry King, Zarah, with the assistance of Robert Baughman; articles from a drugstore at Delia, from Mrs. B. E. Frisby, Delia; pioneer sod house items from Mrs. Ira E. Harshbarger, Loveland, Colo.; household furnishings of the 1920 era which were the property of former Gov. W. E. Stanley, from his daughter-in-law, Mrs. W. E. Stanley, Wichita; two large collections of household items from Mrs. Eugene Bowers, Topeka, and the estate of Mr. and Mrs. Hugh D. Carver, Concordia, through their heirs, Mrs. Dean Finley, Mrs. Grover Empson, and Lewis Carver; and a collection of Indian items belonging to Prof. J. V. Cortelyou, formerly of Kansas State College, donated by his wife through R. G. Cortelyou, Omaha, Neb.

Other donors during the year were Mrs. P. W. Allen, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. Milton F. Amrine, Council Grove; Mrs. Louise Baber, Lawrence; Mrs. John B. Bellamy, Topeka; Roderick Bentley, Shields; Warren P. Chaney, Topeka; Mrs. W. B. Collinson, Topeka; Mrs. Anna Conwell, Topeka; Eldon Corkill, Dallas, Tex.; the Julia Cotton estate, Topeka; Col. Brice C. W. Custer, Topeka; Alva E. Dillard, Melvern; Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Durkee, Manhattan; A. R. Earhart, Topeka; Mrs. Harry B. Farnsworth, Oakland, Cal.; Dr. Newell Feeley, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Ferguson, Valley Falls; Mr. and Mrs. R. I. Forbes, Topeka; Mrs. W. H. Freienmuth, Tonganoxie; Al F. George, Topeka; the Governor's Mansion through Mrs. Fred Hall; Horace T. Green, Topeka; Ray W. Groom, Council Grove; Mrs. J. L. Grubaugh, Council Grove; heirs of Loren Hadley, Kansas City, Mo.; Hall Lithographing Co., Topeka; Mrs. Bert Hay, Holton; Chester Heizer, Caldwell; Mrs. Jack Hendrix, Topeka; Mrs. Daisy Keller, Sapulpa, Okla.; Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Kelley, Topeka; Manuel Kolarik, Caldwell; E. J. Longren, Topeka; Paul Lyons, Topeka; the heirs of William D. McFarland, Chase; Mrs. Frank Miller, Topeka; John Miller, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Mulroy, Topeka; Georgia Nicholson, Lawrence; Mrs. Gail French Peterson, Lawrence; Ward R. Philip, Brownell; B. W. Purdum, Topeka; Mrs. R. W. Richmond, Topeka; Mrs. George E. Smith, Topeka; Mrs. Hall Smith, Topeka; Stanley D. Sohl, Topeka; the children of Mr. and Mrs. Richard B. Stevens, Lawrence; Annie B. Sweet, Topeka; Mrs. Virgil Teeter, Partridge; Mrs. Carl F. Trace, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Tucking, Valley Falls; Judy Ann Walker, Topeka; Mrs. L. R. Watson, Altoona; Charles J. Williams, Topeka; Wolfe's Camera Shop, Topeka; the Woman's Kansas Day Club; Charles Wulfschlegel, Topeka; Otto Wulfschlegel, Frankfort.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

A total of 6,342 patrons who called in person were served this year by the newspaper and census divisions, and a much larger number by correspondence. This service involved the use of 6,191 single issues, 6,472 bound volumes, and 1,828 microfilm reels of newspapers, and 43,886 census volumes, an increase of more than 12,000 over the number of census volumes searched during the previous year.

The demand for certified copies of state census records continues to mount. Another all-time high was reached this year with 17,580 certificates issued, nearly 2,500 more than in the preceding year. These records provide proof of age and place of birth needed for delayed birth certificates, social security, railroad retirement, and other purposes. The broadening of the social security program is undoubtedly responsible for the increasing demand.

Nearly all Kansas newspapers are received regularly for filing. These include 55 dailies, one triweekly, ten semiweeklies, and 292 regular weeklies. The Society's files now total 57,353 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers and over 12,000 volumes of out-of-state newspapers, dating from 1767 to 1956. With the addition of 679 reels this year, the Society's collection of newspapers on microfilm now includes 5,926 reels.

Publishers who contribute microfilm copies of the current issues of their newspapers to the Society are: Oscar Stauffer and Rex Woods, *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*; E. W. Johnson, *Chanute Tribune*; Harry Valentine, *Clay Center Dispatch*; 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 Leland Schenck, *Topeka Daily Capital*.

The Society frequently receives miscellaneous issues of older newspapers. Ruth E. Hunt, Topeka, recently donated several issues of out-of-state newspapers, most of them published on historic dates. Charles H. Carr, Wichita, gave *The Phoebus*, Hutchinson, July 20, 1891-April 1, 1892. This was a small-size biweekly newspaper published by Carr and two other "printer's devils" to gain experience. Other donors of older newspapers include: Norman Niccum, Tecumseh; Mrs. Loyal Payne, Manhattan; Mrs. Wm. L. Smith, Sarasota, Fla.; and Mrs. Eugene Bowers, Ralph Crawshaw, Louis R. Smith, and LeRoy Stevens, Topeka. Mrs. C. D. Churchill, St. Francis, lent the *Wano Plain Dealer*, December 30, 1886, to the Society for photostating.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

During the year 1,262 photographs were added to the collection. Of these, 707 were gifts and 555 were lent to the Society for copying. Many of the pictures came in response to requests for *Annals* illustrations. In addition, a great many still photographs and color slides and several feet of motion picture film were taken by the staff. New filing cases have made the picture storage facilities less crowded, and the system of filing is being revised.

The new photographic darkroom, mentioned previously in this report, has already proved of great value to the Society. All photographs lent for copying were reproduced by our own staff and equipment rather than by a commercial photographer as in the past. A large number of faded or damaged pictures from the files were also copied. Service to the public has been substantially improved. Dozens of patrons have been aided by the files and darkroom facilities as the Society has been able to furnish copies in sizes from small snapshots to large photo murals upon request.

The map collection has undergone some changes and 40 new maps have been accessioned during the year. The acquisition of a new map case has facilitated cleaner and more efficient storage. A large backlog of uncataloged material has been recorded and filed. Space has been saved and the maps themselves are more easily accessible.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Subjects for extended research during the year included: Negro migration, 1879; St. John's Episcopal church, Wichita; banking in Kansas; the Indian frontier on the upper Missouri before 1865 and missions and fur trade on the upper Missouri before 1900; labor unions in Kansas; World War I; the

Lecompton constitution; woman suffrage; railway promotion in the settlement of Kansas; Shawnee county schools; cow towns; Pottawatomie Indians; local taxes in Kansas; the Republican party; Highland Park; Kansas folklore; E. Haldeman-Julius and his publications; textbooks used in Kansas schools; Kansas sheriffs and outlaws, and life in central Kansas, 1870-1900; Eugene F. Ware; Mary Elizabeth Lease; Frederick Funston; William Clark; and David R. Atchison.

PUBLICATIONS

The *Quarterly*.—Reduced printing appropriations of the past four years were increased by the 1956 legislature, enabling the Society again to publish a *Quarterly* of sufficient pages to warrant the binding of an annual volume. Volume 22, therefore, will contain the four numbers for 1956, and should be ready for distribution by the end of the year.

A larger magazine will permit publication of a greater variety of articles, which in turn will attract more reader interest. Among the features this year were the Charles B. Lines letters, edited by Alberta Pantle, which told the story of the Connecticut-Kansas colony and its settlement at Wabaunsee 100 years ago. Articles relating the experiences of two pioneer women in western Kansas, Mrs. Hattie E. Lee and Mrs. Catherine Wiggins Porter, have received widespread praise. George C. Anderson's journal, being published in two parts, records an Ohio land committee's impressions of several areas of Kansas and Colorado in 1871. Dr. James C. Malin's contributions this year are articles on James A. and Louie Lord, and other theatrical groups and individuals who entertained in Kansas. The Winter number will include an account of the old ghost town of Quindaro, by Alan W. Farley, and the journal of William W. Salisbury, who joined the gold rush across Kansas to the Pike's Peak area in 1859, edited by David Lindsey.

Annals of Kansas.—Today the second and final volume—at least for the present—of the new *Annals of Kansas* will be formally presented. It marks the conclusion of a gigantic task. Nearly ten years of research, selection, and editorial effort have gone into the preparation of these two books. The first volume, published two years ago, covered the period 1886-1910. The second volume continues this day-by-day history of the state through 1925. More will be said of this work at the afternoon meeting, but it is fitting here to make special mention of Jennie S. Owen, chief annalist, and the several assistants who have worked with her through the years; of Kirke Mechem, the editor; and Louise Barry, who undertook singlehanded the immense job of compiling the index.

Upon the completion of her work on the *Annals* Miss Owen retired from active service with the Society. Although she had been a member of the staff for 18 years, she often spoke of her desire to write again for the newspapers. Now she will have time, and Jennie's by-line undoubtedly will be seen over special articles and feature stories, as it was in earlier years when she worked for the *Emporia Gazette*, the *El Dorado Times*, and the *Junction City Union*.

The *Mirror*.—Publication of the *Mirror*, the Society's bimonthly newsletter, has continued through the year. It has been well received by members and friends and has been helpful in bringing them into closer contact with the actual administration and activities of the organization. Many fine accessions

have been received, particularly for the museum, as a direct result of articles which have appeared in its columns.

THE FIRST CAPITOL

Registration of visitors at the First Territorial Capitol, on the Fort Riley reservation, totaled 3,590 for the year. This is a decrease of approximately 1,000 from last year's figure, and may be accounted for at least in part by the fact that many tourists now use the new U. S. 40 highway which by-passes Fort Riley.

Installation of new display cases was completed during the year, and electrical wiring was installed in the building for the first time. The new cases, each with its own electrical fixture, may now allow exhibits to be seen under the most advantageous conditions.

THE FUNSTON HOME

Officially known as the Funston Memorial State Park, this property did not begin active operation until May, 1956. V. E. Berglund was employed as caretaker and a great deal has been accomplished since that time despite the handicap of extremely limited funds. Grounds have been cleaned up, trees and shrubs trimmed, and new plantings have been set out.

Many articles of furniture, decoration, and household goods have been received from Mrs. F. A. Eckdall, Emporia, and Aldo Funston, Parsons, a sister and brother of Gen. Frederick Funston. The Society's museum staff has installed two wall cases in which are displayed articles relating to the general's career.

A visitors' register opened in June was signed by 377 persons through the end of September. Thirteen states, in addition to Kansas, were represented. The number of visitors undoubtedly will increase substantially, although lack of a heating system will make the home primarily a three-season attraction.

THE KAW MISSION

This has been a highly successful year for the Kaw Methodist Mission at Council Grove. Visitors registered from 45 states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Alaska, and nine foreign countries. Registrations totaled 5,722, a gain of more than a thousand over the preceding year.

Much of the credit for the increase in attendance must go to local supporters. A "Museum Scoreboard" published each week by the Council Grove *Republican* has created a great deal of interest, while an information bureau established by the Junior Chamber of Commerce has done an excellent job of directing tourists to the Mission. Council Grove is aware of its historic sites and their interest to visitors. It is also aware of the commercial value of such places to the community, and it is losing no opportunity to call attention to them.

Three floodlights purchased and installed by the Council Grove Ladies' Civic Improvement Club, with the assistance of the Kiwanis Club, also have made the Mission and grounds a place of beauty after dark. The Kansas District of Kiwanis International has placed an attractive marble bench in a corner of the grounds to commemorate the founding of the district at Council Grove.

Donors during the year included Ralph Edwards, Burdick; Dorothy Miller, White City; Fred Roy, Wilsey; John Ryman, Dunlap; and Lucy Porter Axe,

Rose Axe, O. A. Copple, O. D. Griffing, Bud Larmer, Larry Stewart, W. H. White, Jr., and Willard Young, Council Grove.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

During the year visitors representing 29 states, England, Germany, Australia, Colombia, Ecuador, the Egyptian Sudan, and the Philippine Islands stopped at Old Shawnee Mission, located in the Kansas City suburbs. All sections of Kansas and Missouri were represented and there were many school and scout groups. A group of approximately 100 new Johnson county public school teachers visited the Mission on a tour to points of interest in the vicinity, sponsored by the Mission, Kan., Chamber of Commerce. Among other visitors were Mrs. Eleanor Lia, great granddaughter of the Rev. Isaac McCoy, Shawnee Baptist missionary; Mr. and Mrs. Louis T. Dick, Tulsa, Okla., George Dick, and James Squirrel, all Shawnee Indians.

The original brick walls of the North building and most of the West building were tuckpointed and waterproofed. Three rooms in the North building were papered with a reproduction of a wallpaper used before 1840.

The annual pilgrimage of the Kansas department, Daughters of the American Revolution, was held as usual at the Mission on Constitution Day, September 17. Approximately 115 members from over the state attended the meeting and picnic.

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

THE MITCHELL BEQUEST

In 1953 the board of directors accepted for the Society a 30-acre tract of hill pasture known as Mount Mitchell. Bequeathed by William I. Mitchell in memory of his father, Capt. William Mitchell, and the Connecticut-Kansas colony of which he was a member, the hill overlooks the town of Wabaunsee where the colony settled. The terms of the bequest required that an appropriate monument or marker be placed on the hill. This condition was fulfilled last month when a six-foot monument of Onaga stone was erected on the summit. A bronze plaque attached to the stone reads:

In commemoration of the Connecticut Kansas Colony, known also as the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony, which settled at Wabaunsee in 1856, and in memory of Capt. William Mitchell, a member of the Colony, this monument is erected on Mount Mitchell through the generosity of his son, William I. Mitchell, by the Kansas State Historical Society, 1956.

This year is the centennial of the Connecticut colony's arrival in Kansas, and it is therefore fitting that the marker should have been erected at this time. The Society is pleased to have had a part in commemorating the constructive efforts of this group of pioneers.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

It is a pleasure this year, as always, to call attention to the work of the staff. The Society's collections have made it one of the nation's leading historical institutions, but the people who do the work day after day are

responsible for the personal element which brings such commendations as this from California: "In my opinion the Kansas State Historical Society is the most efficient and co-operative historical society in the country. . . ."

While it is not possible to name every individual on the staff, the work of each is sincerely appreciated. Special mention should be given to Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary; Mrs. Lela Barnes of the manuscript division, treasurer of the Society; Alberta Pantle, librarian; Robert W. Richmond, archivist; Stanley D. Sohl, museum director; Forrest R. Blackburn of the newspaper division; and Jennie S. Owen, annalist.

Acknowledgment should also be made of the fine work of the custodians of the several historic sites administered by the Society: Mr. and Mrs. Harry Hardy at Shawnee Mission, Mr. and Mrs. Elwood Jones at Kaw Mission, Mr. and Mrs. V. E. Berglund at the Funston Memorial Home, and John Scott at the First Capitol.

Respectfully submitted,

NYLE H. MILLER, *Secretary.*

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, Karl Miller moved that it be approved. Motion was seconded by Will T. Beck and the report was accepted.

President Riegle 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 5, 1955, to July 26, 1956.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 5, 1955:

Cash (including \$1,153.69 of the Elizabeth Reader bequest)	\$6,896.36	
U. S. bonds, Series K.	3,500.00	
		\$9,896.36

Receipts:

Membership fees	\$929.01	
Gifts and donations	35.30	
Bond interest	274.90	
		1,239.21
		\$11,135.57

Disbursements: \$2,041.50

Balance, July 26, 1956:

Cash (including \$775.19 of the Elizabeth Reader bequest)	\$4,094.07	
U. S. bonds, Series K.	5,000.00	
		9,094.07
		\$11,135.57

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 5, 1955:

Cash	\$68.02	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>\$1,018.02</u>

Receipts:

Savings account interest	2.54	
		<u>\$1,020.56</u>

Balance, July 26, 1956:

Cash	\$20.56	
U. S. bonds, Series K	1,000.00	
		<u>\$1,020.56</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 5, 1955:

Cash	\$142.90	
U. S. bonds, Series K	500.00	
		<u>\$642.90</u>

Receipts:

Savings account interest	1.29	
		<u>\$644.19</u>

Disbursements, books

\$27.12

Balance, July 26, 1956:

Cash	\$117.07	
U. S. bonds, Series K	500.00	
		<u>617.07</u>

\$644.19

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

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

ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Balance, August 5, 1955:

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

Receipts:

Interest (deposited in membership fee fund)	130.00	
		<u>\$6,483.69</u>

Disbursements, books

\$508.50

Balance, July 26, 1956:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$775.19	
U. S. bonds, Series G	5,200.00	
		<u>5,975.19</u>

\$6,483.69

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. Appropriations made to the Historical Society by the legislature are disbursed through the State Department of Administration. For the year ending June 30, 1956, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, including the Memorial building, \$217,232; Funston Home, \$2,600; Pike Pawnee Village site, \$1,000; First Capitol of Kansas, \$4,848; Kaw Mission, \$4,534; Old Shawnee Mission, \$14,363.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. LELA BARNES, *Treasurer.*

On motion by Lea Maranville, seconded by John S. Dawson, the report of the treasurer was accepted.

President Riegle then 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 Will T. Beck:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 12, 1956.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the by-laws 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, the Old Kaw Mission, the Funston Home and Pike's Pawnee Village, for the period August 5, 1955, to July 26, 1956, and that they are hereby approved.

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman,*

JOHN S. DAWSON,

FRANK HAUCKE,

T. M. LILLARD,

C. M. CORRELL.

Will T. Beck moved acceptance of the report. Alan W. Farley seconded the motion and the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by Will T. Beck:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

October 12, 1956.

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: Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, president; Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, first vice-president; and Richard M. Long, Wichita, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman.*

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board. Because of interest in the controversy over the Wyandotte Indian

burial ground in the heart of Kansas City, Kan., Alan W. Farley was called on to speak briefly on the history of the site and its current status. Mr. Farley concluded his remarks by presenting the following resolution and moving its acceptance:

RESOLUTION

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Board of Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society at the annual meeting on October 16, 1956, at Topeka, Kan., that the Huron Indian Cemetery in Kansas City, Kan., is a place of unusual historical interest and should be preserved for posterity because of its unique character and because of the historical significance of the lives of those Wyandotte Indians buried therein, and that the Secretary is hereby directed to notify all of the Kansas representatives and senators of this resolution, and that they be urged to secure the repeal of provisions relating to said cemetery contained in Public Law 887—84th Congress, Chapter 843, Second Session, S 3970.

R. F. Brock seconded the motion by Alan W. Farley, and the resolution was adopted.

There followed a brief discussion of means of obtaining new members with remarks by Joseph C. Shaw, Charles C. Rankin, Frank Haucke, Otto J. Wulschleger, and Karl Miller.

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.

Before the president's address, Col. Brice C. W. Custer was introduced to the meeting. Colonel Custer is a grandnephew of Gen. George A. Custer and is currently serving as Senior Army Adviser for Reserve units in the state of Kansas.

The address by President Wilford Riegler follows:

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

PECK'S BAD BOYS

WILFORD RIEGLER

THIS is a brief story of an infantry division in World War I, a division composed of men from Kansas and Missouri; a division that covered itself with glory and everlasting fame by helping to drive the Germans out of France, and across the Rhine river, which brought peace for awhile to a troubled world.

I refer to the 35th division, a National Guard outfit, if you please. When war was declared on the Germans in 1917, our United States armed forces were neither large nor strong. Much planning, organi-

zation, and reorganization had to be effected expeditiously by our military leaders in Washington and elsewhere in the country, for the Germans were driving toward Paris and ultimate victory over the Allies. In order to reach the required strength for a war-size infantry regiment, for instance, the National Guard regiments within a state, and sometimes from two states, were joined together.

Uniting two regiments to make one regiment of the required strength eliminated virtually half of the officers. Many officers were transferred to other units or camps for duty; a good many were discharged for physical disabilities; others were relieved from the service because of certain deficiencies. Those were days that tried an officer's soul because of the anxiety for his military future. In order to reach the required strength of a division, battalions and regiments of the various branches of several or more states were joined together. To make up the 35th division, the National Guard organizations of Kansas and Missouri were combined. The Missouri Guard contributed, according to the record, 14,282 men, and Kansas 9,781 men. When the divisional strength was placed at 27,000 the additional men were taken almost entirely from Kansas and Missouri drafts, so that the division about which we speak today, started out and continued to be, to the time it was mustered out in 1919, a Kansas and Missouri outfit.

Here in Kansas, for many years prior to 1917, our National Guard units, small in size, and without much pay and equipment, were instructed, trained, and led by many devoted, loyal, and efficient officers. I have time here to speak briefly of only three of these officers who helped to mould our Kansas National Guard in those days. Many of you knew these officers personally, I am sure.

Gen. Charles I. Martin, of Fort Scott, was the adjutant general of Kansas before and after World War I. He had a long and distinguished military career. As a captain of the famous 20th Kansas infantry in the Battle of Manila, Martin's company suffered the heaviest casualties of the regiment. Near Calucan in the Philippines his company held the enemy in place without relief for six weeks. Martin came out of that engagement a major and was the only National Guard general officer with the 35th division in 1917 and 1918.

Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf, of Lawrence, had been in command of the 1st Kansas infantry regiment from 1897 to 1917, except during the Spanish-American War, during which time he served as a major of the 20th Kansas infantry. He succeeded Funston as commanding officer of that famous regiment.

Col. Perry M. Hoisington, of Newton, the grand old man of the 2d Kansas infantry regiment, was born in Michigan. He served in the National Guard of that state as an enlisted man and officer before coming to Kansas in 1884. Colonel Hoisington served in the National Guard of Kansas most of the years from 1890 until 1925, beginning as a private. He received the rank of colonel in 1895 and commanded the 2d Kansas through the Spanish-American War and on the Mexican border. He was the first commanding officer of the 137th infantry in 1917. He gave the guard an uplifting and permeating influence which displayed devotion and love of service of the highest order. Many a time the men followed on foot this gallant soldier and his horse while on some hike or maneuver.

Such was the caliber of the officers who prepared the National Guard for service in World War I.

Many of the men of the division served on the Mexican border in 1916, guarding and protecting our southern American frontier against Mexican outlaws who were making life miserable for those who lived there.

The service on the border proved to be a great training center for these men who later became veterans of World War I. Down there in the hot winds, sand, and cactus the men were moulded into soldiers of the best quality by living a vigorous outdoor life and by learning to endure fatigue, discomfort, and hardship.

On Sunday, August 5, 1917, the troops of Kansas, and other states, were called into active service and assigned to home camps. The units were federalized, passed from the control of the states, and became a part of the United States army. From then until October a steady stream of guard troops departed from many towns in Kansas for Camp Doniphan, Okla. Here organizations were joined together and allotted designated areas. They started an intensive program of exercises, marches, and drills; they became accustomed to a daily menu of Oklahoma dust. Soldiers were routed out of bed each morning with dust in their eyes and dust on their army bacon. They drilled or hiked under a scorching sun with equally scorching sands underfoot.

Gen. William M. Wright, the division commander, insisted firmly that the men of his division be highly proficient in the use of the rifle, accurate in firing at all ranges, and skilled at maneuvering in the open woods by day or by night. The manual of arms, bayonet drill, grenade throwing, and trench warfare became an important part of each day's routine for the infantry. The field signal battalion, with its radio work; the artillery with its range practice; and the

medical men with their first aid training also were on a busy schedule. Gruelling hikes took the men out into the scrub oak districts surrounding the camp. The men had never trained for trench warfare so experts in the new art of war, French, Scotch, and English, were sent from the battlefields of France to teach them. In spite of living in tents, which meant a fight day after day to maintain their health, the men were hardened and toughened by constant hard work.

At Camp Doniphan the Kansas contingents of the division passed in review before the governor of Kansas, the Hon. Arthur Capper. It was a windy and dusty day, and the mental picture of Governor Capper, astride a strange and frisky army steed has not yet faded. During much of that day the governor also passed through the Kansas area of the camp shaking hands with many soldiers over the age of 21.

During the late winter of 1917 and the early spring of 1918 rumors were numerous and insistent about the division's departure from Camp Doniphan. Nobody knew just how and where all the rumors were started. Finally, early in April, the order for evacuation came. All the tracks of the spur railroad leading into camp were spotted with empty passenger coaches. As troop train after troop train departed, the soldiers bid a fond and profane adieu to Oklahoma's dusty precincts.

Immense crowds saw the troop trains as they passed through cities and hamlets. Once or twice each day the men were marched through the streets of various cities in order to exercise their legs.

The whole division was assembled in Camp Mills, near Mineola, on Long Island, N. Y. Here the equipment of the men was checked and made complete and they were given last minute instructions for the trip across the Atlantic Ocean. However, there was time for relaxation and furloughs. Many of the men were given two-day furloughs, so they could see the bright lights and wonders of New York City. The old Hippodrome Theatre, with its spectacular shows, was probably the main attraction for the men.

The men of the division attracted the immediate attention of the New Yorkers because of their chin straps. The winds of Oklahoma spoiled many formations on the parade ground by blowing hats from the soldiers' heads. For that reason, General Wright, the division commander, ordered every officer and enlisted man to secure his campaign hat with a strap under his chin. The New York papers called the division, the "Chin Strap Division," and the citizens of

the East concluded that the Kansans were either cowpunchers or ranchers. In fact, a good many of the Easterners, smug in their culture and provincial thinking, were a little afraid of these Kansans as they walked their streets. Peering with strained necks at skyscrapers and getting lost among the canyons of the city, indicated to the Easterners that these chin strap boys from the "Wild West" might not be civilized.

On April 24 and 25, the Middle Westerners, many of them smelling salt water for the first time, boarded ships at the loading docks in New York City and Hoboken, N. J., and sailed away to the first great adventure of their lives. It was a cold, windy voyage across the boisterous sea. Because of the German submarine the ships traveled in convoys, and they were routed far to the North Atlantic. Turning southward near the Scottish coast, the ships passed through the Irish Sea between England and Ireland. Immediately upon debarkation at Liverpool the troops were marched through the city, beneath flying flags, banners, and confetti to waiting trains. They were then whisked away to Winchester, Southampton, and other cities of southern England. Here they basked in England's sunshine; here they saw their first German prisoners, erect, proud, and defiant.

After a few days' rest, the men embarked on small boats and ships, and on a cold and foggy night, crossed the English channel safely to Le Havre on the northern coast of France. The troops moved to various bivouac areas, erroneously called rest camps, near the city of Eu. The war was not far away. The division, with eight other American divisions, was assembled in a little corner of northern France not far from Dunkerque of World War II fame. Here they were attached to the British army as reserves. The men were issued English rifles and other British equipment. English instructors and cooks were assigned to the various units. Under their guidance the Kansans dug reserve trenches, and erected barbed wire entanglements; they prepared a line of defense to which the British could fall back, or into which some of the American reserve divisions could be thrown, if need be, to stop a push of the Germans to the English channel.

About this time the Allied command was putting heavy pressure on General Pershing for a drastic change in organization. The English "Big Brass" insisted that these American reserve divisions be split up. They wanted to use the men of these divisions as replacements for British units. If their plan had been successful,

American soldiers would have worn British uniforms, eaten English-cooked food, and would have fought as Englishmen. The thought of this un-American plan lowered the morale of the men greatly. But General Pershing, God bless him, with speed and firmness, convinced the Allied command that his men would fight under the American flag, in American uniforms and units, under command of American officers.

On June 7, 1918, the division boarded the small boxcars, commonly called 40 men or 8 horses, for the province of Alsace in southeastern France. By lying bumper to bumper 40 men could sleep most unsuccessfully in one of these boxcars. Alsace had been taken from the French in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War. It remained a German province until the early days of World War I when the French recaptured it from the Germans. The majority of the people spoke German. Alsace was a quiet and peaceful sector and a good training ground for the division. High pine-clad hills looked down on the fertile valleys below. The homes of the peasants were intact there and the fields produced their yearly harvests. The linen factories, on the banks of the streams, hummed the song of peace. The inhabitants of the villages clattered along in their wooden shoes, like troops of trotting cavalry. Old women at the municipal washing troughs beat out a symphony of peace with their pounding paddles.

Golden-haired girls shouted welcomes, waved their hands, and threw flowers in the trucks filled with soldiers. The men unanimously agreed that it was a bully sector in which to fight a war. And every soldier felt sure he would do well in this peaceful sector.

After being in Alsace a short time, the men observed that most of the farm work was done by women. The public relations officer of the division issued a bulletin stating that all soldiers, who wished to do so, might volunteer to assist the women in the fields on Sunday after church. Eight hundred men volunteered. He never issued such a bulletin again.

In the little town of Wesserling, high in the Vosges mountains in Alsace, a good many of the men slept in a great barracks which formerly had been a German headquarters. Others slept in haymows. The stables usually were under these haymows so there was always an elaborate assortment of odors. The soldiers were annoyed by the stamping and moving cows. Rats and troops developed into congenial bedmates.

The war in Alsace had taken on a subdued tone. There had been

no major action since 1915. It had been a rest center for both the French and the German troops for some time. The roar of guns was seldom heard and air raids never occurred.

However, the Kansans did their best to make things exciting for the Germans, who retaliated with shrapnel, gas shells, and hand grenades. The Kansans received their first baptism of fire when the Germans staged a raid on their lines. A short time later Company C of the 137th infantry, made up of boys from Burlington and Great Bend, raided the German trenches and captured seven prisoners. The division left 100 men in the foothills of the Alps who had been killed during raids on the German lines, or who had died of wounds, accident, or disease. Lt. Thomas Hopkins, a Kansan, was killed while rescuing a wounded comrade from the barbed-wire entanglement in "No Man's Land." He formerly lived in Wichita, and the American Legion Post there is named for him. Sgt. McKinley Pratt, of Emporia, threw himself upon an unexploded hand grenade in order to protect near-by comrades and was killed when the grenade exploded.

In Alsace the men learned how grim war could be. They swore at the discomforts and were disgusted with fighting in the mountains. Yet, when they had moved on to other sectors, where battles raged and men died on every side, they remembered how serene their lives had been in the high mountains of Alsace.

Intense fighting had developed in the Marne valley, east of Paris, while the 35th trained in the Alsace sector. The enemy had attacked, and they had been repulsed with heavy losses. For the first time in four years conditions were encouraging for the Allies. General Pershing had obtained consent from the supreme command to reduce the sector above St. Mihiel, a strong and dominating area which the Germans had occupied since 1914; so, early on the morning of September 12, after intensive artillery preparation, the Americans launched their first major offensive, designed to wipe out this St. Mihiel sector. The day before the St. Mihiel offensive began, the 35th landed in the Foret de Haye, a densely wooded area not far from Nancy and only a few miles in the rear of St. Mihiel.

The 35th division was in reserve during the St. Mihiel offensive which was an important assignment. The reserve is an essential part of every attacking force, large or small, even if that reserve never moves a foot nor fires a shot.

Those were trying days for the 35th. The St. Mihiel fight was

only a few miles away, and the roar and flash of the guns could sometimes be heard and seen by the men. At night enemy airplanes came over and dropped bombs on the forest, and a good part of the time it rained heavily. The St. Mihiel offensive was tactically perfect and was operated with precision. The Americans crashed at will against the German lines and there was no need to call upon the reserves. Immediately after the St. Mihiel sector was taken the 35th left its reserve position and moved by motor buses, trucks, and on foot toward the Argonne Forest.

This forest, forever made immortal by the blood of many American boys, covered hills and low mountains. It dominated the country surrounding it and was heavily fortified by the Germans. As long as the Germans held and occupied this forest the war could not end. It was the most essential area in the possession of the enemy. The operation to attack and capture the Argonne was set tentatively for the spring of 1919. However, the ease with which the St. Mihiel sector was captured, and the obvious weakening of the enemy on all fronts, convinced Marshal Foch, the allied supreme commander, that he could capture this forest and end the war in the fall of 1918. He, therefore, set the force of the Allied armies to the task of preparing for the last great battle of World War I.

The American battle line extended from the Meuse river, a few miles above Verdun, westward to the Argonne Forest, where it connected with the French Fourth army which was attacking on the left of the Argonne. Nine American divisions were in the Meuse-Argonne line ready to attack on the night of September 25. The men of these divisions had been under constant enemy fire for four days and nights.

At 11:30 P. M., September 25, the American artillery opened a deceptive fire to the east of the Meuse river and to the west of the Argonne Forest. This was intended to deceive the enemy as to the place at which the attack would come. It was hoped that the enemy would shift his reserves and other forces away from the American line. At 2:30, on the morning of September 26, all other artillery concentrated its fire between the Meuse river and the Argonne. All Hell broke loose. The sky was slashed and cut with a mass of crimson. The earth jarred and rumbled, for three hours, as 3,000 guns concentrated their fire upon the enemy lines. Naval guns stationed at posts farther to the rear concentrated on movement of troops behind the enemy lines.

Then at 5:30 the infantry on the American line went over the top. There was little ceremony about it. Every man knew that at last he was going forward to a new and great adventure. He knew that he might fall along the way, rise again to sweep toward the enemy, and then fall again to rise no more.

The ground over which the division advanced was not heavily wooded. The trees were scattered. There were many deep ravines, destroyed villages and farms, and other obstacles.

It is impossible to relate here in detail the part played by the 35th in the Argonne. In five days of intensive, unrelenting fighting, the division had fought against the best the Germans had to offer. In a bedlam of death, destruction, and debris it had thrust aside, and pushed back, the pride of the German army. The 35th had fought against and taken prisoners from six German divisions. It had advanced ten miles into enemy territory. It had been pushed back, had gone forward again, and then had been forced to organize and hold a line about ten miles forward of the original front. The division had advanced farther into the Argonne than any other division in the First army. It had captured Vauquois Hill, a perfect example of German fortification with an elaborate trench system. Along with the 28th, Pennsylvania's National Guard division, on the left, it had captured the town of Varennes. When the French Revolution was brewing King Louis the 16th and Marie Antoinette endeavored to escape from France. They got as far as Varennes where they were captured, returned to Paris, and eventually turned over to the executioner.

The 35th also captured the towns of Cheppy, Very, Neuville, Baulny, Charpentry, Exermont, Fleville as well as Chaudron Farm and Montrebeau Woods.

The division captured over 1,000 prisoners. It also captured a great mass of enemy equipment: machine guns, auto rifles, anti-tank guns, telephone systems, engineer dumps, ammunition dumps, 6-inch howitzers, anti-aircraft batteries, and many other weapons and materiel of warfare.

It suffered 8,023 casualties out of 27,000 men in five days of desperate fighting. The War Department records show over 1,000 killed, 6,894 wounded, and 169 captured.

The 35th division played a decisive part in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, the last great battle of the war. Under the dark, autumn sky, and through the steady, cold rain it pushed ahead, and the Aire river valley was reddened with the blood of a thousand dead.

When the division had spent its force, it stepped aside to let the First Regular army division take its place to carry on the battle.

On October 1, 1918, the weary columns of the 35th were on their way to the rear. It was morning and the sky was clear. The air was cool for it was October in France. The leaves on the trees were purple and russet.

The division, as it went to the rear, looked more like a band of refugees than a military organization. The men were unshaven, dirty, and haggard. Their clothing was soiled and torn. Many men had minor wounds, and white bandages were much in evidence. A great deal of equipment had been lost or destroyed. A serious dysenteric epidemic had broken out.

Into this scene, even before the men had time to recuperate, to clean their clothes or equipment, or to get a good, square meal, rode one Maj. Robert Gray Peck, of the Inspector General's department. He arrived at the scene in a shining limousine, spic and span in a clean, spotless uniform, stiff, erect, his military appearance perfect in every detail. Major Peck was far behind the front lines, during the Meuse-Argonne offensive. The roar and flash of the guns of that battle had not disturbed his sleep. He had been sent forward to inspect the troops, then ride back to his rendezvous in the rear of the lines and make his report to his superior officers.

Major Peck was indeed a well-trained and discerning officer. He had been taught to appreciate shining buttons, well-polished shoes, and snappy saluting.

Colonel Rieger of the division explained to Major Peck about the battle and the long march immediately afterward, whereupon Peck heatedly replied, "The soldiers ought to be ready for inspection on all occasions." Some men did not have buttons on their coats. Major Peck reported on that. Some did not have blouses at all, and none could be obtained, but Major Peck severely reprimanded the division for this deficiency. One soldier, sick with dysentery, his uniform torn, and legging partly gone, as a result of the battle, was reprimanded by Major Peck. When the Kansas boy said, "I haven't any other clothes," Major Peck replied, "Why don't you get them?"

Major Peck severely criticized the men because they did not jump to their feet with military precision, stand at attention, and salute him. He complained that the officers and men were talking together. He came upon about 40 men resting together. A few of them were sick. They failed to notice the major as he approached

them, and they did not come to attention. Major Peck severely reprimanded these men and made three who were sick stand up and come to attention.

As Major Peck was driving away in his limousine, he came upon a wagon with officers' bed rolls. On them were two privates who had been gassed in battle. "What the Hell are you doing on that wagon?" shouted the major. The sergeant explained that the men were sick, and had been ordered to rest on top of the rolls. To which Peck instantly replied, "I don't give a damn who told you to ride there, get the Hell off and stay off." The men got off. Major Peck should have known better. Any officer knows, or should know, that an Inspector General, or his representative, is an administrative officer. He does not command except in his own department. His job is to inspect, ascertain conditions, offer helpful suggestions and advice, and then make his inspection report to his superior officers. Major Peck had no business giving any commands to the lowliest private in the division. If he wanted the two men to get off the bedding rolls he should have asked the captain to order them off.

Major Peck's entire report showed how appalled he was by these ragged and wearied men. He ended his written report by saying, "Most of the organizations showed all the earmarks of National Guard units, which they are. Captains and lieutenants were continually noticed on most familiar terms with enlisted men. The National Guard attitude permeates the entire division and must be gotten rid of at once."

The wheels of time turn.

On February 28, 1921, the names of 4,000 officers came before the Military Affairs committee of the United States Senate for promotion. The names had to be confirmed by the senate. The committee was about to take favorable action on the entire list when Sen. Arthur Capper of Kansas inquired if there were a Robert Gray Peck on the list. There was. Senator Capper then explained to the committee about the Peck report on the 35th division. The committee listened intently to Senator Capper and also to the reading of resolutions opposing Peck's promotion, and then struck his name from the list. Later another effort to force the promotion of Peck was balked by Senator Capper in the committee. He was supported this time by Sen. Selden P. Spencer of Missouri and by Sen. Charles Curtis of Kansas. Later, the senate committee recommended the promotion of Major Peck. Senators Capper, Spencer, and I. L. Lenroot of Wisconsin filed a minority report against the promotion. The nom-

ination of Peck to be a lieutenant colonel in the Regular army was discussed later in an executive session in the senate. Strong opposition to the promotion developed early in the debate. Capper, and many other senators, spoke against Peck. Finally, about 11 months after his name was first considered, the senate in executive session, by a vote of 41 to 19, confirmed the nomination of Peck to be a lieutenant colonel in the Regular army. Thus ended one of the strangest and most publicized episodes in the military history of the National Guard of Kansas.

What became of Peck? He served as a lieutenant colonel only seven months, for he was retired from the army on December 15, 1922.

What became of the 35th division? It was soon reactivated after World War I, this time composed of the National Guard troops from Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska. Charles I. Martin was its first post-war commanding general.

In December, 1940, the division was ordered into Federal service and was sent to Camp Robinson, Ark., near Little Rock. Here it trained until a few weeks after Pearl Harbor, in December, 1941, when it was ordered to the West Coast. After two years of training and duty in various camps of the United States it was shipped overseas. On D-day it landed on Omaha Beach in Normandy under command of General Eisenhower, and once more helped to drive the Germans out of France and across the Rhine river.

Soon after the end of World War II, the division was again reactivated and was composed once more of the National Guard troops of Kansas and Missouri. It is now considered one of the best trained and equipped National Guard divisions in the United States.

I am proud to have served in this division for over 25 years and during two World Wars.

At the conclusion of the president's address, the secretary showed a series of color slides of historic buildings and sites in Kansas. The slides were selected from the collection being assembled by the Society.

Kirke Mechem, former secretary and editor of the *Annals of Kansas, 1886-1925*, was introduced by President Riegle. Mr. Mechem in turn introduced Jennie Small Owen, annalist, and presented the second volume of the *Annals*.

The report of the nominating committee was called for, and was presented by Will T. Beck:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 12, 1956.

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, 1959:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Anderson, George L., Lawrence.	Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander, Topeka.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.	Menninger, Karl, Topeka.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Beck, Will T., Holton.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater.	Motz, Frank, Hays.
Chandler, C. J., Wichita.	Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence.
Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.	Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.	Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
Dawson, John S., Topeka.	Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.	Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.	von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Lose, Harry F., Topeka.	

Respectfully submitted,

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

Will T. Beck moved the adoption of the report. Motion was seconded by J. C. Shaw and the report was accepted. Members of the board for the term ending in October, 1959, were declared elected.

Reports of local societies were called for and given as follows: Orville Watson Mosher for the Lyon county society; Mrs. C. M. Slagg for the Riley county society; Mrs. Clyde E. Glandon for the Wyandotte county society; Lea Maranville for the Ness county society; and Paul B. Wood for the Chase county society.

Emory K. Lindquist presented the following and moved that it be made a part of the record:

In recognition of the distinguished contribution to a knowledge of the history of Kansas by the publication of the two volumes of the *Annals of Kansas*, and in appreciation of the high level achievement which the volumes represent,

we hereby extend our hearty congratulations and genuine thanks to Kirke Mechem, Jennie Small Owen, Nyle Miller, Louise Barry, and all others who have shared in the writing, editing, and publishing of the two volumes of the *Annals of Kansas*.

The motion was seconded by Sylvester Baringer, and the members of the Society voted their approval.

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 Riegle. He called for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. This was read by Will T. Beck who moved that it be accepted. J. C. Shaw seconded the motion and the board voted to accept the report. The following were elected:

For a one-year term: Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, president; Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, first vice-president; and Richard M. Long, Wichita, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

After the introduction of new officers and brief remarks by President Clymer, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1956

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1957

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
Beezley, George F., Girard.
Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
Brodrick, Lynn R., Marysville.
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.
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.	Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.	Owen, Arthur K., Topeka.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Pratt.	Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.	Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Sublette.
Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.	Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.	Richards, Walter M., Emporia.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.	Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.	Robbins, Richard W., Pratt.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.	Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.	Scott, Angelo, Iola.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.	Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.	Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris, Garden City.	Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.	Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita.	Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Maranville, Lea, Ness City.	Wark, George H., Caney.
	Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1959

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Malin, James C., Lawrence.
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Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.	Menninger, Karl, Topeka.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Beck, Will T., Holton.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater.	Motz, Frank, Hays.
Chandler, C. J., Wichita.	Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence.
Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.	Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.	Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
Dawson, John S., Topeka.	Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.	Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.	von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Lose, Harry F., Topeka.	

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by ALBERTA PANTLE, 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 American Indians and the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on 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, 1955, through September 30, 1956. 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 printed elsewhere in this issue.

KANSAS

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———, and REBECCA DUNN, *Purple on the Moon, an Operetta in Two Acts*. [Wichita] Raymond A. Hoffman Company, 1955. 72p.

APPLEY, A. C., *The Younger Brothers, Their Life and Character*. New York, Frederick Fell, Inc., Publishers [c1955]. 245p.

ATWOOD, FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, *First Methodist Church, Atwood, Kansas, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1880-1955*. No impr. Unpaged.

BAILES, KENDALL, *From Hunting Ground to Suburb, a History of Merriam, Kansas*. N. p. [1956]. 42p.

BAIRD, MARTHA, *Nice Deity*. New York, Definition Press, 1955. 82p.

BARKER, ROGER G., and HERBERT F. WRIGHT, *Midwest and Its Children, the Psychological Ecology of an American Town*. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Company, n. d. 532p.

BARNES, GEORGE C., *Denver, the Man* . . . Wilmington, Ohio, n. p., 1949. 372p.

BILL, EDWARD E., *The Friendly Dragon and Other Poems for Little Folk*. N. p., Privately Printed [c1955]. 94p.

- BLAIR, JOHN ALVIN, *The Flaming Torch*. N. p., Comet Press Books [c1955]. 373p.
- BOGUE, ALLAN G., *Money at Interest, the Farm Mortgage on the Middle Border*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press [c1955]. 293p.
- BRUNSON, HOWARD, *The Oilman Who Didn't Want To Become a Millionaire*. New York, Exposition Press [c1955]. [84]p.
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- COGGINS, CAROLYN, *Fabulous Foods for the People You Love*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall [c1955]. 308p.
- COLLINS, EARL L., *As of a Mustard Seed*. New York, Vantage Press [c1954]. 78p.
- COMANDINI, ADELE, *Doctor Kate, Angel on Snowshoes; the Story of Kate Pelham Newcomb, M. D.* New York, Rinehart & Company [c1956]. 339p.
- CONNER, VIRGINIA, *What Father Forbad*. Philadelphia, Dorrance & Company [c1951]. 219p.
- COOPER, FRANK A., *It Happened in Kansas*. Ottawa, Tallman Printing Company, c1955. Unpaged.
- COPELAND, LYNN, *Old Wine in New Bottles*. New York, Comet Press Books [c1954]. 55p.
- CORRELL, CHARLES M., *Manhattan Congregational Church, 1856-1956, a History*. No impr. 70p.
- COWGILL, DONALD O., and WAYNE PARRIS, *Senior Citizens of Wichita*. Wichita, Community Planning Council, 1955. 51p.
- Cross Reference Directory, Topeka, July, 1956*. Independence, Kan., City Publishing Company, c1956. Unpaged.
- DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, EUNICE STERLING CHAPTER, WICHITA, *Richard Eason of Bernardston, Massachusetts, and His Descendants, Compiled by Mrs. Bertha Eason Haas*. Wichita, n. p., 1956. Typed. 33p.
- , KANSAS SOCIETY, *Proceedings of the Fifty-Seventh Annual State Conference, February 14, 15, and 16, 1955, Parsons, Kansas*. No impr. 236p.
- , MARTHA LOVING FERRELL CHAPTER, WICHITA, *Goddard Cemetery Records, Sedgwick County, Kansas, 1955; Will of John Irwin, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania; Will of William McCaughey, Jefferson County, Ohio*. Wichita, n. p., n. d. Typed. 24p.
- , SUSANNAH FRENCH PUTNEY CHAPTER, EL DORADO, *Notes Copied From Will Book 'B' of Butler County, Kansas, 1880-1894*. El Dorado, n. p., 1955. Typed. [55]p.
- , WYANDOT CHAPTER, KANSAS CITY, *Marriage Records, Book One, July, 1859-October, 1867, Wyandotte County, Kansas*. No impr. Typed. 29p.
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- DITZEN, LOWELL RUSSELL, *You Are Never Alone*. New York, Henry Holt and Company [c1956]. 253p.

- Dodge City Pictorial, No. 1.* [Dodge City, Rolland Jacquart, 1955.] Unpaged.
- DONOVAN, ROBERT J., *Eisenhower, the Inside Story.* New York, Harper & Brothers [c1956]. 423p.
- Eisenhower Museum, Abilene, Kansas.* No impr. 32p.
- EMBREE, RAYMOND, *The Kansas Wind Guage [sic], a Folksy Yarn.* Chillicothe, Ohio, Dave Webb, 1956. Mimeographed. [6]p.
- ENGELHARDT, MADYNE FRANCES. *Three Creeks to Cross.* New York, Comet Press Books [c1956]. 191p.
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- HOPE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, *Industrial Data on Hope, Kansas.* No impr. Mimeographed. [21]p.
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- [HUTCHINSON, GRACE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, *Grace Episcopal Church, a Short History, 1879-1955.*] No impr. 44p.
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- LEONARD, ELIZABETH JANE, *Buffalo Bill, King of the Old West.* New York, Library Publishers [c1955]. 320p.
- LONG, WILLIAM RALPH, *The Agra-Snow [Methodist Churches] Historical Booklet.* N. p., 1940. Mimeographed. Unpaged.

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- MOSS, L. HANI, *Thought Shadows.* Dexter, Mo., Candor Press, 1955. 100p.
- NELSON, DICK J., *The Old West and Custer's Last Stand, as Recorded in the Memory of Dick J. Nelson.* [San Diego, Author, c1956.] 17p.
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- OERKE, BESS VIOLA, *Dress.* Peoria, Ill., Charles A. Bennett Company [c1956]. 575p.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

TRAFFIC PROBLEMS IN MANHATTAN

From the *Manhattan Express*, December 24, 1859.

One of the greatest nuisances with which a town was ever cursed, is the habit people from the country have of leaving their teams standing on the crossing of streets, and any person of common sense will at once see the inconvenience to which pedestrians are subjected, and refrain from doing so. [See photograph *between* pp. 8, 9.]

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION?

From the *Emporia News*, September 8, 1860.

Sam. Wood, of the *Council Grove Press*, has two very nice Suffolk pigs, which, judging from his looks, he eats with, drinks with and sleeps with. He took us to see them when we were at the Grove lately, thinking, we presume, that we would give him and his pigs an editorial notice. Out of respect for the pigs we didn't do it, as they undoubtedly would hate to have folks know that they associate with Sam.

GARBAGE DISPOSAL IN DODGE CITY?

From the *Dodge City Times*, July 27, 1878.

The practice of throwing rotten onions, potatoes, cabbage, turnips and sometimes eggs, is becoming a very popular amusement for the gentlemen of leisure who rusticate on the benches, boxes and kegs along the principal thoroughfare. It is better than a monkey show to see an unsuspecting pedestrian struck between the eyes with a rotten potato.

AN EARLY-DAY FLYING SAUCER?

From the *Ottawa Weekly Herald*, April 8, 1897.

THE AIR SHIP MALADY BREAKS OUT HERE—SEVERAL SAW IT THURSDAY NIGHT.

The mysterious light which has created so many startling stories of its appearance over many cities and towns of the state of Kansas within the past two weeks, is reported to have been visible in the heavens to the westward of Ottawa that night and a large number of residents witnessed its mysterious passage. They state that at about dusk a bright light about the size of a street electric light appeared in the southwest and moved slowly in a wavy line across the heavens to the northwest where it gradually grew fainter and fainter in brilliancy until it disappeared from view. The same light was seen last night by many people of Kansas City and is perhaps the same light that hovered over Topeka a few days ago.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Elizabeth Barnes' column "Historic Johnson County" has continued to appear frequently in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park. Articles printed in recent months included: a history of the town of Shawnee, August 9, 1956; biographical sketch of Richard A. Hall, August 16; biographical sketch of Claude J. St. John, August 23; biographical sketch of John Morrow, September 6, 13; a history of the Overland Park State Bank, November 29; and "Fifty Years in Overland Park," December 6, 13.

The Pratt *Daily Tribune* published the third issue of *Pride*, its annual progress edition, August 15, 1956.

Points of historic interest in Kansas are listed and reviewed by John Watson in the *Wichita Beacon*, August 19, 1956. Also published in the *Beacon* recently were: an article on the First Territorial Capitol of Kansas, by Frank Madson, Jr., October 24; and "Kansas Salt Mining Industry Has Historical Past in Kingman Area," by Dee Ridpath, December 23.

Historical articles appearing in the *Pittsburg Headlight* the past several months included: an article on the town of Lane, Franklin county, August 20, 1956; a brief history of Girard, September 29; a sketch of the First Christian church, Pittsburg, October 12; and "Old Landmark [Miller home] Recalls Colorful Miller History in Mulberry," October 29.

Among historical articles of recent date in the *Emporia Gazette* were: "[Plymouth] Community's First House Was Built by John Carter," August 25, 1956; "Emporia Pioneer's [Curtis Heitt] Square Dealing With Indians Once Saved His Life," September 27; articles on the First Christian church, Emporia, October 2, 10; a history of the Verdigris church, near Olpe, October 5; "First Fire Department Was Organized in 1874," October 11; "J. W. Bolton Remembers Grasshoppers and Ducks," October 15; "Lincoln Adair Was First Negro Child Born on Townsite, Probably in 1864," October 19; "Plymouth's Indian Neighbors," by Mrs. S. H. Bennett, October 25, 29; "Area West of Emporia Was First Settled in Year 1855," by Mrs. E. M. Stanton, December 24; and "First Wedding in Emporia Area Was on January 7, 1857," January 7.

Roy F. Nichols reviewed a century's writing about the Kansas-Nebraska act and traced its passage through congress in "The Kan-

sas-Nebraska Act: A Century of Historiography," published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Lincoln, Neb., September, 1956.

On September 2, 1956, the Hutchinson *News-Herald* published an article entitled "Electric Trolley Debut 50 Years Ago," by Charles Remsberg. "South Hutchinson Remembers Saga of Old Ben Blanchard," by Jim Skinner, appeared in the *News-Herald*, September 23, and on January 6, 1957, Ruby Basye's "Great Stone Churches Stand as Monuments to Pioneers," a history of the Schoenchen community and church, Ellis county, was printed.

Veteran business men featured in the Great Bend *Tribune* in recent months included Jake Bisenius, a druggist in Great Bend for 22 years, September 4, 1956, and Ed McNown, who operated a meat market in Great Bend for many years, December 23.

Near Canton is the grave of Edward Miller, 18-year-old boy killed by Indians in 1864. The story of Miller's death is told in an article by Ruth Meyer in the Wichita *Eagle*, September 6, 1956. On January 22, 1957, "Elgin, Kan., Once 'Biggest Shipping Point' in World," by Charlotte Offen, appeared in the magazine section of the *Eagle*. Elgin became a cattle-shipping point in the middle 1880's with the coming of the Santa Fe railroad.

A historical article in the McCune *Herald*, September 7, 1956, called attention to the 75th anniversaries of the town and newspaper. The *Times*, started in 1882, is claimed as the *Herald's* earliest ancestor. McCune was incorporated in 1881.

A historical sketch of the First Methodist church of Hugoton appeared in the September 13, 1956, issue of the Hugoton *Hermes*. The Rev. Charles Brown was the first pastor of the church after its organization October 11, 1886.

Some early-day experiences of W. G. Nicholas, born in 1873 at Eureka, are related in the *Western Star*, Coldwater, September 14, 1956. Nicholas engaged in a number of activities in early Kansas, including freighting, well digging, and farming.

Regular publication of historical articles in the Hays *Daily News* has continued with the appearance of the following: "[Town of] Chetola Once Meant Gold in Hays Area," September 16, 1956; "First Old Settlers' Reunion [1894] Received a Few Sharp Digs From Early Editor [George D. Griffith]" and "[Town of] Yocemento Had Its Start in Cement," September 23; "Much of What Was Rome, Kans. Important to Life of Hays City," and "The Great Fire of 1895 De-

stroyed Most of Landmarks of Early Hays," September 30; "Kipple Murder Case in Toulon Rocked Ellis County in 1880's," October 7; "Strong Men Wept at News That General Bull Was Dead," October 21; "New Story About Custer Proves Daring of the Handsome General," November 25; and "Strain of Rebellion Leads Stockton's 'Old Doc' to Take Rocky Road to Osteopathy 50 Years," a biographical sketch of Dr. J. W. McMillen, Sr., by Bernice Brown, December 2.

A history of the Trinity Lutheran church, Atchison, and "Once-Booming Doniphan a Ghost Town," by Charles Spencer, were published in the Atchison *Daily Globe*, September 16, 1956. The *Globe* printed the story of High Prairie school, district No. 3, near Lancaster, in the issue of October 24.

Included among articles by Howard Moore in recent issues of the Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle*, were: "Visit Here Led to Marriage [to Augustus Packard] for Beauty Queen [Alice Belle Tuton]," September 18, 1956; "Enterprise Bars Raided by Carry Nation in 1901," October 3; "Fought Over Site of Early Courthouse," and "Early-Day County Commissioners Had Their Troubles, Too," October 20. On October 10 the *Reflector-Chronicle* printed a history of the Mt. Pleasant Presbyterian church, Dickinson county, which was observing its 75th anniversary.

Articles of historical interest appearing in the *News Chronicle*, Scott City, in recent months included a short sketch of the Scott City & Northern Railway, which has ceased to exist, September 20, 1956, and a history of school district 37 in Scott county, November 29.

Independence history down through the years comprised the 24-page historical section of the Independence *Daily Reporter*, September 23, 1956. The special edition was published in observance of the *Reporter's* 75th anniversary.

Newton's more violent history was reviewed in an article published in the Newton *Kansan*, September 25, 1956. It is pointed out that Newton has a "Boot Hill" cemetery where eight to fourteen gun-slingers now rest.

In 1876 Benjamin H. Smith organized the Chetopa Christian church with 25 charter members. An article sketching the history of the church was published in the Chetopa *Advance*, September 27, 1956.

The Highland *Vidette*, September 27, 1956, printed a history of the Zion Methodist church, near Robinson. The congregation was organized in 1881 by the Rev. John Asling.

Kansas Historical Notes

Officers elected at the 22d annual meeting of the Chase County Historical Society in Cottonwood Falls, September 8, 1956, were: Paul B. Wood, president; Henry Rogler, vice-president; Clint A. Baldwin, secretary; George T. Dawson, treasurer; and Mrs. Ruth Conner, chief historian. Appointed to the executive committee were: Mrs. Conner, Mrs. Ida M. Vinson, Mrs. Helen Austin, Charles Gaines, Beatrice Hays, R. Z. Blackburn, and Wood.

The Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society met at the home of Mrs. Sola Bradley in Merriam, September 24, 1956, for an election of officers. Those elected were: Lucile Larsen, president; Mrs. Yolande Smith, first vice-president; Mrs. Roy E. Boxmeyer, second vice-president; Mrs. Pearl Christ Miller, recording secretary; Mrs. Elwood Hobbs, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Louis Rieke, treasurer; Mrs. H. B. Sullivan, historian; Mrs. Charles Houlehan, curator; and Mrs. James G. Bell, member-in-waiting. Mrs. Harry Meyer was the retiring president.

On September 30, 1956, members of the Crawford County Historical Society toured the county by bus, visiting 32 historic sites. The organizer and guide for the tour was the society's president, C. M. Cooper.

New members elected to the Allen County Historical Society's board of directors at a dinner meeting of the society in Iola, October 1, 1956, were: L. T. Cannon, W. C. Caldwell, and Lewis Drake of Humboldt; Stanley Harris of Colony; R. L. Thompson, Jr. of Moran; and Spencer Gard, Mrs. R. H. Carpenter, Mary Hankins, and Angelo Scott of Iola. A feature of the program was the showing of colored slides of historic sites and structures in Kansas by Edgar Langsdorf of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Raymond Tillotson, Shields, was elected president of the Lane County Historical Society at a meeting in Dighton, October 8, 1956. Other officers are: Walter Herndon, vice-president; Mrs. Arle Boltz, secretary; and Mrs. R. G. Mull, Sr., treasurer. Arle Boltz, A. R. Bentley, and Frank Vycital were elected to the board of directors.

Officers elected by the Dickinson County Historical Society at the annual meeting October 12, 1956, at Enterprise, for two-year terms were: Mrs. Ray Livingstone, second vice-president; and Mrs. Adele Wilkins, treasurer. Willard Connell, Kansas City, a former resident

of Enterprise, was in charge of the program. B. H. Oesterreich is president of the society.

New officers elected by the Leavenworth County Historical Society at a meeting in Leavenworth, October 18, 1956, were: Mrs. Jesse Jones, president; Col. Ralph Stewart, first vice-president; John Feller, second vice-president; Mrs. Gorman Hunt, secretary; and Homer Cory, treasurer. The following will serve on the board of directors: George S. Marshall, W. Hans Friemuth, E. Bert Collard, Sr., D. R. Anthony, III, Byron Schroeder, J. V. Kelly, and Ruth Burgard. Feller was the retiring president.

Mrs. C. M. Slagg was re-elected president of the Riley County Historical Society at the annual meeting in Manhattan, November 15, 1956. Other officers are: Clyde Rodkey, vice-president; Homer Socolofsky, recording secretary; Mrs. F. F. Harrop, corresponding secretary; Dave Dallas, publicity secretary; Mrs. C. M. Correll, membership secretary; Carl Pfuetze, curator; and Ed Amos, historian. Joe D. Haines, John Holmstrom, and Bruce Wilson were elected to three-year terms on the board of directors. The speaker for the program was Louise Barry of the Kansas State Historical Society. The Riley county society has recently acquired new quarters and equipment for its museum. The new location is in the Memorial Auditorium.

Twenty Ottawa county citizens met in Minneapolis December 1, 1956, organized the Ottawa County Historical Society, and elected the following officers: Marshall Constable, president; W. A. Ward, vice-president; Mrs. Myrtle Thompson, secretary; and Fred Jagger, treasurer.

Approximately 150 persons attended the annual dinner of the Shawnee County Historical Society at the Hotel Jayhawk, December 4, 1956. The following trustees were elected for three-year terms ending December 5, 1959: Paul A. Lovewell, Ray A. Boast, Beryl R. Johnson, F. J. Rost, Frank Durein, Mrs. Paul Adams, Mrs. Henry S. Blake, Dr. John D. Bright, Mrs. W. M. Mills, Mildred Quail, and Earl Ives. Highland Park was featured on the program which included a slide show by John Ripley. On February 22, 1957, the directors met and elected the following officers: J. Glenn Logan, president; Milton Tabor, vice-president; Mrs. Harold Cone, secretary; and Mrs. Frank Kambach, treasurer.

Alan W. Farley, first vice-president of the Kansas State Historical Society, was named sheriff of the Kansas City posse of the Western-

ers, succeeding Frank Glenn, at a meeting December 11, 1956. Other officers are James R. Fuchs, chief deputy sheriff, and Col. Ray G. Sparks, deputy sheriff.

Dr. George L. Anderson, chairman of the department of history, University of Kansas, delivered the presidential address entitled "From Beef to Wheat, the Impact of Agricultural Developments Upon Banking in Early Wichita," to a meeting of the Agricultural History Society, December 30, 1956, in St. Louis.

Charles N. McCarter, Wichita, was elected president of the Native Sons, and Mrs. George Marshall, Basehor, was chosen to head the Native Daughters at the annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas in Topeka, January 28, 1957. Other officers named by the Native Sons were: Roy Bulkley, Topeka, vice-president; Wayne Randall, Osage City, secretary; Dean Yingling, Topeka, treasurer. The Native Daughters elected Mrs. Hobart Hoyt, Lyons, vice-president; Evelyn Ford, Topeka, secretary; and Mrs. J. C. Tillotson, Norton, treasurer. Retiring presidents were Jim Reed, Topeka, and Mrs. J. B. McKay, El Dorado. Bob Considine, International News Service columnist, was the principal speaker at the meeting. Parts of the program appeared on a nation-wide television broadcast. Among those appearing on the broadcast were: Considine, Dr. Karl Menninger, chosen "Kansan of the Year" by the Native Sons and Daughters, Gov. George Docking, and former Gov. Alf Landon. John McComb, Kansas State College, won the oratorical contest sponsored by the Native Sons and Daughters.

Using the theme "Chautauquas," the Woman's Kansas Day Club held its annual meeting in Topeka, January 29, 1957. The retiring president, Mrs. Emerson L. Hazlett, Topeka, presided at the meeting. As its new president the club chose Mrs. Edna Peterson, Chanute. Other new officers are: Mrs. Lucile Rust, Manhattan, first vice-president; Mrs. Harry Chaffee, Topeka, second vice-president; Mrs. Eugene McMillin, Lawrence, recording secretary; Mrs. Paul H. Wedin, Wichita, treasurer; Mrs. Tillie Karns-Newman, Arkansas City, historian; Mrs. McDill Boyd, Phillipsburg, registrar; and Mrs. Claude Stutzman, Kansas City, auditor. District directors include: Mrs. T. M. Murrell, Topeka, first district; Mrs. Chester Young, Kansas City, second district; Mrs. Raymond Smith, Parsons, third district; Mrs. Ruth Vawter Rankin, Wichita; fourth district; Mrs. Glee Smith, Larned, fifth district; and Mrs. Sharon Foster, Ellsworth, sixth district. Historical material gathered by the historian, Mrs.

Edward Isern, Ellinwood, the district directors and assistant historians was presented to the Kansas State Historical Society. This year's meeting marked the golden anniversary of the club.

Eleven members were named to two-year terms on the board of directors of the Finney County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting February 12, 1957, in Garden City. They are: Mrs. Frank Crase, Mrs. Mabel Rowe Brown, J. E. Greathouse, Albert Drussel, R. G. Brown, Mrs. Ella Condra, William Fant, Chet Reeve, George Anderson, Mrs. Irene Walters, and Arthur Stone. Clifford Hope, Sr., was the principal speaker at the meeting. R. G. Brown is president of the society.

Development of the Prairie Grove battlefield in Arkansas as a historic shrine is under way, sponsored by the Washington County (Ark.) Historical Society and other groups. It is designed to honor both Union and Confederate soldiers. Kansas troops were among those who fought at Prairie Grove.

The New York Community Trust announced recently the grant of the Byron Caldwell Smith Award posthumously to Dr. Robert Taft for his *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900*, published in 1953. The \$750 award is financed by the Kate Stephens bequest in the foundation. Miss Stephens was formerly professor of Greek at the University of Kansas. Dr. Taft was well known to readers of the *Quarterly* where his articles, including "Artists and Illustrators . . .," frequently appeared.

Wamego had its beginning on May 1, 1866, when seven men arrived at the site and constructed a small shack. In 1956 a 22-page pamphlet on the town's history and development was published by the Chamber of Commerce.

Snowden D. Flora, head of the United States Weather Bureau at Topeka from 1917 to 1949, is the author of *Hailstorms of the United States*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1956. The 201-page volume includes information on hail forecasting, damage, and insurance. Flora also discusses the characteristics of hail and the storms that produce it. During the period 1944-1953 Kansas had the greatest hail damage of any state by a considerable margin.

Historical sketches of towns served by the Missouri Pacific are printed in *The Empire That Missouri Pacific Serves*, a 352-page book

recently published by the railroad. Also included are brief histories of the states through which the line operates.

Sigma Nu at Kansas University—1884-1956 is the title of a 222-page history published by the Sigma Nu fraternity at Lawrence in 1956. Authors included: Grant W. Harrington, Burton P. Sears, Solon W. Smith, Webster W. Holloway, Edward H. Hashinger, John J. Wheeler, Owen C. Jones, and Edward F. Hudson.

Vision—a Saga of the Sky, by Harold Mansfield, a 389-page "narrative account of forty years of progress in the air, the trials and triumphs of the great Boeing Airplane Company," was recently published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York. Of special interest to Kansans is the chapter "Battle of Kansas," the story of preparing the first B-29's for use in World War II.

A biography of George Rogers Clark, by John Bakeless, entitled *Background to Glory—the Life of George Rogers Clark* was recently published by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia and New York. Clark was the military leader who fought the British, French, Spanish and Indians to win the Old Northwest during the American revolution.

The Founding of Public Education in Wisconsin, a 252-page book by Lloyd P. Jorgenson, was published in 1956 by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

Medicine in Chicago, 1850-1950, a 302-page work by Thomas N. Bonner, was published early in 1957 by the American History Research Center, Madison.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Summer 1957



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Topeka

CONTENTS

	PAGE
A SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND STRUCTURES IN KANSAS	113
With photographs of Allen county jail, Iola; Gen. Frederick Funston home, near Iola; officers' quarters, old Fort Scott; "Fort Blair" blockhouse, Fort Scott; birthplace of Amelia Earhart, Atchison; birthplace of Arthur Capper, Garnett; Pawnee Rock, Barton county; boyhood home of Dwight Eisenhower, Abilene; Irvin Hall, Highland Junior College, Highland; Constitution Hall and Lane University, Leocompton; Iowa, Sac and Fox Presbyterian Mission, near Highland; Old Castle Hall, Baldwin; "Cathedral of the Plains," Victoria; Fort Harker guardhouse, Kanopolis; boyhood home of Walter Chrysler, Ellis; Fort Hays blockhouse, Hays; Santa Fe trail ruins, near Dodge City; "Taui" Jones house and Silkville colony, Franklin county; Shawnee Methodist Mission, Fairway; covered bridge, Leavenworth county; Mark W. Delahay and Fred Harvey homes, Planters' House, Leavenworth; Point of Rocks, Morton county; "Last Chance" Store and Kaw Methodist Mission, Council Grove; Pottawatomie Baptist Mission building, near Topeka; Fort Larned, Pawnee county; cabin of Dr. Brewster Higley, Smith county; El Quartejejo monument, Scott county; Brookville Hotel, Saline county; "Cowtown Wichita," Sedgwick county; birthplace of Damon Runyon, Manhattan; Fort Wallace cemetery marker, Wallace county; First territorial capitol, Fort Riley; Pond creek stage station, Wallace county; cave in Battle canyon, Scott county; Hollenberg ranch Pony Express station, Washington county; Moses Grinter house, Wyandotte county, and Beecher Bible and Rifle Church, Wabauensee, <i>between</i> pp. 144, 145.	
A FREE-STATER'S "LETTERS TO THE EDITOR": Samuel N. Wood's Letters to Eastern Newspapers, 1854 Edited by <i>Robert W. Richmond</i> ,	181
THEATRE IN KANSAS, 1858-1868: Background for the Coming of the Lord Dramatic Company to Kansas, 1869 (Part Two, Atchison, Lawrence and Topeka)—Concluded	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 191
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	204
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	211
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	221

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THE COVER

Students and faculty of Lane University, Leocompton, about 1884. The parents of President Dwight Eisenhower attended this college. Ida Elizabeth Stover, the President's mother, is seated sixth from the right in the front row. *Photo courtesy J. O. Gunnels, Colby.*

For a picture of the Lane University building at it appears today *see between* pp. 144, 145.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXIII

Summer, 1957

Number 2

A Survey of Historic Sites and Structures in Kansas

DURING 1955 and 1956, in compliance with an act of the 1955 legislature, the Kansas State Historical Society conducted a survey of historic sites and structures in the state. The law required that a report containing "the results of the survey and recommendations for acquisition, maintenance and preservation" of such sites and structures should be made to the 1957 session.

The report was presented to the governor and members of the legislature in March, 1957. Since it was not printed in sufficient quantity that it could be sent also to the members of the Society it is reprinted here, with several additions and revisions, in the belief that it will be of general interest to the membership and other readers of the *Quarterly*. The presentation includes a brief historical statement for each site, its location and present status, and a recommendation for preservation or marking if such recognition is believed desirable and practicable. Points of scenic interest have not been included unless there is a definite historical connection.

As a general rule, if the site is public property or is administered by an established organization, or if it is already marked, the recommendation is "status quo," by which is meant that no change is considered necessary at this time. This is not to say, however, that preservation or administration is in all cases as effective as it should be.

Of the 186 sites reported in this survey three, Fort Leavenworth, Fort Riley and Point of Rocks in Morton county, are federal property. Three others—Shawnee Methodist Mission near Kansas City, Fort Larned in Pawnee county, and the Santa Fe trail remains west of Dodge City—have been designated by the National Park Service as worthy of further study and possible recognition as National Monuments, and this survey recommends that they be so recognized. If for any reason the National Park Service does not accept Fort Larned and the Santa Fe trail remains, they should be

preserved as valued historical assets by the state, or locally, as parks and museums.

Eighteen sites, including Shawnee Methodist Mission, are now state property and at least two more should become state parks and museums. El Quartelejo in Scott County State Park, the site of which is owned by the Kansas Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, is an outstanding archaeological attraction and should be rebuilt and maintained. Pottawatomie Baptist Mission near Topeka, now privately owned, for reasons stated in the report should be taken over by the state.

State historical markers have been erected for 45 sites included in this report; it is suggested that 25 additional sites be given the same recognition. Forty-four sites have been marked by organizations or individuals; the survey suggests that 52 others be similarly marked. Fourteen sites are now preserved and maintained locally; six others are noted as sufficiently important to warrant local preservation if economically feasible. Several buildings currently maintained for regular use are not included in this count.

Many omissions will be discovered in this list. However, the Society intends to continue the survey as part of its regular operations, and ultimately will examine all important sites and structures in the state. Lacking full-time survey personnel, the work must be done—as it has been during the past two years—by staff members whenever time can be spared from their regular duties, or whenever it is possible to combine the survey with other activities.

The Society is grateful to the many friends who assisted in obtaining information for the survey, and will appreciate suggestions as to additional sites and structures which should be included in future lists. Thanks are due also to the Kansas Industrial Development Commission for seven photographs, and to the Omaha office of the National Park Service for six photographs, published in the picture section *between* pp. 144, 145.

ALLEN COUNTY

1. GEN. FREDERICK FUNSTON HOME.

History: This property was homesteaded in 1867 by Edward H. Funston, later a member of congress from Kansas, 1884-1894. His son, Frederick (1865-1917), won fame as colonel of the Twentieth Kansas regiment in the Philippine Insurrection by capturing the insurgent leader Aguinaldo, was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, and at the time of his death was a major general in the U. S. army.

Location and description: A two-story frame house on U. S. 59 about five miles north of Iola.

Status: The Funston home was presented to the state by the general's sister, Ella Funston Eckdall, and her husband, and was accepted by act of the 1955 legislature. It is now administered by the Kansas State Historical Society as a museum. A state historical marker stands in front of the home.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. COUNTY JAIL, IOLA.

History: Built in 1869 and still in use as a county jail, this is one of the oldest public buildings in Kansas in continuous use.

Location and description: Two-story limestone block building at 204 North Jefferson St.

Status: Still in use as a county jail.

Recommendations: An excellent place for a local museum. Local historical marker.

3. STONEY LONESOME SCHOOLHOUSE.

History: Formerly a rural school at which Gen. Frederick Funston was a teacher in 1886.

Location and description: Fragmentary remains about five miles south of Iola on U. S. 59.

Status: On privately owned land. A local historical marker has been erected on U. S. 59 at the school site.

Recommendations: Status quo.

ANDERSON COUNTY

1. ARTHUR CAPPER HOME, GARNETT.

History: Arthur Capper, distinguished newspaperman and publisher of farm journals, governor of Kansas, 1915-1919, and U. S. senator from Kansas, 1919-1949, was born in this house July 14, 1865.

Location and description: A small one-story red brick structure at Fifth and Cedar Sts. A manufacturing plant has been built to the side of the house and almost touching it.

Status: In 1956 the Capper Memorial Museum Association was chartered to preserve the property.

Recommendations: Status quo.

ATCHISON COUNTY

1. AMELIA EARHART BIRTHPLACE, ATCHISON.

History: Amelia Earhart, famous aviatrix and first woman to fly the Atlantic solo, was born in this house and spent most of her childhood here.

Location and description: A two-story frame structure with brick addition at the back, located at 223 North Terrace.

Status: Privately owned and occupied as a residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

2. BYRAM HOTEL, ATCHISON.

History: Opened as the "Otis House" on May 14, 1873, and still in operation, this is the oldest hotel in the city. It was originally to be called the "Pomeroy" in honor of Sen. S. C. Pomeroy, but the senator was involved in an election scandal early that year and his name was not used.

Location and description: Brick, stone and stucco four-story structure, located at 202 Commercial St.

Status: Privately owned and operated as a hotel.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

3. ED HOWE HOME, ATCHISON.

History: Edgar Watson Howe, famous writer, editor and publisher, built this home in 1880. He also owned a home, "Potato Hill," outside the city.

Location and description: Two-story red brick house at 1117 North Third St.

Status: In good repair and occupied as a residence by Adelaide Howe, niece of Ed Howe.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

4. JOHN A. MARTIN HOUSE, ATCHISON.

History: John A. Martin, pioneer Atchison newspaperman, built this house in 1871. Martin served as colonel of the Eighth Kansas infantry in the Civil War and as governor of Kansas, 1885-1889.

Location and description: A two-story red brick structure at 315 North Terrace.

Status: Still owned by members of the Martin family and occupied as a residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

5. OLD PRIORY, ST. BENEDICT'S COLLEGE, ATCHISON.

History: The Priory was the first building at the college, constructed by the Benedictine order in 1859. A wing was added in 1861 and a church was begun in 1866. The latter was not completed until after the turn of the century.

Location and description: A three-story brick structure located on the St. Benedict's campus. It now connects the church building and another wing.

Status: The building is still in use by the college.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

BARBER COUNTY

1. CARRY NATION HOME, MEDICINE LODGE.

History: Carry Nation and her husband David moved into this house in the late 1880's. Mrs. Nation was one of the country's most militant reformers and prohibitionists, and received national attention for her "barroom-smashing" activities.

Location and description: One-story brick house at the corner of Fowler Ave. and Oak St., on U. S. 160.

Status: The house is now a museum and is open to the public daily. It is owned and operated by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. MEDICINE LODGE PEACE TREATY, MEDICINE LODGE.

History: In October, 1867, Kiowa, Comanche, Arapahoe, Apache and Cheyenne Indians signed peace treaties with the U. S. government near Medicine Lodge. Several famous chiefs and military men were present and the council drew widespread interest.

Location and description: Site only, confluence of Elm creek and Medicine Lodge river.

Status: There is a state historical marker on U. S. 160, just east of Medicine Lodge, and there is a monument in the town commemorating the treaty.

Recommendations: Status quo.

BARTON COUNTY

1. FORT ZARAH.

History: Fort Zarah was a frontier army post on the Santa Fe trail and was in use from 1864 to 1869.

Location and description: Only the site remains. It is located two miles east of Great Bend on U. S. 56.

Status: Located near a state roadside park. A state historical marker on the highway calls attention to the site.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. PAWNEE ROCK.

History: A famous landmark on the Santa Fe trail, the rock served as a lookout point for Indians and was also a favorite ambush. Later the area at the base was popular as an emigrant campground. Much of the top was stripped off by railroad builders and pioneers, and the rock is now much smaller than it was originally.

Location and description: Large rock elevation, just north of the town of Pawnee Rock off U. S. 56.

Status: The remaining rock is now in a state park. A shelter and monument are on the summit, and there is a state historical marker on U. S. 56 west of the town of Pawnee Rock.

Recommendations: Status quo.

BOURBON COUNTY

1. OLD FORT SCOTT, FORT SCOTT.

History: Fort Scott was established in 1842 and was in use most of the time until 1873. It was one of the most important early posts on the Western frontier and in Kansas is second only to Fort Leavenworth in age. During the Civil War the post was of strategic importance to the Union and played an important part in preventing Missouri from joining the Confederacy.

Location and description: Several buildings of the old fort still survive—a double set of officers' quarters, half of a double set of officers' quarters, the bakery, the cavalry stables, and the hospital building—all of them located on Carroll Plaza.

Status: Several of the old buildings are owned and preserved by the city of Fort Scott. One contains a museum which is administered by the Business and Professional Women's Club. A state historical marker has been erected on U. S. 69 at the north edge of Fort Scott.

Recommendations: Status quo.

BROWN COUNTY

1. "FORT LEXINGTON" AND THE LANE TRAIL.

History: In order to avoid the dangers and difficulties often encountered by Free-State immigrants traveling through Missouri to Kansas, James H. Lane in 1856 opened the Lane trail. Running south from Iowa through Nebraska, it crossed western Brown county where Lane and his "Northern Army" founded the settlements of Plymouth and Lexington, neither of which survived for long.

Location and description: Plymouth was located on Pony creek, in Sec. 15, T 1 S, R 15 E. Lexington was about three miles

southeast of Sabetha and about two miles northwest of Fairview.

Status: Privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 36 near Fairview.

2. KICKAPOO PRESBYTERIAN MISSION, HORTON.

History: In December, 1856, a Presbyterian mission and school for the Kickapoo Indians was established on what is now Horton Heights. It passed into other hands in 1869, and in 1871 was abandoned and the building razed.

Location and description: Site only, in Horton.

Status: One of the least publicized Indian missions in Kansas. A local historical marker has been erected.

Recommendations: Status quo.

BUTLER COUNTY

1. FIRST BUILDING IN AUGUSTA.

History: This building was erected in 1868 and served at various times as a store, post office, school, and a meeting place for the Masonic Lodge and Baptist and Methodist congregations.

Location and description: One and one half story log and frame structure located on the main street of Augusta, U. S. 77.

Status: The building is owned and operated by the Augusta Historical Society as a museum.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. STAPLETON NO. 1 OIL WELL, EL DORADO.

History: The discovery well of the El Dorado oil field, known as Stapleton No. 1, came in on October 9, 1915. It was drilled by the Wichita Natural Gas company and opened one of the richest oil fields in the West.

Location and description: SE¼, Sec. 29, T 25 S, R 5 E, on the northwestern outskirts of El Dorado.

Status: A marker was erected near the site of the well in 1940 and the land on which it stands was presented to the Kansas State Historical Society at that time.

Recommendations: Status quo.

CHASE COUNTY

1. SAMUEL N. WOOD HOME, COTTONWOOD FALLS.

History: This house was built in the 1860's by Samuel N. Wood, Free-State leader and pioneer newspaper publisher (Cottonwood Falls, Council Grove and Lawrence) who remained active in Kansas affairs until his death in 1891. He was murdered during the county-seat fight in Stevens county.

Location and description: Two-story stone house located in the southeast part of town.

Status: Privately owned and occupied as a residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY

CHEROKEE COUNTY

1. BAXTER SPRINGS MASSACRE, BAXTER SPRINGS.

History: On October 6, 1863, a Union military force under Gen. James Blunt was attacked and nearly annihilated by Confederate guerrillas under William Quantrill. Another group of Union soldiers was also attacked by the Confederates in the same vicinity. A number of the victims are buried in the National Cemetery near Baxter Springs.

Location and description: Battle sites within present city limits.

Status: A state historical marker telling the story of these battles has been erected on U. S. 66 at Baxter Springs.

Recommendations: Status quo.

CHEYENNE COUNTY

CLARK COUNTY

1. "LIVING WATER MARKER"—ST. JACOB'S WELL.

History: St. Jacob's Well was a famous watering place on the Fort Supply-Fort Dodge trail which was used during pioneer days in western Kansas by the U.S. army, cattlemen and buffalo hunters. It is said to have never been dry, even

during years of extreme drought. About one half mile south was a marker with an index stone on top pointing to the well.

Location and description: A pile of stones on the Fort Supply-Fort Dodge trail, west of Ashland and near U. S. 160. Traces of the old trail are still in evidence about ten miles west of Ashland.

Status: On privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: Marker should be rebuilt and a state historical marker placed on U. S. 160-283. The entire area of the Great Basin is rich in fossils and might well be made a state park.

CLAY COUNTY

CLOUD COUNTY

1. BOSTON CORBETT HOMESTEAD.

History: Boston Corbett, Civil War soldier and slayer of John Wilkes Booth, Lincoln's assassin, settled on a claim in Cloud county in the fall of 1878. In 1887 he was appointed assistant doorkeeper of the Kansas House of Representatives. During the session he went berserk and was committed to the Topeka State Hospital. He escaped in 1888, and his whereabouts after that time were never established.

Location and description: Site only, W $\frac{1}{2}$, NE $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 12, T 7 S, R 3 W, about four miles east of U. S. 81.

Status: On privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

COFFEY COUNTY

COMANCHE COUNTY

COWLEY COUNTY

1. CHEROKEE STRIP OPENING, ARKANSAS CITY.

History: In September, 1893, thousands of persons gathered in and around Arkansas City prepared to make the "run" into Oklahoma territory to obtain land.

Location and description: General area near Arkansas City.

Status: A state historical marker has been erected on U. S. 77 three miles south of Arkansas City. A granite marker south of the city on the same highway also commemorates the event.

Recommendations: Status quo.

CRAWFORD COUNTY

1. TOWNSHIP HALL, FARLINGTON.

History: Built in 1873 for use as a township hall, it is still used for meetings.

Location and description: Clay block building in Farlington.

Status: In good repair.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

2. FRANKLIN PLAYTER HOME.

History: This house was built about 1880 by Franklin Playter, an early settler of Crawford county, and was the center of a large cattle-ranching operation.

Location and description: Two-story stone house with a large cupola, located two miles southeast of Walnut.

Status: Privately owned and occupied as a residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

DECATUR COUNTY

1. LAST INDIAN RAID IN KANSAS.

History: In 1878 Northern Cheyennes, led by Chief Dull Knife, left their Oklahoma reservation in an attempt to return to the tribal home in the North. They were harassed by U. S. troops and cowboys and in turn terrorized resi-

dents of several western Kansas counties. Forty Kansas settlers were killed on their farms, 19 of them on Sappa creek in Decatur county.

Location and description: General area along Sappa creek.

Status: The bodies of several of the murdered settlers are buried in a cemetery on the northern city limits of Oberlin, and a monument to their memory stands in the cemetery. A state historical marker is located at the junction of U. S. 36 and U. S. 183.

Recommendations: Status quo.

DICKINSON COUNTY

1. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER HOME, ABILENE.

History: Boyhood home of Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States and famed military leader in World War II.

Location and description: Two-story frame house at 201 South East Fourth St.

Status: The home is maintained by the Eisenhower Foundation.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. DICKINSON COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL, CHAPMAN.

History: This school building is said to be the first county high school in the United States. Construction began in 1887 and it was dedicated September 3, 1889. The Hi-Y movement was organized here in 1889.

Location and description: Two-story stone building.

Status: The building is still in use as a high school. Two local markers have been erected.

Recommendations: Status quo.

DONIPHAN COUNTY

1. IOWA, SAC AND FOX PRESBYTERIAN MISSION.

History: The Presbyterian Church established a log-cabin mission and school to the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians in 1837 under the direction of Samuel and Eliza Irvin. A three-story

stone and brick building of 32 rooms was completed in 1846. The present building is a remaining portion of the original one.

Location and description: A brick building located two miles east and a little north of Highland, off U. S. 36.

Status: The building is owned by the state and a museum is under the direction of the Northeast Kansas Historical Society. A state historical marker is located on U. S. 36, just east of the town.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. IRVIN HALL, HIGHLAND JUNIOR COLLEGE, HIGHLAND.

History: Highland Junior College is the oldest institution of higher learning in Kansas. It was chartered as Highland University on February 9, 1858, and Irvin Hall was completed in 1859. The school was an outgrowth of the Presbyterian mission to the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians.

Location and description: Two-story brick building on the Highland campus on U. S. 36.

Status: The building is still in use by the school although some alterations have been made since it was built. A marker has been erected on the campus.

Recommendations: Status quo.

DOUGLAS COUNTY

1. OLD CASTLE HALL, BAKER UNIVERSITY, BALDWIN.

History: Baker University was chartered February 12, 1858, and the "old castle" was its first building. Baker is the oldest four-year college in Kansas.

Location and description: A three-story stone building located near the Baker campus.

Status: Owned by the university and operated as a museum by the Old Castle Memorial Association. A plaque is mounted on the front of the building.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. BIG SPRINGS.

History: Once a popular watering place on the Oregon trail between Lawrence and Topeka, the springs for which the

town was originally named are now dry. The Free-State party of Kansas held a policy-making meeting in Big Springs in 1855 and the first United Brethren church in Kansas was built there in the 1850's.

Location and description: Unincorporated village on U. S. 40—K-10, between Lawrence and Topeka.

Status: Some remains of the early church exist, and the present organization, which has a church across the highway from the original site, has erected a marker. No marker for the town and its territorial status exists.

Recommendations: State historical marker.

3. BATTLE OF BLACK JACK.

History: One of the more important skirmishes between Free-State and Proslavery partisans, this incident occurred June 2, 1856. John Brown and his company attacked and defeated a Proslavery group led by Henry C. Pate.

Location and description: Battleground was three miles east and one fourth mile south of Baldwin, off U. S. 50.

Status: Privately owned farm land. A monument commemorating the incident stands on a small plot of state-owned ground. A state historical marker has been erected on U. S. 50 three miles east of Baldwin.

Recommendations: Status quo.

4. "FORT" TITUS.

History: During the territorial troubles Col. H. T. Titus, a Proslavery leader, built a strong log house which soon became a Proslavery rendezvous. On August 16, 1856, Free-State forces besieged and captured the building and its defenders after both sides suffered several wounded. Following the skirmish the building was burned.

Location and description: Site only, E½, Sec. 10, T 12 S, R 18 E, about two miles south of Lecompton, off U. S. 40—K-10.

Status: Privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

5. FRANKLIN.

History: Franklin was a Proslavery settlement, a rival of Lawrence during the early territorial period and headquarters for

Southern forces during border difficulties in 1856. Two "battles" of Franklin were fought, in June and August, 1856. In the first, Free-State men captured a quantity of arms, ammunition and provisions. In the second, they captured the cannon, "Old Sacramento," and more small arms.

Location and description: Site only, Sec. 10, T 13 S, R 20 E, about two miles east of Lawrence, off K-10. The town's cemetery is about all that remains of old Franklin.

Status: Privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

6. GOV. CHARLES ROBINSON HOUSE, LAWRENCE.

History: Charles Robinson, first governor of the state of Kansas, built this house in 1867. His will bequeathed it and the farm on which it stands to the University of Kansas.

Location and description: Two-story frame house about three miles northeast of Lawrence, off U. S. 24-40.

Status: In good repair. Property of the University of Kansas.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

7. TRINITY EPISCOPAL PARISH HOUSE, LAWRENCE.

History: Erected in 1858, this is the oldest church building in Kansas, with the exception of early missions. It was originally the church but was converted to a parish house upon the completion of the present church in 1871.

Location and description: One-story limestone English Gothic structure, 1009 Vermont St.

Status: Still in use by the parish and in good repair. There is a small marker on the building.

Recommendations: Status quo.

8. CONSTITUTION HALL, LECOMPTON.

History: Lecompton was a territorial capital of Kansas. In this building the Proslavery constitution of 1857 was drafted.

Location and description: Two-story white frame structure, three miles north of U. S. 40—K-10.

Status: The building is owned and used by the I. O. O. F. lodge of Lecompton and is in reasonably good repair.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

9. LANE UNIVERSITY BUILDING, LECOMPTON.

History: This building was used by Lane University, a school which opened in 1865 and closed in 1903 when it was merged with Campbell College in Holton. Although the building was not erected until the early 1880's, it rests on part of the foundation of the territorial capitol, begun in 1856 but never finished. Dwight D. Eisenhower's parents met as students at Lane University and were married in 1885 in Lecompton.

Location and description: Two-story stone building.

Status: The building is now owned by the local school board and is used for storage.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

EDWARDS COUNTY

1. BATTLE OF COON CREEK.

History: On June 17, 1848, a small body of U. S. troops from Fort Leavenworth, en route to Fort Mann, was attacked by a large band of Comanche and Apache Indians between Coon creek and the Arkansas river near the site of present Kinsley. These troops were among the first in the army to be equipped with breech-loading carbines, which could be loaded and fired five times per minute. The Indians were bewildered by the rapid fire and their attack was repulsed.

Location and description: Site only, near U. S. 50 just east of Kinsley.

Status: Privately owned land.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

ELK COUNTY

ELLIS COUNTY

1. WALTER P. CHRYSLER HOME, ELLIS.

History: This house was the boyhood home of automobile manufacturer Walter Chrysler. He was once employed in the Union Pacific railroad shops in Ellis.

Location and description: Two-story white frame house on U. S. 40.

Status: The house is open as a museum, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of Ellis.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. FORT HAYS, HAYS.

History: Fort Hays was an army post and supply depot on the Western frontier, 1865-1889, and was an important headquarters during the Indian wars. Such famous names as Hickok, Cody, Sheridan and Custer are associated with the history of the fort.

Location and description: Two limestone structures, the original blockhouse and guardhouse, located in Frontier Historical Park, near junction of U. S. 183 and U. S. 40.

Status: These buildings are in good condition and are located in a state park which is supervised by a state board of managers. A museum has been established in the old blockhouse and a state historical marker has been erected on U. S. 40.

Recommendations: Status quo.

3. VICTORIA.

History: Victoria was established in 1873 by George Grant, a wealthy Scottish merchant. Grant sold parts of his 69,000-acre holdings to English and Scottish colonists, many of them younger sons of aristocratic families. On these estates they were to learn the arts of agriculture and stock-raising. Actually most of their time was devoted to cricket, polo and hunting. Herzog, a Russian-German colony established in 1876 one half mile north of Victoria, gradually merged with the English colony, and in 1913 they were incorporated under the name of Victoria.

Location and description: The original townsite was in the SW¼, Sec. 7, T 14 S, R 16 E.

Status: State historical marker is soon to be erected on U. S. 40.

Recommendations: Status quo.

4. ST. FIDELIS CHURCH, VICTORIA.

History: Designed by John Comes of Pittsburgh, Pa., and Joseph Marshall of Topeka, this church was built through the efforts of the parishioners, most of them German-Russian emi-

grants. William Jennings Bryan called the church the "Cathedral of the Prairies." It was dedicated in 1911.

Location and description: Romanesque limestone structure with twin spires 141 feet high.

Status: In use as a Roman Catholic church.

Recommendations: Status quo.

5. GEORGE GRANT VILLA.

History: Built about 1874 by George Grant, founder of Victoria colony, for his own home.

Location and description: Two-story stone house, with porch on three sides, located on a county road five miles south and one and one half miles east of Victoria, in Sec. 6, T 15 S, R 16 E.

Status: In excellent condition, privately owned and occupied as a residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

ELLSWORTH COUNTY

1. WHITE HOUSE HOTEL, ELLSWORTH.

History: The hotel was built in 1872 by Arthur Larkin and was first named the Grand Central Hotel. It was a famous Western hostelry during the cattle trail days and its register boasted such names as Wm. F. Cody and "Wild Bill" Hickok.

Location and description: Two-story stone, brick and stucco building on North Main St., on city route U. S. 40.

Status: The hotel is still in operation.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

2. FORT HARKER, KANOPOLIS.

History: Fort Harker, first named Fort Ellsworth, was a frontier army post and an important base of operations and supplies during the Indian wars, 1864-1873.

Location and description: Four stone buildings, two miles south of U. S. 40.

Status: The old guardhouse building is owned by the city of Kanopolis and is leased to the local American Legion post for museum purposes. The other three buildings are former

officers' quarters and are used as residences by private owners. All the buildings are in a good state of preservation.

Recommendations: Directional markers and a state historical marker on U. S. 40 when a suitable turnout area can be obtained.

FINNEY COUNTY

1. SANTA FE TRAIL CROSSING; RAVANNA.

History: One of the Santa Fe trail crossings of the Arkansas river was just west of present Holcomb. Ravanna, a Kansas ghost town, was established about 1881 some eight miles northwest of Kalvesta.

Location and description: The site of Ravanna is seven miles north of U. S. 156.

Status: Markers have been erected by the Finney County Historical Society. The society has also placed a marker in Finnup Park, Garden City, commemorating the fact that the Arkansas river served as the boundary of the United States, 1803-1845, and has marked the site of the U. S. Land Office, 103 North Main St., in Garden City.

Recommendations: Status quo.

FORD COUNTY

1. FORT ATKINSON; "THE CACHES."

History: Fort Atkinson was a military post on the Santa Fe trail, 1851-1854. A short-lived post called Fort Mann had been established on the same site in 1847 but was gone by 1850 when Col. E. V. Sumner encamped there. Camp Mackay was the name given Sumner's encampment from August, 1850, until June, 1851, when Fort Atkinson was actually built. "The Caches," first used by a pack train outfit in 1822 for temporary storage of supplies, was a famous landmark on the Santa Fe trail near these military posts.

Location and description: Site only, SW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 29, T 26 S, R 25 W, about two miles west of Dodge City and just south of U. S. 50. The location of "The Caches" is about three-fourths of a mile northwest of the fort site.

Status: Privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: State historical marker.

2. FORT DODGE.

History: Fort Dodge was an important post on the Indian frontier, 1865-1882.

Location and description: Group of stone buildings, four miles southeast of Dodge City on U. S. 154.

Status: Two of the original adobe structures still stand, although they have been veneered with stone. The commandant's quarters, now the superintendent's home, and another building, now used as the administration building, were built in 1867 and the exteriors have not been altered. There are five stone buildings which cannot be definitely dated but remain from the days of military occupancy: the old fort hospital, now "Pershing Barracks," housing residents; the present library building, presumed to be the old fort commissary; and three small stone cottages. The old jail has been moved to "Boot Hill" in Dodge City.

Fort Dodge is now a state soldiers' home and all existing buildings dating from army days are still in use. A state historical marker has been erected on U. S. 154, four miles southeast of Dodge City.

Recommendations: Status quo.

3. SANTA FE TRAIL REMAINS.

History: The Santa Fe trail was the most important highway to the West—from the Missouri river to Santa Fe, N. M.—before the era of the railroads. It was used extensively by traders and travelers from its survey by the federal government in 1825 until the 1870's.

Location and description: An area nine miles west of Dodge City, just off U. S. 50, where ruts and tracks which are the most prominent and extensive remains of the Santa Fe trail may still be seen.

Status: Privately owned.

Recommendations: This area is one of three historic places in Kansas—the others being the Shawnee Methodist Mission in Johnson county and Fort Larned in Pawnee county—which have been recommended by the National Park Service for comprehensive study and evaluation with a view to national recognition and possible designation as national monuments. Every co-operation should be extended to the Park Service so that these remains may be preserved.

FRANKLIN COUNTY

1. CHIPPEWA INDIAN CEMETERY.

History: This is a tribal cemetery with graves dating from the 1860's and 1870's.

Location and description: Small burial ground, six miles west of Ottawa.

Status: The cemetery is cared for to some extent but many of the grave stones are in poor condition. The area is relatively easy to reach and ownership is still vested in the Chippewa tribe.

Recommendations: Local historical marker, with directional markers on U. S. 59.

2. OTTAWA INDIAN CEMETERY.

History: This was the cemetery of the Ottawa Baptist Indian mission and is the burial place of "Tauy" Jones and of Jotham and Eleanor Meeker. Meeker was a missionary to the Ottawas and Kansas' first printer. There are other graves, mostly Indian, including that of Compehau, Ottawa chief.

Location and description: Small burial ground three miles east and a short distance north of Ottawa.

Status: The cemetery is in poor condition. Many of the stones have been badly damaged and others are unreadable. Although the plot is easily accessible it apparently receives minimum care, for weeds and grass have overrun the area. The land is owned by Ottawa University.

Recommendations: Local historical marker, with directional markers on U. S. 59 in Ottawa.

3. POTTAWATOMIE MASSACRE.

History: On May 24, 1856, three days after the Proslavery sack of Lawrence, John Brown and his men appeared among the settlements near Dutch Henry's crossing, where the California road crossed Pottawatomie creek in Franklin county. They called out five Proslavery men and killed them. "No other act," wrote D. W. Wilder, "spread such consternation among the Ruffians, or contributed so powerfully to make Kansas free."

Location and description: "Dutch Henry" Sherman's homestead was the NW¼, Sec. 34, T 18 S, R 21 E. The crossing was in this quarter section.

Status: Privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 169, south of Lane.

4. SILKVILLE.

History: Silkville was established in the 1870's by a Frenchman, Ernest Valetton de Boissiere. As the name indicates, it was planned as a silk-producing enterprise. It was technically successful and silk produced here won first prize at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. However, the project was an economic failure because of marketing difficulties. A dairy farm and cheese factory attempted later also had little success.

Location and description: Group of stone buildings on a ranch southwest of Williamsburg, on U. S. 50.

Status: The buildings are in private hands and are used in ranching operations.

Recommendations: State historical marker and directional signs on U. S. 50.

5. "TAUY" JONES HOUSE.

History: Home of John Tecumseh Jones, who was a Baptist minister and missionary, a member of the original Ottawa Town Company and one of the founders of Ottawa University. The house was built about 1867 of cut limestone, with all joists fitted and pegged. The interior is finished in walnut and oak.

Location and description: Two-story stone house about four and one half miles northeast of Ottawa.

Status: Now in use as a farm residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

GEARY COUNTY

1. WETZEL CABIN.

History: The cabin was originally built during the territorial period as the home of the Christian F. Wetzel family. It first stood on Clark's creek, seven miles southeast of Junction City, and is significant because an early Lutheran missionary to Kansas, F. W. Lange, made his home in the cabin and organized the first Kansas parish of the Missouri Synod there.

Location and description: The log building has been relocated at the junction of U. S. 40 and K-57, two and one half miles east of Junction City.

Status: Restored by the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod.

Recommendations: Status quo.

GOVE COUNTY

1. CARLYSLE STAGE STATION.

History: Stage station on the Smoky Hill trail, used by the Butterfield Overland Dispatch in the 1860's.

Location and description: Site only, Sec. 15, T 15 S, R 30 W, north of Smoky Hill river, 35 miles southeast of Grinnell.

Status: Cellar holes and trail ruts still visible on site. Private pasture.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 40 covering this and the other three Gove county stage station sites described.

2. CHALK BLUFFS STAGE STATION.

History: Stage station on the Smoky Hill trail; scene of Indian fight.

Location and description: Site only, Sec. 13, T 15 S, R 29 W, north of Smoky Hill river, east of K-23, south of Gove.

Status: Cellar holes and trench still visible on site. On pasture land privately owned.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 40 covering this and the other three Gove county stage station sites described.

3. GRINNELL SPRINGS STAGE STATION.

History: Stage station on the Smoky Hill trail.

Location and description: Site only, SE¼, Sec. 23, T 14 S, R 27 W, 22½ miles southeast of U. S. 40.

Status: Trail ruts and rifle pit remains still visible around station site. On pasture land privately owned.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 40 covering this and the other three Gove county stage station sites described.

4. MONUMENT STATION.

History: Stage station and military post on the Smoky Hill trail.

Location and description: Site only, SW¼, Sec. 33, T 14 S, R 31 W, 25½ miles south and east of Oakley, near Monument Rocks.

Status: Cellar holes, ruins of walls, trail ruts and trenches still visible at site. Private pasture land.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 40 covering this and the other three Gove county stage station sites described.

GRAHAM COUNTY

1. NICODEMUS.

History: This interesting little town was settled in the late 1870's by "exodusters," Negroes from the South who were encouraged to come to Kansas following the Civil War.

Location and description: A hamlet, virtually abandoned, 12 miles east of Hill City.

Status: Two two-story stone buildings and a stone church still remain of the old community. A few small residences are occupied, but the post office was closed in 1953.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 24.

GRANT COUNTY

1. WAGON BED SPRINGS.

History: These springs were famous as a watering place and campground on the Santa Fe trail. Near here Jedediah Smith, famous scout and "mountain man," was killed by Comanche Indians in 1831.

Location and description: A draw on the bank of the Cimarron river, about five miles from U. S. 270, on a pasture road south of Ulysses.

Status: The original springs no longer flow in the draw. There is a near-by flow in the bed of the Cimarron which may come from the same source. The site is on privately owned land. A state historical marker is located on the new, re-routed U. S. 270, and a small monument to Jedediah Smith is on the old route.

Recommendations: Status quo.

GRAY COUNTY

1. CIMARRON CROSSING.

History: Crossing of the Arkansas river on the Santa Fe trail, where the "Dry Route" connected with the main trail.

Location and description: Crossings at this point varied with river conditions, but they were located in the general area of the towns of Cimarron and Ingalls.

Status: Marker in Cimarron city park commemorates one of the river crossings.

Recommendations: Status quo.

GREELEY COUNTY

1. BARREL SPRINGS, JUMBO SPRINGS, AND WILD HORSE CORRAL.

History: Watering place and campground for early settlers and for travelers on the Fort Lyons-Fort Wallace trail.

Location and description: Flowing springs, one half mile apart, in North Colony township about five miles north of K-96, near Tribune. There are canyons and some timber.

Status: On privately owned pasture land, easily reached on a gravel road except for about one half mile of pasture lane.

Recommendations: Might be suitable for a locally-maintained park and picnic ground.

GREENWOOD COUNTY

HAMILTON COUNTY

1. FORT AUBREY.

History: Fort Aubrey was a temporary U. S. army post on the Indian frontier, 1865-1866.

Location and description: Site only, in Sec. 23, T 24 S, R 40 W, one mile south of U. S. 50, near Syracuse.

Status: No buildings remain at the site but faint traces of rifle pits and trenches may still be seen. The site is on private farm land.

Recommendations: Local historical marker on U. S. 50.

HARPER COUNTY

1. RUNNYMEDE.

History: "Old" Runnymede, set up as a town in 1887, became a typical English village occupied by adventurous younger sons of wealthy English families. Although these young men supposedly were to learn American farming methods they devoted most of their attention to such activities as polo, horse racing, and riding to hounds, and the colony failed to survive.

Location and description: Site only, two miles northeast of K-2 at Runnymede.

Status: Site is now on private farm land. No vestiges of the old town remain except a headstone at the grave of one of the colonists. State historical marker is being erected on K-2.

Recommendations: Status quo.

HARVEY COUNTY

1. DAVID L. PAYNE HOMESTEAD.

History: David L. Payne originally settled in Doniphan county in 1858 and was active in the political affairs of northeast Kansas. He served as a Kansas volunteer during the Civil War and in 1870 took a homestead in what is now Harvey county. Near by was the home of I. N. Lewis, later to become famous as the inventor of the Lewis machine gun, a noted weapon of World War I. About 1879 Payne left his farm for the southern Kansas border, where he played a significant role in promoting the settlement of Oklahoma.

Location and description: Site only, SE¼, Sec. 6, T 23 S, R 1 E, near Newton.

Status: On privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

HASKELL COUNTY

1. SANTA FE TOWNSITE.

History: The town of Santa Fe, established in 1886, was for 33 years (1887-1920) the county seat of Haskell county. The town company was chartered in 1886 and a post office was opened in 1887. For some years Santa Fe had a sizeable population but it was by-passed by the railroad and its people eventually moved to Sublette and Satanta. In 1920 the county offices were transferred to Sublette.

Location and description: Site only, at the junction of U. S. 83 and U. S. 160, near Sublette.

Status: No buildings remain. Part of the land on which the town stood is now being farmed.

Recommendations: State historical marker at the junction of U. S. 83-160.

HODGEMAN COUNTY

1. DUNCAN CROSSING OF THE PAWNEE RIVER.

History: Crossing of the Pawnee on the old Fort Hays-Fort Dodge trail. The Duncan ranch settlement, dating from 1871, was the first in the county.

Location and description: Site only, 11 miles northeast of Jetmore off U. S. 56.

Status: The site is marked.

Recommendations: Status quo.

JACKSON COUNTY

1. BATTLE OF THE SPURS.

History: On January 31, 1859, John Brown and about 20 followers were confronted by a posse of 45 Proslavery men at the Fuller crossing of Straight creek. Brown had with him several slaves whom he had taken from their Missouri owners. The Proslavery group had dug rifle pits at the crossing, but nevertheless retreated in panic when the Free-State group determinedly crossed the ford. Not a shot was fired by either side. Richard J. Hinton, noted newspaper correspondent of the period, gave the name "Battle of the Spurs" to the affair, believing that spurs were the most effective weapons used.

Location and description: The crossing was located in Sec. 10, T 6 S, R 15 E, four miles north of Holton just off U. S. 75. An "underground railway" station used by John Brown was located two miles north of this site in the NW¼ of Sec. 3, T 6 S, R 15 E.

Status: Site only, on privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 75 north of Holton.

JEFFERSON COUNTY

1. JEFFERSON COUNTY COURTHOUSE, OSKALOOSA.

History: This is the oldest courthouse building in Kansas still in use. Construction began in 1867 and was completed in 1868.

Location and description: A two-story brick and stone building on the courthouse square.

Status: Occupied by Jefferson county offices. The exterior has undergone little alteration but some remodeling has been done on the inside.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. PIAZZEK MILL, VALLEY FALLS.

History: This mill was built by J. M. Piazzek in 1878. Piazzek came to Kansas during the territorial period and operated another mill prior to building this one. It is an excellent example of its type, widely used on the Midwest frontier.

Location and description: Three-story stone building located near the Delaware river.

Status: The building is in reasonably good repair and has a good roof. Old machinery and burrs are still in the building and might be restored to working order. There is a question of ownership involved since the Piazzek estate is not yet settled.

Recommendations: The restoration of the mill, providing the estate is settled and the heirs would donate the property, would be an excellent local project.

3. ST. PAUL'S LUTHERAN CHURCH, VALLEY FALLS.

History: The St. Paul's Lutheran congregation, organized June 14, 1857, as the English Lutheran church of Grasshopper Falls, is reported to be the oldest Lutheran congregation west of the Missouri river. The original church building, erected in 1857, is no longer used by St. Paul's but is still standing.

Location and description: One-story frame structure.

Status: The building is in good repair and is currently used by the St. John's Methodist church.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

4. BATTLE OF HICKORY POINT.

History: This skirmish occurred as a result of the Proslavery sacking of Valley Falls in September, 1856. A Free-State force besieged the Proslavery men in a log building and many shots were fired by both sides with little effect. While the incident was not unusually significant it was one of many which helped give the name "Bleeding Kansas" to the territory.

Location and description: Site only, one fourth mile southeast of Dunavant.

Status: The site is on privately owned farm land. No traces of the battle remain. A state historical marker is in place on U. S. 59.

Recommendations: Status quo.

5. DANIEL M. BOONE FARM.

History: In 1827 Daniel Morgan Boone, son of the great frontiersman, came to what is now Kansas to be "farmer" for the Kaw Indians. He settled in present Jefferson county, on the Kansas river about seven miles northwest of Lawrence, and remained there until 1835.

Location and description: Site only, near Williamstown, in SW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 29, T 11 S, R 19 E.

Status: Privately owned farm land.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 24 near Williamstown.

JEWELL COUNTY

JOHNSON COUNTY

1. JUNCTION OF SANTA FE AND OREGON TRAILS.

History: At this point two famous Western highways divided. Here westbound travelers to Oregon and northern California followed the Oregon trail northwest while those bound for Colorado and the Southwest followed the Santa Fe trail across Kansas.

Location and description: Historic area, present Gardner.

Status: There is a state historical marker near Gardner on U. S. 50 which notes the trail junction.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. LONE ELM CAMP GROUND.

History: This site was a campground on the Santa Fe trail, the first overnight stop out of Westport. Here the routes from Old Franklin and Westport met.

Location and description: Site only, Sec. 23, T 14 S, R 23 E, off U. S. 169 and K-7.

Status: A local historical marker has been erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Recommendations: Status quo.

3. SANGRO HOUSE, SHAWNEE.

History: This is reputed to be the oldest building in Shawnee, erected in 1824 on the trail to Gum Springs. Part of the building was burned by Quantrill during the Civil War.

Location and description: One-room structure made of hand-pressed brick, located just north of the town square.

Status: The building is now used as a display room by an electric company. The original walls, window and door casings are still preserved. There is a marker on the building.

Recommendations: Status quo.

4. SHAWNEE BAPTIST MISSION.

History: The Baptist mission to the Shawnee Indians was established in July, 1831, through the efforts of Isaac McCoy and Johnston Lykins. It was to this mission that Jotham Meeker brought the first printing press used in what is now Kansas. He set the first type on March 1, 1835, and on March 8 he made the first press impression.

Location and description: Site only, NE¼, Sec. 5, T 12 S, R 25 E, just north of U. S. 50.

Status: On privately owned property.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 50.

5. SHAWNEE FRIENDS MISSION.

History: On this site in 1837 the Society of Friends opened a mission school for the Shawnee Indians which was operated almost continuously until 1869. The main building stood until 1917.

Location and description: Site only, about one mile from the junction of K-10 and U. S. 50, near Shawnee.

Status: A state historical marker at the junction of K-10 and U. S. 50 tells the mission school's story. There is also a marker on the site of the main building.

Recommendations: Status quo.

6. SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION, FAIRWAY.

History: The mission was originally established in 1830 near present Turner and moved to the Fairway site in 1839.

The school provided instruction in English, manual arts and agriculture for Indian boys and girls. During the years of the school's operations it also served as a temporary territorial capital and many of the famous personalities of the West were visitors there. The school was discontinued in 1862 and the property fell into private ownership. The present acreage and buildings were acquired by the state in 1927.

Location and description: Three two-story brick buildings on 12 acres of landscaped grounds at 53rd St. and Mission Road.

Status: The State Historical Society as trustee for the state now administers the property and maintains museums. The mission is one block north of U. S. 50-69.

Recommendations: The National Parks Advisory Board in 1936 considered Old Shawnee Mission worthy of recognition as a national historic site. It is one of three sites in Kansas which the National Park Service in 1956 recommended for further study as possible national monuments. If the Park Service should want to take title to the property and operate it as a national monument it undoubtedly can do much more for the promotion of the mission as a major historic attraction than the State Historical Society is able to do with the present extremely limited appropriations. Further, state funds which are now used for the maintenance of the mission could be devoted to the preservation of other historic sites in Kansas which are now neglected, should such a transfer seem feasible from all viewpoints. In addition a state historical marker should be erected on U. S. 50-69 if and when suitable right of way for a turnout can be obtained.

7. SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION CEMETERY, FAIRWAY.

History: This is the burial ground for the old mission and contains the graves of some of the pioneer mission people, including the Rev. Thomas Johnson, founder of the school.

Location and description: Small cemetery plot located a short distance from the mission on U. S. 50-69.

Status: The site is owned by the state and administered by the State Historical Society. It is well marked.

Recommendations: Status quo.



Allen county jail, Iowa.

Gen. Frederick Funston home, near Iowa.





Irvin Hall, Highland Junior College, Highland.



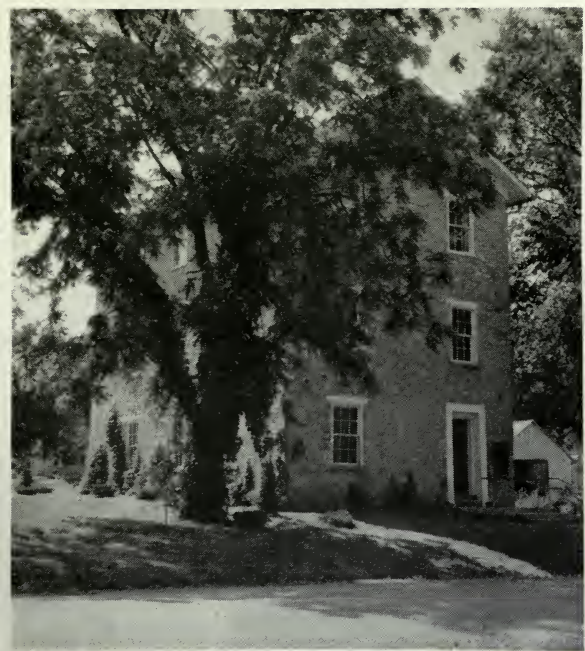
Constitution Hall, Lecompton.



Lane University, Lecompton, where the parents of Dwight D. Eisenhower attended college.



Remaining portion of Iowa, Sac and Fox Presbyterian Mission building near Highland.



Old Castle Hall, Baker
University, Baldwin.

"Cathedral of the Plains,"
St. Fidelis Catholic Church, Victoria.





Fort Harker guardhouse, Kanopolis.



Boyhood home of Walter Chrysler, Ellis.



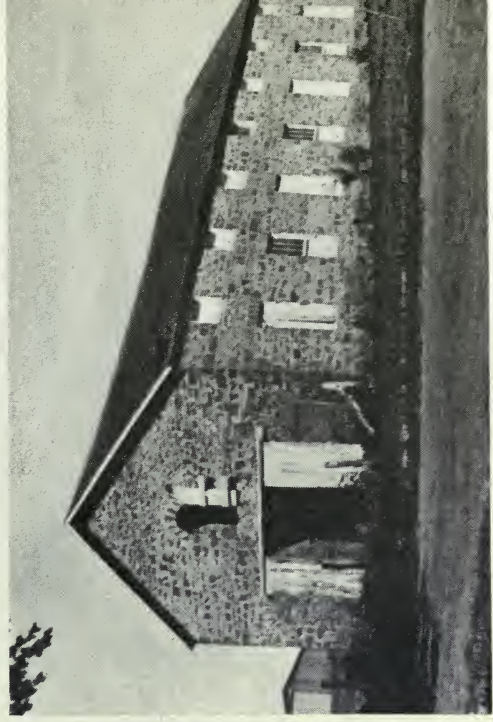
Fort Hays blockhouse, Hays



Aerial photograph showing Santa Fe trail
ruts still visible west of Dodge City.



"Taui" Jones house, Franklin county, near Ottawa.



Building of the Silkville colony,
in Franklin county near Williamsburg.



The Planters' House, Leavenworth, one of the finest nineteenth century hotels in the West.

Point of Rocks, a Santa Fe trail landmark on the Cimarron river, Morton county.





"Last Chance" Store, Council Grove, on the
Santa Fe trail through Morris county.



Kaw Methodist Mission, established in 1851
on the Kaw reservation, present Council Grove.



Pottawatomie Baptist Mission building, just west of Topeka.



Aerial view of Fort Larned, in Pawnee county.



Cabin of Dr. Brewster Higley, who wrote the words to "Home on the Range."



El Quartejejo monument, Scott County State Park.



Brookville Hotel, Salina, saviors of the Old West.



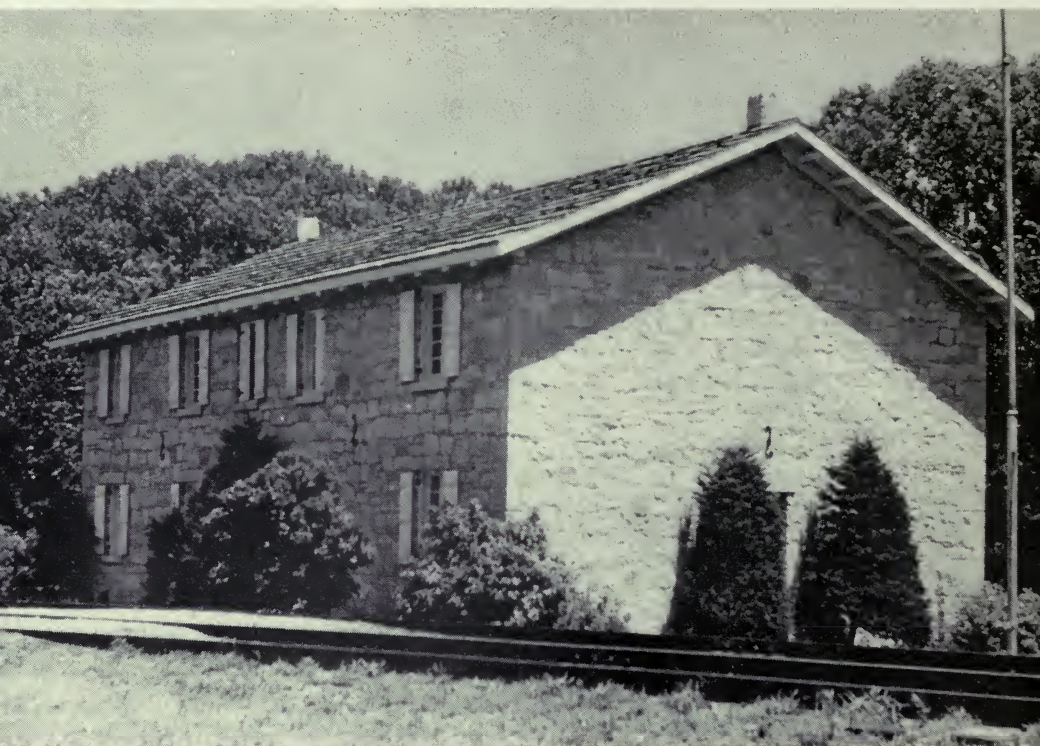
Part of the "Cowtown Wichita" restoration in Riverside Park.



Birthplace of Damon
Runyon, Manhattan.



Fort Wallace cemetery
marker, Wallace county.



First Territorial Capitol, Fort Riley.



Pond Creek Stage Station,
Wallace county.



Cave in Battle Canyon,
Scott county.



Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express Station, near
Hanover, Washington county.



Moses Grinter house, near Muncie, Wyandotte county.

Beecher Bible and Rifle Church, Wabaunsee.



8. WAGON MASTER'S HOUSE, SHAWNEE.

History: This house was built in the 1850's by Jack and Uriah Garrett for Dick Williams, a wagon boss on the Santa Fe trail.

Location and description: Stone building, K-10 and Nieman Road.

Status: The house is privately owned and occupied. The original walls, floors and windows are unaltered.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

KEARNY COUNTY

1. CHOUTEAU'S ISLAND.

History: In 1816 a party of trappers was besieged by Pawnee Indians on this island in the Arkansas river. In 1825 it was listed as a turning off point on the Santa Fe trail for the dry route to the Cimarron. Four years later Maj. Bennet Riley and four companies of U. S. infantry camped at the island and spent the summer fighting Indians.

Location and description: Site only, five miles southwest of Lakin.

Status: Aerial photos show what is presumed to be the area once known as Chouteau's Island, although the changing of the river's course through the years leaves the exact spot difficult to determine. State historical marker in place on U. S. 50.

Recommendations: Status quo.

KINGMAN COUNTY

KIOWA COUNTY

1. HAND-DUG WELL, GREENSBURG.

History: Construction of the Greensburg well was begun in 1887 and completed in 1888. One of the largest hand-dug wells in the world, it is 32 feet in diameter and 109 feet deep. It supplied water to the Wichita & Western railroad, later incorporated into the Santa Fe system, until the line discontinued service in 1895, and to the city until 1932.

Location and description: On U. S. 54 in Greensburg.

Status: In good repair, and operated by the Chamber of Commerce as a tourist attraction.

Recommendations: Status quo.

LABETTE COUNTY

1. TRADING POST SITE, OSWEGO.

History: In the early 1840's John Mathews established a trading post on this site.

Location and description: Corner Fourth and Union Sts.

Status: Site only.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

2. BENDER MOUNDS.

History: The mounds are named for the Bender family—William, his wife, son John and daughter Kate. Here the Benders perpetrated several murders. It has never been proved that the Benders were ever apprehended nor is it certain that they made a successful escape.

Location and description: Small hills about 12 miles west of Parsons, off U. S. 160.

Status: Site only.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

LANE COUNTY

LEAVENWORTH COUNTY

1. COVERED BRIDGE.

History: This is the only covered bridge remaining in Kansas. Date of construction is uncertain, but the bridge probably was built in the 1860's or 1870's.

Location and description: Wood and steel bridge with wooden cover located near K-92 about two miles northeast of Springdale.

Status: Maintained and preserved by the State Highway Department.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. DAVID J. BREWER HOUSE, LEAVENWORTH.

History: This house was once the home of David J. Brewer, the first Kansan to serve on the U. S. Supreme Court (1889-1910).

Location and description: Two-story frame house at 400 Fifth Ave.

Status: Privately owned and used as a residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

3. THOMAS CARNEY HOUSE, LEAVENWORTH.

History: This was once the home of Thomas Carney, second governor of the state of Kansas, 1863-1865.

Location and description: Large two-story brick house, now stuccoed, at 411 Walnut St.

Status: Owned and used by the First Presbyterian church of Leavenworth.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

4. MARK DELAHAY HOUSE, LEAVENWORTH.

History: This was the home of Mark W. Delahay, pioneer Free-State newspaperman, politician, U. S. Surveyor General for Kansas and Nebraska, and U. S. district judge. Delahay's wife was a cousin of Abraham Lincoln.

Location and description: Two-story brick house at 231 Third Ave.

Status: Privately owned and used as a residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

5. FRED HARVEY HOUSE, LEAVENWORTH.

History: This was the home of Fred Harvey, famed for his railroad restaurant and dining car food service.

Location and description: Large three-story stone house at 624 Olive St.

Status: Owned and used as offices by the Leavenworth board of education.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

6. PLANTERS' HOTEL, LEAVENWORTH.

History: This was once one of the most popular and elegant hostelries of the West. It was opened in 1856 and was originally to serve only Proslavery patrons. In December, 1859, Abraham Lincoln made a campaign speech from the west steps of the hotel.

Location and description: Four-story brick building with a large two-story porch on the south and east sides. The hotel is at the northeast corner of Shawnee and Main Sts. overlooking the Missouri river.

Status: The hotel is now used as an apartment house and is deteriorating rapidly. There is a plaque on the west wall of the building commemorating Lincoln's visit.

Recommendations: Preservation if economically possible.

7. RUSSELL, MAJORS, WADDELL OFFICES, LEAVENWORTH.

History: Russell, Majors and Waddell was one of the most famous freighting firms in U. S. history. Its general offices were located in Leavenworth in the late 1850's and early 1860's. The marshalling yards and corrals of the company, located near the edge of the present city limits, represented an investment of about two million dollars and involved thousands of men, oxen and wagons.

Location and description: The offices were located in the two-story brick building still standing at the northwest corner of Fourth and Delaware Sts.

Status: The building is in use and in good repair.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

8. FORT LEAVENWORTH.

History: This is the oldest military post west of the Missouri river. It was established in 1827 by Col. Henry Leavenworth and troops of the Third U. S. infantry. From that date to the present the post has been one of the most important installations in the nation, serving as a vital military center for the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Indian Wars and two World Wars. Fort Leavenworth is the home of the army's Command and General Staff School, and most of the nation's foremost officers have been stationed at the post at some time during their careers.

Location and description: A 7,000-acre military reservation near the city of Leavenworth.

Status: Active military installation. All historic buildings and sites on the reservation are being preserved, maintained and marked. A state historical marker has been placed at the main entrance to the post, on U. S. 73.

Recommendations: Status quo.

LINCOLN COUNTY

1. INDIAN RAIDS.

History: In 1864 Cheyenne Indians killed four buffalo hunters near present Lincoln, and in 1868 three women were captured and later released, half-dead. In 1869 ten persons were killed and two women captured on the Saline river and on Spillman creek.

Location and description: Several sites within the county, one a short distance south of K-18, two miles east of Lincoln, and another northwest of the same point.

Status: There is a state historical marker on K-18, two miles east of Lincoln, and a monument to the victims of 1864 and 1869 in the courthouse square in Lincoln.

Recommendations: Status quo.

LINN COUNTY

1. BATTLE OF MINE CREEK.

History: The battle of Mine Creek, October 25, 1864, in which about 25,000 troops were engaged, was the largest Civil War battle fought in Kansas. Confederate troops were led by Gen. Sterling Price and the Union forces were under Generals Pleasanton, Blunt and Curtis. Price was retreating from Kansas City when he was engaged by the Union force, and although the Rebel army was not destroyed the defeat was decisive enough to end the threat of a Confederate invasion of Kansas.

Location and description: Site only, south of Pleasanton, on U. S. 69.

Status: The site is on a privately owned farm. There is a state historical marker on U. S. 69, two miles south of Pleasanton.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. MARAIS DES CYGNES MASSACRE.

History: On May 19, 1858, a band of Proslavery Missourians captured 11 Free-State men and lined them up before a firing squad. Five were killed, five were wounded and one escaped. This slaughter, one of the most brutal incidents in the struggle over slavery in Kansas, inflamed the North.

Location and description: Site only, about four miles northeast of Trading Post, off U. S. 69.

Status: The site and an early building are preserved in a state memorial park. A monument to the victims is in the Trading Post cemetery. A state historical marker stands on U. S. 69 at the north edge of Trading Post.

Recommendations: Status quo.

LOGAN COUNTY

1. FORKS OF THE SMOKY HILL RIVER.

History: Coaches and wagons on the Smoky Hill trail had to cross both forks of the Smoky Hill river west of Russell Springs. This was a favorite place for Indians to ambush travelers and freighters.

Location and description: Site only, SE $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 11, T 13 S, R 36 W, about nine miles south of Winona and five miles northwest of Russell Springs.

Status: Site in pasture land. Remains of walls and cellar holes can still be seen.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

2. GERMAN FAMILY MASSACRE.

History: At this point on the Smoky Hill trail four daughters of the Germans were captured by Cheyenne Indians in 1874, and others of the family were killed.

Location and description: S $\frac{1}{2}$, Sec. 26, T 13 S, R 34 W, near Russell Springs.

Status: Site is on privately owned land and trail marks are in evidence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

3. HENSHAW'S STAGE STATION.

History: This was a stage station on the Smoky Hill trail, the first stop east of Fort Wallace.

Location and description: Site only, NW¼, Sec. 14, T 13 S, R 37 W, near McAllaster.

Status: Cellar holes still visible. In pasture land.

Recommendations: State historical marker for this, Russell Springs and Smoky Hill stage stations, should be located on U. S. 40. Possibly should be included on Wallace county Pond Creek Station marker.

4. MONUMENT STATION.

History: This was a station on the Kansas (Union) Pacific railroad just after construction was completed in Logan county. In a draw just west of the station site Wm. F. Cody and "Buffalo Bill" Comstock had a buffalo hunting contest.

Location and description: Site only, Sec. 15, T 11 S, R 34 W, two and one half miles west of Monument.

Status: Site in pasture land. Cellar holes still visible.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

5. RUSSELL SPRINGS STAGE STATION.

History: This was a stage station on the Smoky Hill trail. It was noted for the large springs on the site.

Location and description: Site only, S½, Sec. 22, T 13 S, R 35 W, near Russell Springs.

Status: Cellar holes near spring still visible. In pasture land.

Recommendations: Should be included on state historical marker as noted under Henshaw's Station.

6. SHERIDAN.

History: Sheridan was a rip-roaring end-of-track town on the Kansas (Union) Pacific railroad for about 18 months, 1868-1870. It was for a time a large settlement which supplied Fort Wallace, and from which freighters started for the Southwest.

Location and description: Deserted townsite, Sec. 7, T 12 S, R 36 W, near McAllaster.

Status: The site is now in privately owned pasture land. Nothing remains of the town.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

7. SMOKY HILL STAGE STATION.

History: Stage station on Smoky Hill trail. A battle with Indians took place here in 1866.

Location and description: Site only, S½, SE¼, Sec. 32, T 13 S, R 33 W, 20 miles southwest of Oakley.

Status: Cellar holes and circular trench still visible. In cultivated field, but the station site has not been plowed.

Recommendations: Should be included on state historical marker as noted under Henshaw's Station.

LYON COUNTY

1. HARTFORD COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE BUILDING, HARTFORD.

History: Construction of the building began in 1860 and first classes were held in 1862. The institute was to serve as a branch of Baker University, under the control of the Methodist church. Through the years the building has served also as a public school, church and pastor's residence.

Location and description: Two-story stone building located in the town of Hartford.

Status: The building was renovated in the spring of 1957. The first floor is to be used for community activities. The second floor will house a museum.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. MICKEL HOUSE.

History: Built about 1856 by W. L. Mickel, who laid out the town of Waterloo in 1858, the Mickel House was a hotel for many years. It was on the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Sill government trail and was a tavern and relay station for stages.

Location and description: Two-story frame house built of native walnut, four miles southwest of Miller, 17½ miles northeast of Emporia.

Status: House is privately owned.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

3. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE HOME, EMPORIA.

History: The house was built in the 1880's for Judge Almerin Gillett. It became the White home in 1900 and is known as "Red Rocks." White, the editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, gained national fame for his writing and political activity.

Location and description: Two-story house of Colorado sandstone with Victorian-Gothic gables and dormer windows at 927 Exchange St.

Status: House is owned by W. L. White, son of W. A. White.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

MCPHERSON COUNTY

1. CORONADO HEIGHTS.

History: The Spanish explorer Coronado is thought to have camped here while on his search for Quivira in 1541.

Location and description: The "Heights" are the southernmost of a series of rugged buttes rising above the floor of the Smoky Hill valley, three miles northwest of Lindsborg.

Status: A road leads to the top of the butte and a park and shelterhouse have been constructed there.

Recommendations: Local historical marker on U. S. 81.

2. KANSAS INDIAN TREATY SITE (DRY TURKEY CREEK).

History: In 1825 a treaty between the U. S. government and the Kansas Indians was signed here. For a consideration of \$800 in cash and merchandise the Kaws promised not to molest travelers on the Santa Fe trail.

Location and description: Site only, about five miles southeast of McPherson on U. S. 81.

Status: Site now in farm land. State historical marker on U. S. 81.

Recommendations: Status quo.

MARION COUNTY

1. LOST SPRINGS.

History: The spring was a watering place and campground on the Santa Fe trail.

Location and description: Site only, about two and one half miles west of the village of Lost Springs, a short distance off U. S. 77-56.

Status: Privately owned farm land. Two historical markers have been erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Recommendations: Status quo.

MARSHALL COUNTY

1. ALCOVE SPRINGS.

History: Alcove Springs was a famous landmark and camping place on the Oregon trail. The ill-fated Donner party stopped here in 1846 and "Grandma" Sarah Keyes, a member of that group, is buried near the springs.

Location and description: Site only, about seven miles south of Marysville. Secs. 31, 32, R 7 E, T 3 S.

Status: The site is on privately owned farm land and the springs were not flowing during the summer of 1956.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 36.

2. INDEPENDENCE CROSSING.

History: Famous ford and ferry crossing of the Big Blue river on the Oregon trail.

Location and description: Site only, on Big Blue river about five miles southwest of Marysville.

Status: The crossing is mentioned on the state historical marker on U. S. 36, Marysville.

Recommendations: Status quo.

3. LAGRANGE POST OFFICE.

History: This cabin was built in 1857 by E. F. Jones, who was postmaster at LaGrange until his death in the 1880's. It was used as a residence until the early 1930's.

Location and description: One-story log building with loft, just off K-99, eight miles south of Frankfort.

Status: The structure stands in the yard of a farm and is in a reasonably good state of preservation.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

MEADE COUNTY

1. LONE TREE MASSACRE.

History: On August 24, 1874, a band of Cheyennes ambushed a six-man surveying party and killed them all after a running fight. The victims were buried temporarily near a solitary cottonwood five miles south of the state historical marker which stands on U. S. 54.

Location and description: Site only, southwest of Meade, off U. S. 54.

Status: Site is on farm land. The story is adequately told on the historical marker near Meade.

Recommendations: Status quo.

MIAMI COUNTY

1. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, OSAWATOMIE.

History: The building was begun in 1859, completed in 1860 and dedicated in 1861. The congregation's first pastor was the Rev. Samuel Adair, brother-in-law of the famous abolitionist John Brown.

Location and description: Small stone structure located in the city of Osawatomie.

Status: Now privately owned and used as a hay barn. There is a marker at the building.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. JOHN BROWN MEMORIAL PARK, OSAWATOMIE.

History: The battle of Osawatomie, which took place on August 30, 1856, between Free-State forces of John Brown and Proslavery "Border Ruffians," was one of the many incidents which occurred in the territorial struggles. The cabin, although it was owned by the Rev. Samuel Adair, served as a headquarters for John Brown during much of his Kansas stay. It originally stood about one and one half miles northwest of Osawatomie.

Location and description: A park of some 20 acres. It includes the site of the battle of Osawatomie and contains the cabin of Samuel Adair which was used by John Brown.

Status: The park is administered by a local board and receives assistance from the state for its operation. The cabin is enclosed in a shelter and is well preserved.

Recommendations: Status quo.

MITCHELL COUNTY

1. WACONDA OR GREAT SPIRIT SPRINGS.

History: An Indian legend tells of Waconda, a beautiful princess, who fell in love with a brave from another tribe. Prevented from marriage by a blood feud, the warrior embroiled the tribes in battle. During the fight he was hit by an arrow and fell into the spring. Waconda, grief-stricken, plunged after him. Believing her soul still lived in the spring, tribes carried their sick to drink the waters and be healed. Victories were celebrated and losses were mourned at the spring, and tokens were thrown into the spring for the Great Spirit.

Location and description: A mineral pool, about 50 feet in diameter, set in a limestone basin, about three miles east of Cawker City, off U. S. 24.

Status: The spring is on privately owned land and a health resort is located there. A state historical marker is on U. S. 24 east of Cawker City. Waconda Springs will be inundated if and when the Glen Elder dam on the Solomon river is completed.

Recommendations: Status quo.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

1. DALTON RAID, COFFEYVILLE.

History: On October 5, 1892, the last great gun battle in Kansas between outlaws of the Old West and the forces of law and order took place in downtown Coffeyville. In an attempted robbery of the First National Bank and the Condon Bank, Bob and Grat Dalton, Bill Powers and Dick Broadwell were killed and Emmett Dalton was wounded. Four Coffeyville citizens were also killed and three others wounded.

Location and description: In the Plaza area of Coffeyville.

Status: A "Dalton Defenders" museum featuring relics of the raid has been established in the Plaza. It is open to the public.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. CIVIL WAR BATTLE.

History: In May, 1863, a party of about 20 Confederates, nearly all officers, set out from Missouri to recruit troops in the West. Several miles east of the site they were challenged by loyal Osage Indians. In a running fight two Confederates were killed and the others were surrounded on a gravel bar in the Verdigris river. The Osages killed and cut the heads off all but two of the party. These, wounded, hid under the river bank and escaped.

Location and description: Site only, on the Verdigris river, about three miles north and one mile east of Independence.

Status: There is a state historical marker on U. S. 160 about one mile east of Independence.

Recommendations: Status quo.

3. DRUM CREEK TREATY.

History: In 1870 a treaty was signed between the U. S. government and the Osage Indians which authorized the removal of the Osages to what is now Oklahoma.

Location and description: Site only, on Drum creek, four miles southeast of Independence.

Status: The site is on private land. There is a state historical marker on U. S. 160 about one mile east of Independence.

Recommendations: Status quo.

MORRIS COUNTY

1. COUNCIL OAK, COUNCIL GROVE.

History: Near this oak was signed the 1825 treaty with the Osage Indians which led to the establishment of the Santa Fe trail.

Location and description: A large oak tree, two blocks east of the bridge, on Main St. (U. S. 56).

Status: The tree, which stands on private property, is marked.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. CUSTER ELM, COUNCIL GROVE.

History: Gen. George A. Custer and the Seventh U. S. cavalry are reported to have camped under this tree in 1867.

Location and description: A large elm tree five blocks south of Main St. on K-13.

Status: The tree is on public right of way and is marked.

Recommendations: Status quo.

3. HAYS TAVERN, COUNCIL GROVE.

History: The tavern was built in 1857 by Seth Hays, a descendant of Daniel Boone.

Location and description: Two-story frame building, one half block west of the bridge on Main St. (U. S. 56).

Status: The building, privately owned and still operated as a restaurant, is marked.

Recommendations: Status quo.

4. KAW METHODIST MISSION, COUNCIL GROVE.

History: This building was completed in 1851 as a mission and school for Kansas Indian children, under the direction of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Indian school was discontinued in 1854 but a school for white children was continued in the building.

Location and description: Two-story stone building on landscaped grounds, on Mission St., three blocks north of U. S. 56.

Status: The property is owned by the state and administered as a museum by the State Historical Society.

Recommendations: Status quo.

5. LAST CHANCE STORE, COUNCIL GROVE.

History: Built in 1857, this store was the traveler's last chance on the Santa Fe trail to secure provisions before reaching New Mexico.

Location and description: A small one-story stone building, on West Main and Chautauqua Sts. (U. S. 56).

Status: The building, which is privately owned, is marked.

Recommendations: An excellent location for a local museum.

6. POST OFFICE OAK, COUNCIL GROVE.

History: A cache at the base of this tree served as a post office for travelers on the Santa Fe trail from 1825 to 1847.

Location and description: A large oak tree, one block east of the bridge on Main St. (U. S. 56).

Status: The tree, which stands on private property, is marked.

Recommendations: Status quo.

7. DIAMOND SPRINGS.

History: One of the most famous watering places on the Santa Fe trail.

Location and description: Site only, about two miles south on gravel road which intersects with U. S. 56 three miles west of Wilsey.

Status: Site is now in privately owned pasture land. A historical marker has been erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Recommendations: Status quo.

8. KANSAS INDIAN AGENCY BUILDING.

History: Following a treaty signed in 1859 by the Kaw Indians and the federal government, the Kaw reservation was diminished and the agency was moved a short distance southeast of Council Grove. Several substantial buildings were erected by the government, including an agency, stables, storehouses and schools. In addition, about 150 small stone residences were constructed for the Indians. These buildings were in use until the tribe's removal to Oklahoma in 1873.

Location and description: The agency building is a two-story stone structure located near the mouth of Big John creek about four miles southeast of Council Grove. The few stone cabins which still remain are scattered over the surrounding area.

Status: The agency building is on privately owned farm land and is in poor repair.

Recommendations: Local historical marker on K-13. The building might be restored and used in connection with a local park or recreation area.

MORTON COUNTY

1. POINT OF ROCKS.

History: Point of Rocks was a famous landmark on the Santa Fe trail marking the crossing of the Cimarron. This is the westernmost landmark of significance on the trail in Kansas.

Location and description: Natural landmark. A rocky bluff rising above the bed of the Cimarron river near Elkhart, two miles west of K-27.

Status: The site is on grazing land owned by the U. S. government.

Recommendations: State historical marker on K-27.

NEMAHA COUNTY

NEOSHO COUNTY

1. MISSION NEOSHO, SHAW.

History: The first Indian school and mission in present Kansas was established here in 1824 among the Great Osages who had migrated from Missouri about 1815. It was abandoned after five years. Near here on September 29, 1865, the Osages signed a treaty with the U. S. government agreeing to a reduction of their lands in Kansas.

Location and description: Sites only, at and near the town of Shaw.

Status: The story of the mission and of the treaty is told on the present state historical marker at Shaw, three and one half miles west of U. S. 59. The marker will be relocated on U. S. 59 after improvements to the highway are completed.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. OSAGE CATHOLIC MISSION, ST. PAUL.

History: This mission was established in 1847 for the Osages on the Neosho and Verdigris rivers. A manual labor school for boys and a department for girls were conducted by Jesuit brothers and the Sisters of Loretto. In 1848 the first Catholic church in southern Kansas was built here. When the Osages moved to Indian territory in 1870 the school was

continued for white children. A town, Osage Mission, organized in 1867, became St. Paul in 1895.

Location and description: Site only, town of St. Paul.

Status: The story of the mission is told on the present state historical marker on K-57 at the east edge of St. Paul.

Recommendations: Status quo.

NESS COUNTY

1. GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER HOMESTEAD.

History: George Washington Carver, famous Negro scientist and educator, in 1886 filed on the homestead which was his residence for a few years.

Location and description: Farm site, SE¼, Sec. 4, T 19 S, R 26 W, near Beeler.

Status: The land is privately owned. The Ness County Historical Society has erected a marker memorializing Carver's residence in the county.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. STONE HOUSE, NESS CITY.

History: This building is said to be the oldest house in Ness City and perhaps in Ness county.

Location and description: One-story native stone and brick building on K-96, downtown Ness City.

Status: The property is owned by the Ness County Historical Society and operated as a museum.

Recommendations: Status quo.

NORTON COUNTY

OSAGE COUNTY

1. BURLINGAME.

History: Burlingame, originally named Council City, was founded in November, 1854, and was incorporated under its present name in 1858. It was an important stop on the Santa Fe trail, which followed the present main street, Santa

Fe Ave. The town takes its name from Anson Burlingame, member of congress from Massachusetts and later U. S. minister to China, a strong advocate of the Free-State cause who is best known today as the author of the Burlingame treaty with China.

Location and description: The original townsite was located on Switzler creek at the Santa Fe trail crossing.

Status: Incorporated as a third class city.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 56.

OSBORNE COUNTY

OTTAWA COUNTY

PAWNEE COUNTY

1. FORT LARNED.

History: Fort Larned was one of the most important posts on the Santa Fe trail and the Indian frontier, 1859-1878. It is described by the National Park Service as "an excellent surviving example of a frontier military post, undoubtedly the best preserved post along the old Santa Fe trail."

Location and description: Five stone buildings on the Frizell ranch, six miles west of Larned, off U. S. 156.

Status: The buildings are still in use in ranching operations and are well preserved. There is a marker on the old parade ground and also a state historical marker on the highway. The Fort Larned Historical Society maintains a museum in one of the buildings.

Recommendations: Fort Larned was one of three historic sites in Kansas which in 1956 were recommended by the National Park Service for further investigation and possible designation as national monuments. If it could be arranged, such permanent designation and maintenance of the old fort by the Park Service would be highly desirable.

PHILLIPS COUNTY

1. CAMP KIRWAN.

History: Camp Kirwan was a temporary encampment for U. S. troops providing escort for a government survey party in northwest Kansas and southwest Nebraska during the summer of 1865. Troops of the Twelfth Tennessee cavalry, stationed at the camp, were under the command of Lt. Col. John S. Kirwan, for whom the post was named.

Location and description: Site only, about one and one half miles southwest of Kirwin.

Status: Site is now in the Kirwin Dam reservoir area and is inundated. There is a local marker in the city park of Kirwin.

Recommendations: Status quo.

POTTAWATOMIE COUNTY

1. INDIAN AGENCY BUILDING, ST. MARYS.

History: The building was constructed in 1862 as part of the agency for the Pottawatomie Indians.

Location and description: Small one-story stone building located in St. Marys.

Status: On private land. Building is mentioned on state historical marker for St. Marys.

Recommendations: Status quo.

PRATT COUNTY

RAWLINS COUNTY

RENO COUNTY

1. FIRST SALT WELL.

History: Salt was discovered in South Hutchinson on September 27, 1887, by Ben Blanchard who was drilling a deep well hoping to strike gas or oil. The finding of this fabulous "vein of pure salt" led to the development at Hutchinson of one of the state's most important industries.

Location and description: Site only, in the South Hutchinson area.

Status: A marker commemorating the discovery was placed on K-17, in South Hutchinson, by the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1939.

Recommendations: Status quo.

REPUBLIC COUNTY

1. PIKE-PAWNEE VILLAGE.

History: Said to be the site of the Pawnee Indian village where Zebulon Pike conferred with the Pawnees in 1806 and persuaded them to raise the U. S. flag for the first time in present Kansas.

Location and description: Site only, two miles southwest of town of Republic.

Status: The site, owned by the state, has a monument, marker and fenced park plot. There is a historical marker on U. S. 36 at Scandia.

Recommendations: Status quo.

RICE COUNTY

1. CORONADO-QUIVIRA SITE.

History: In the summer of 1541 the Spanish explorer Coronado visited present Kansas in search of the land of Quivira and its fabled riches. Quivira is believed to have been located in what is now the central part of the state. Father Juan de Padilla, a missionary with the Coronado expedition, was killed in 1542 by the Indians, reputedly the first Christian martyr in the present United States.

Location and description: Coronado's exact route cannot be traced today, but the presumption is that he reached central Kansas. The site of what is believed to be a large Quiviran Indian village is located in Sec. 2, T 20 S, R 9 W, four miles west of Lyons. A large cross has been erected near this site in memory of Father Padilla. Other Padilla monuments stand in the city park at Herington and near Council Grove.

Status: State historical markers are located on U. S. 56 west of Lyons, and on U. S. 56-77 near Herington.

Recommendations: Status quo.

RILEY COUNTY

1. FIRST TERRITORIAL CAPITOL, FORT RILEY.

History: This building was erected in 1855 at the now extinct town of Pawnee. The first territorial legislature used it as a meeting place July 2-6, 1855, before adjourning to the Shawnee Methodist Mission.

Location and description: Two-story stone building located on the Fort Riley military reservation, on K-18.

Status: The building is owned by the state and is operated as a museum by the State Historical Society.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. FORT RILEY.

History: Established as a frontier military post in 1853, Fort Riley has remained active since that time. It was the home of the U. S. army cavalry school and for some time was the headquarters of the famed Seventh U. S. cavalry. Many of the nation's noted military leaders from the 1850's to the present have served at the post.

Location and description: Military reservation, 53,000 acres.

Status: Active military installation. A state historical marker is located on the post, on K-18.

Recommendations: Status quo.

3. DAVID A. BUTTERFIELD HOUSE, MANHATTAN.

History: The house was built by Butterfield between July 18, 1857, and July 8, 1858. Butterfield became famous as the operator of the Butterfield Overland Dispatch which ran stages along the Smoky Hill trail to Denver. This is said to be the oldest house still standing in Manhattan.

Location and description: Stone building, 307 Osage St.

Status: Privately owned.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

4. DAMON RUNYON BIRTHPLACE, MANHATTAN.

History: Damon Runyon, author and journalist, was born here on October 3, 1880.

Location and description: Two-story frame house, 400 Osage St.

Status: The house is privately owned and used as a residence. On the corner of the lot is a marker stating that the house was Runyon's birthplace.

Recommendations: Status quo.

5. ISAAC GOODNOW HOUSE, MANHATTAN.

History: This house was built for Isaac T. Goodnow, pioneer settler, in 1859. Goodnow was one of the founders of Blue-mont College, which later became Kansas State College, and was state superintendent of public instruction, 1863-1867. He was also land commissioner of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad.

Location and description: Two-story stone house on Claflin Road.

Status: The house is privately owned and is well preserved.

Recommendations: Possibly should be a state-owned museum.

ROOKS COUNTY

RUSH COUNTY

RUSSELL COUNTY

1. CARRIE OSWALD NO. 1 OIL WELL.

History: Carrie Oswald No. 1 was the discovery well of the Fairport pool, one of the largest and most famous in Kansas.

Location and description: Site only, 16½ miles northwest of Russell, near Fairport.

Status: There is a monument at the site.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. KIT'S FORK INDIAN RAID.

History: In May, 1869, a section gang working on the Kansas Pacific (now Union Pacific) railroad was attacked by Plains Indians. The workers fled on a handcar and carried on a

running fight with the Indians. Two men were killed and four were wounded. This was a typical incident in the struggle of the Indians to prevent the railroads from building through their lands.

Location and description: Site only, near Russell, off U. S. 40.

Status: A state historical marker is now being made (August, 1957) and will be erected in the near future. A monument also stands in the city cemetery, a memorial to the railroad workers who died.

Recommendations: Status quo.

SALINE COUNTY

1. BROOKVILLE HOTEL, BROOKVILLE.

History: This hotel was built in 1870 and is said to be the oldest hotel in Kansas operating in its original location without a change of service. It was a cafe and hostelry during the cattle trail days and its register contains famous names of the Old West.

Location and description: Two-story frame building, one block off U. S. 40. (The caption for the photograph of the hotel, on page 13 of the picture section accompanying this article, incorrectly reports the location as Salina.)

Status: Owned and operated privately; well preserved.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. INDIAN BURIAL PIT.

History: One of the most notable archaeological discoveries in the United States, the pit was opened in 1936. It contains more than 140 skeletal remains of prehistoric Indians.

Location and description: Prehistoric Indian burial pit covered by a permanent structure. Four miles east of Salina on U. S. 40.

Status: Now in private hands and open to the public with an admission charge. There is a state historical marker on U. S. 40.

Recommendations: Status quo.

SCOTT COUNTY

1. BATTLE CANYON.

History: Here was fought the last battle between Indians and U. S. troops in Kansas, September 27, 1878. Dull Knife's band of Cheyenne Indians who were fleeing to the north from Indian territory engaged in a skirmish with a detachment of troops from Fort Dodge. Lt. Col. William Lewis, commanding the troops, was killed. The canyon was a natural place for the Indians to make a stand. The women and children were hidden in a cave at the closed end of the ravine.

Location and description: Natural box canyon and cave approximately one and one half miles off gravel road to the Scott County State Park.

Status: The site is on land privately owned and has undergone little alteration through the years. Rifle pits of the Cheyennes are still in evidence, ringed with stones, and the cave where the women and children were hidden is still there although it is partially filled with water. This site is in broken country which possesses a great deal of natural beauty, but the pasture road leading to it makes access difficult.

Recommendations: Should be improved and a state historical marker erected.

2. EL QUARTELEJO.

History: On this site, in the 17th century, stood an Indian pueblo. It is believed that Indians of the Southwest migrated to the site to escape Spanish oppression and the pueblo became a meeting place for traders in the early 18th century.

Location and description: Site area is located in Scott County State Park, a short distance off a main park road.

Status: The site was excavated several years ago and then allowed to drift full again. The Daughters of the American Revolution have erected a monument at the site and there is a state historical marker north of Scott City. There is local interest in re-excavation.

Recommendations: Should be re-excavated, rebuilt if possible, and maintained locally or by the state as a historic site.

3. STEELE HOUSE.

History: In this house was the first post office in Scott county. The H. L. Steele family pioneered in the county and owned the land where the state park is now located.

Location and description: Stone building in Scott County State Park, on main park road. Stone barn stands across the road.

Status: The house is under the supervision of the Kansas Forestry, Fish & Game Commission and there is a collection of museum items in the house. It is difficult to gain admission although it is intended to be open to the public. The property is also being allowed to fall into a state of disrepair.

Recommendations: Better care by Forestry, Fish & Game Commission and perhaps county historical society operation of the museum.

SEDGWICK COUNTY

1. INDIAN TREATY SITE.

History: In 1865 several tribes of Plains Indians camped on the Little Arkansas river to confer with representatives of the federal government. The whites wanted peace, unmolested traffic on the Santa Fe trail and the limitation of Indian territory. The Indians asked for unrestricted hunting grounds and reparation for the Chivington massacre of Black Kettle's Cheyenne band on Sand creek, in Colorado. The treaties made here gave the Indians reservations south of the Arkansas and excluded them north to the Platte.

Location and description: Site only, and that not specific, on the Little Arkansas north of Wichita.

Status: There is a state historical marker on U. S. 81, four miles north of Wichita, which tells the story of the treaties.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. COWTOWN WICHITA.

History: This is a project for the re-creation of part of the old cowtown of Wichita, 1869-1876. Several original buildings have been moved to the new site and restored, among them the Munger house, the first cabin to be erected in present Wichita; and the original Presbyterian church and parsonage.

Location and description: Twenty-three acres in the Riverside section of Wichita, north of U. S. 54.

Status: Cowtown Wichita is being re-created under the direction of a local corporation, assisted by the city.

Recommendations: Status quo.

SEWARD COUNTY

SHAWNEE COUNTY

1. ARTHUR CAPPER HOUSE, TOPEKA.

History: Built in 1912, this house was the personal residence of Arthur Capper. It was also his official residence during the two terms he served the state as governor, 1915-1919, and was used for the same purpose, 1919-1923, by Gov. Henry J. Allen.

Location and description: Two-story limestone and concrete house built in the style of an Italian villa, 1035 Topeka Ave.

Status: Privately owned.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

2. CHARLES CURTIS HOUSE, TOPEKA.

History: This home was once the property of Charles Curtis, who served in the U. S. house of representatives and senate from Kansas. He was vice-president of the U. S., 1929-1933.

Location and description: Three-story red brick house built in an ornate Victorian style, 1101 Topeka Ave.

Status: The property is now privately owned and used as an office building by an insurance firm. There is a plaque on the building.

Recommendations: Status quo.

3. EXECUTIVE MANSION, TOPEKA.

History: The mansion was built in 1887 at a cost of \$60,000 by Erastus Bennett. It was purchased by the state in 1901 as an official residence for the state's chief executive, and all governors since that time, with the exception of Capper and Allen, have lived there.

Location and description: Three-story brick home, located at 801 Buchanan.

Status: Still the governor's official residence.

Recommendations: When the new Executive Mansion is occupied, this building, complete with furniture, should be operated as a museum, if feasible, or if sold by the state, it should be marked by a historical plaque or sign.

4. RICE HALL, TOPEKA.

History: Built in 1872 and occupied in 1874, this building has been used by Washburn University as a dormitory, for classrooms, and as a dining hall. It is the oldest building on the campus. The school was founded in 1865.

Location and description: Three-story limestone building on the Washburn University campus.

Status: The building currently houses classrooms, offices and laboratories.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

5. OLD STONE HOUSE.

History: This house is reputed to be one of the oldest, perhaps the oldest, in the county. Estimates of the date of its construction range from the 1830's through the 1850's. No definite date of construction has been arrived at but it is safe to assume that it was as early as the 1850's.

Location and description: Two-story limestone structure east of Silver Lake on U. S. 24.

Status: The house is now a private residence and well preserved.

Recommendations: Status quo.

6. POTTAWATOMIE BAPTIST MISSION.

History: This was one of the buildings of the Baptist Mission to the Pottawatomies, built in 1849 near an important Oregon trail crossing of the Kansas river. The mission school, established in 1848, existed here until 1859 and was a thriving institution. The mission was also a stopping place for travelers on the trail to Fort Riley and it was here that Gov. John Geary issued the first official Thanksgiving proclamation in 1856.

Location and description: Two-story limestone structure about three miles west of Topeka, just north of U. S. 40—K-10.

Status: The walls of the mission building have been incorporated into a barn. Barn doors and a modern roof have been added but basically the building has not been greatly altered.

Recommendations: Should be acquired by the state and operated by the State Historical Society as an annex to its downtown museum, because of its historic importance, and the availability of an abundance of parking area on a well-traveled highway.

SHERIDAN COUNTY

1. COLONEL SUMNER'S CHEYENNE CAMPAIGN.

History: During the summer of 1857 Col. E. V. Sumner, commander at Fort Leavenworth, was engaged in a campaign against the Cheyenne Indians in Kansas and Nebraska. Toward the end of July Sumner's force engaged a large body of Indians in the Solomon river valley. A running fight ensued in which the Indians were routed. Two soldiers were killed and nine wounded, including Lt. J. E. B. Stuart, who later became famous as a Confederate general.

Location and description: General area of the Solomon valley, east of Hoxie.

Status: Private farm land.

Recommendations: This incident was selected in 1941 by a governor's committee on historic sites as worthy of recognition, and a text for a marker was prepared by the State Historical Society. A state historical marker should be erected on U. S. 24 east of Hoxie.

SHERMAN COUNTY

1. KIDDER MASSACRE.

History: In June, 1867, Lt. Lyman S. Kidder, with ten men from the Second U. S. cavalry, then stationed in northeastern Colorado, and an Indian scout, were killed by a hunting party of Cheyenne and Sioux Indians near Beaver creek in present Sherman county. Kidder and his men were in search of Gen. Geo. A. Custer, to whom they were to deliver dispatches.

Location and description: Site only, about 23 miles northeast of Goodland, near the Cheyenne county line.

Status: Privately owned land.

Recommendations: Local historical marker on U. S. 24.

SMITH COUNTY

1. HOME ON THE RANGE CABIN.

History: This cabin was once the home of Dr. Brewster Higley, pioneer Kansas physician, who wrote the words to "Home on the Range" in the early 1870's.

Location and description: One-room log cabin, in Sec. 7, T 2 S, R 14 W, on Beaver creek, about 17 miles northwest of Smith Center, off K-8.

Status: On privately owned farm land. The cabin was restored and dedicated as a historical memorial to Higley in 1954 and is open daily. The site is indicated by directional markers on U. S. 36.

Recommendations: Status quo.

STAFFORD COUNTY

STANTON COUNTY

STEVENS COUNTY

SUMNER COUNTY

1. CHISHOLM TRAIL.

History: The original Chisholm trail, as followed by Jesse Chisholm about 1865, ran from Wichita 220 miles south into Indian territory. Later the trail was extended north to Abilene and became famous as the route of many cattle drives from Texas.

Location and description: The trail crossed the Kansas-Oklahoma border near Caldwell, Sumner county. Traces may still be seen in some localities.

Status: A state historical marker has been erected on U. S. 81, a mile south of Caldwell, and a local marker is in a roadside park on U. S. 160, about six miles west of Wellington. Another local marker is located on a county road one mile east of Clearwater, Sedgwick county.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. FAIRBANKS HOUSE, CALDWELL.

History: This building housed a tavern on the Chisholm trail in the late 1860's and 1870's.

Location and description: One-story stone building, off U. S. 81.

Status: The building is privately owned.

Recommendations: Local historical marker or plaque.

THOMAS COUNTY

TREGO COUNTY

1. CASTLE ROCK CREEK STAGE STATION.

History: This was a stage station established in 1865 on the Smoky Hill trail.

Location and description: SW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 31, T 13 S, R 25 W, one mile east of Castle Rock, south of Collyer.

Status: A farm building now stands on the main station site and very little evidence of the station can be found.

Recommendations: This site and Downer's Station should be included in Gove county state historical marker.

2. DOWNER'S STATION.

History: This was established in 1865 as a stage station on the Smoky Hill trail, and was a temporary military outpost.

Location and description: Site only, NW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 3, T 14 S, R 24 W, south of WaKeeney, off U. S. 40.

Status: The site is on privately owned pasture land. Cellar holes and ruins of stone wall are still in evidence.

Recommendations: See Castle Rock Creek Stage Station.

WABAUNSEE COUNTY

1. BEECHER BIBLE AND RIFLE CHURCH, WABAUNSEE.

History: This church was organized in 1857 by settlers from New England and the building was dedicated in 1862. The church, Congregationalist, takes its name from the "Beecher Bibles"—in reality Sharps carbines—which were furnished Free-State settlers who came to Kansas to combat Proslavery sympathizers. The famous abolitionist preacher, Henry Ward Beecher, collected money for the arms and they were shipped to Kansas territory in boxes labeled "Bibles."

Location and description: Stone building located in the town of Wabaunsee, off K-29.

Status: The building is well preserved and is still in use as a Congregational church.

Recommendations: State historical marker on K-99 near junction with K-29. Immediately southeast of this junction and overlooking a beautiful valley is Mount Mitchell, a state property which could be made a park and scenic drive.

WALLACE COUNTY

1. FORT WALLACE AND CEMETERY.

History: Camp Pond Creek, established in 1865, was renamed Fort Wallace in 1866. It was an active army post until 1882, and for some years was one of the largest and most important on the Indian frontier.

Location and description: Fort site about two miles southeast of Wallace. Cemetery plot is across the road from the fort site.

Status: The site is on privately owned land. No buildings remain but foundations, cellars and other surface indications of the post are evident. The cemetery contains a monument to military dead. These bodies were later removed to Fort Leavenworth. The remaining graves are not of military personnel. A state historical marker is located on U. S. 40 at Wallace.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. POND CREEK STATION.

History: This was a station on the Smoky Hill trail and was a temporary military post in 1865 and 1866. It was also the first county seat.

Location and description: Site only, one mile west of Wallace, south side of U. S. 40.

Status: The site is on privately owned farm land. Cellar holes and remains of dirt fortifications are still visible. The stage tender's building and coach house which stood on this site is still intact and is now located on the Madigan ranch, ten miles north and four west of Wallace. Bullet holes may still be seen in the siding, evidence of the times when the station was under Indian attack.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 40 near junction with K-27, possibly also to include Logan county stage station sites.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

1. HOLLENBERG RANCH PONY EXPRESS STATION.

History: This is said to be the only original unaltered Pony Express station still standing. It was built originally as a ranch house in 1857 and was used as a station on the short-lived but famous Pony Express route of 1860-1861.

Location and description: A one-story frame structure located about one mile northeast of Hanover off K-15E.

Status: The building is owned by the state and contains a small pioneer museum. There is a state historical marker on U. S. 36 near the junction with K-15E.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. STAGE STATION, HADDAM.

History: This house is said to have been built in the latter 1850's for use as a stage hotel.

Location and description: Three-story stone house near the edge of Haddam.

Status: Occupied as a residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

WICHITA COUNTY

WILSON COUNTY

1. FIRST COMMERCIAL OIL WELL, NEODESHA.

History: The first oil well to produce in commercial quantities was drilled in Neodesha in 1892, in what became known as the Mid-Continent field.

Location and description: Site only, west edge of the city on U. S. 75.

Status: There is a marker on U. S. 75 which identifies the site.

Recommendations: Status quo.

2. FORT BELMONT.

History: Fort Belmont was a military post and stagecoach station in the early 1860's. Hapo, a chief of the Osage Indians, is reported to be buried near here.

Location and description: Site only, two miles west of Buffalo, off U. S. 75.

Status: On privately owned land.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

WOODSON COUNTY

WYANDOTTE COUNTY

1. FOUR HOUSES TRADING POST, BONNER SPRINGS.

History: This trading post was established by Francis and Cyprian Choteau in 1820. The four buildings were built of logs and faced on a square. The post was active as late as 1826.

Location and description: Site only, within the present city limits of Bonner Springs.

Status: On privately owned land.

Recommendations: A state historical marker might be erected on K-32 at Bonner Springs.

2. HURON CEMETERY, KANSAS CITY.

History: This is the Wyandot National Cemetery in which Wyandot Indians were buried beginning in 1844.

Location and description: Two-acre plot on Minnesota Ave., between Sixth and Seventh Sts., in downtown Kansas City, Kan.

Status: Sale of the property by the Wyandot tribe was authorized by congress in 1956.

Recommendations: It should continue to be preserved as a historic Indian cemetery.

3. QUINDARO, KANSAS CITY.

History: Quindaro was a town laid out in 1856 by a group that included Charles Robinson, Kansas' first state governor. The town thrived for a time but declined after the Civil War and eventually became a part of Kansas City.

Location and description: The site of Quindaro is bounded on the north by the Missouri river; on the east by Twelfth St.; on the south by Parallel Ave.; on the west by North Forty-second St.

Status: Foundations of some business buildings can still be traced and an old spring house and a few stone walls still stand.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

4. SIX MILE HOUSE, KANSAS CITY.

History: This building was erected in 1860 and served as a tavern on the Wyandotte-Leavenworth road.

Location and description: Two-story log structure, now covered with asbestos siding, located at 4960 Leavenworth Road. This is a part of the original building.

Status: The building is privately owned and is used as a residence.

Recommendations: Local historical marker.

5. MOSES GRINTER HOUSE, MUNCIE.

History: This house was built by Moses Grinter, operator of the first ferry on the Kansas river and pioneer Indian trader. He lived in a cabin near the ferry site from 1831 until 1857, when the present house was constructed.

Location and description: Two-story brick structure at 1420 South Seventy-eighth St., Muncie (on K-32).

Status: The building is privately owned and operated as a restaurant. It is well preserved.

Recommendations: State historical marker on U. S. 40.

6. CYPRIAN CHOUTEAU TRADING POST.

History: Cyprian Chouteau established this post in 1827 and it continued in operation until the mid-1850's. It was here that John C. Fremont completed preparations for his exploring trip to the Rocky Mountains in 1842.

Location and description: Site only, Sec. 11, T 11 S, R 24 E, north of present Turner.

Status: On privately owned land.

Recommendations: Include on state historical marker for Four Houses, if one is erected.

7. DELAWARE BAPTIST MISSION (FIRST).

History: This mission was established in 1832 as a school for Delaware Indian children. It declined in the early 1840's and by 1848 was permanently abandoned.

Location and description: Site only, SW¼, NE¼, Sec. 26, T 11 S, R 23 E, near present Edwardsville.

Status: On privately owned land.

Recommendations: Possibly a state historical marker for all Delaware missions could be erected on U. S. 40 near junction with K-107.

8. DELAWARE BAPTIST MISSION (SECOND).

History: This mission was established in 1848 by John G. Pratt as a revival of the earlier mission. It became a sizeable institution and included both a church and school. Pratt continued to work among the Delawares until their removal to Indian territory in 1867-1868, and made his home at the location until his death in 1900.

Location and description: Site only, NW¼, Sec. 10, T 11 S, R 23 E.

Status: On privately owned land.

Recommendations: Include on state historical marker for Delaware missions if one is erected.

9. DELAWARE METHODIST MISSION.

History: This mission was begun in 1832 under the direction of William Johnson. It was moved to a new location in 1837 and continued in operation until 1844.

Location and description: The first site was in Sec. 3, T 11 S, R 23 E; the second in the E½, NW¼, Sec. 20, T 11 S, R 24 E. Only the sites remain.

Status: On privately owned land.

Recommendations: Include on state historical marker for Delaware missions if one is erected.

10. WHITE CHURCH AND DELAWARE BURIAL GROUND.

History: This church was founded in 1832 by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in connection with the mission to the Delawares. The present building is the third at approximately the same site. The Delaware burial ground adjoining the church is believed to be the oldest in Wyandotte county. Several famous Delaware chiefs are buried there.

Location and description: Site is located one mile north of U. S. 24-40 at White Church.

Status: Present church building is in use as a community church.

Recommendations: Include on state historical marker for Delaware missions if one is erected.

A Free-Stater's "Letters to the Editor"

SAMUEL N. WOOD'S LETTERS TO EASTERN NEWSPAPERS, 1854

Edited by ROBERT W. RICHMOND

I. INTRODUCTION

SAMUEL Newitt Wood is perhaps best known for the part he played in the Stevens county "war" which involved the towns of Hugoton and Woodsdale in a struggle for the county seat and which drew to a close with the murder of Wood by Jim Brennan, June 23, 1891. However, this fatal participation in a Kansas county-seat fight was only the final chapter in a long and turbulent career which included newspaper work, politics, ranching, and railroad promotion.

Sam Wood was born December 30, 1825, at Mount Gilead, Ohio, and completed a common school education. Before he was old enough to vote he was involved in local politics and in 1848 supported Martin Van Buren, a Free-Soil candidate, for the presidency. Wood's parents were members of the Society of Friends and as a result he was brought up to despise slavery. Because of his strong feelings on the subject he became active in the operation of the "underground railroad" through Ohio and conducted fleeing Southern Negroes on several occasions.

On June 4, 1854, Sam Wood was admitted to the practice of law and two days later was on his way to the newly-created Kansas territory, convinced that the Kansas-Nebraska act was wrong and that he should do something about making Kansas a free state. With his wife and two small children he went by wagon to Cincinnati where he secured steamboat passage to Independence, Mo. From the Missouri border the family again traveled by wagon, this time to a point about four miles west of Lawrence on the "California Road." Here Wood settled and this claim was to be his home through the most difficult period of the Proslavery and Free-State controversy.

Wood was immediately involved in the political life of the territory and he was not hesitant about expressing himself regarding politics. He bought into the *Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, which was first printed by John Speer in the fall of 1854. The *Tribune* was a typical frontier newspaper and its editorial policy, similar

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to that of other early Kansas newspapers, was extremely outspoken and biased. Such a policy appealed to the fiery Ohioan and he later (1859) carried it on in his own newspapers at Cottonwood Falls and Council Grove.

In November, 1855, a Free-Stater, Charles W. Dow, was killed by Franklin N. Coleman, Proslaveryite, near Hickory Point in Douglas county. A Free-State group held a meeting on November 22 at the scene of the murder and that night Samuel Jones, sheriff of Douglas county, arrested Jacob Branson, with whom Dow had lived, for taking part in the assembly. The sheriff and his posse started for Leecompton with their prisoner but before they reached their destination they were met by an armed band of Free-State men which included Sam Wood. Jones lost his prisoner to the opposition and the incident led to what has been known as the Wakarusa War.

Wood's part in the Branson rescue and similar incidents made him one of the territory's most unpopular citizens in the eyes of Proslavery partisans. Such notoriety did not bother Wood. In fact, he thrived on it and did all that he could to increase his unpopularity by encouraging Free-State settlers to come to Kansas. This he accomplished by returning on several occasions to the East where he spoke to potential settlers and by writing letters to Eastern newspapers.

The four letters that follow were selected from newspapers in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society and were all written by Wood during the first year of his residence in Kansas. They are excellent examples of the fervid Free-State messages that went to the East during the early territorial years and vividly express Wood's opinions of the Kansas political situation and also give some idea of what life was like on the Trans-Missouri frontier of the 1850's.

II. THE LETTERS

WESTPORT, JACKSON CO., MO.,
June 28, 1854.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: I have left my Ohio home and friends, and have come here, for the purpose of selecting myself and family a future home in this, the fairest portion of God's earth. A struggle is before us. It looks as though the inhabitants of this county think that they can people, or dictate who shall people, the whole Kansas Territory. They in the start flocked into the Territory by hundreds. Men would take perhaps a dozen claims, stick their stake, mark their

names, get up a little meeting, resolve to protect each other and each other's claims. They also resolved, at all hazards, that Kansas belonged to, and should be settled exclusively by, slaveholders. After this, nine out of every ten return to their Missouri homes, supposing that they have fixed, beyond the possibility of repeal, the institutions of Kansas for all time to come. Meetings are held in Missouri, where lynching is publicly recommended, as the last resort, to drive those "*white-livered Abolitionists*" out of Kansas into Nebraska, which they condescendingly say is "set apart for us." A few Northern men already have been driven from the Territory; others frightened away. A few slaveholders already have moved in with their slaves.

The Methodist missionaries sent here for the purpose of enlightening and Christianizing the poor Indian, have their slaves to do the drudgery of the missions; thus, while they are enlightening and Christianizing one class of heathens, as an auxiliary in the good cause, they are grinding down and blotting out the very souls of other heathens. Indeed, it is a question whether they Christianize or heathenize the most. Of course, the influence of these large mission establishments is against us.¹

At Fort Leavenworth, the United States officers are degrading themselves and their calling, by going with the South, and hooting at Northern men, and even justifying lynching of them, for no other cause than that they are *Northern men*! A dark picture, truly; but think not that it has no bright side; Northern men have been found who could not be scared; settlements have been commenced, slaveholders have become frightened, already, we hear—"they will not trust their slaves there!" I have just made a trip over into the Territory, found on the Indian reserve scores of families from Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and other States, and still they come.

Next week we are to have a general meeting up on Kansas river, where hundreds of freemen will be rallied; a fiat will then go forth that will sound the death knell to Slavery, in Kansas, at least.² All we ask is, for Northern men, and Southern men, tired of Slavery, who design emigrating here, to come *now*! *Now* is the time they can suit themselves with homes; and, above all, *now*, or *soon*, this Slavery question must be met, and settled. During our trip over into the Territory, we saw the Baptist missionary—a pure and warm

1. Wood was referring to the Shawnee Methodist Mission of which Thomas Johnson was superintendent. The mission, located in present Fairway, Johnson county, was under the direction of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and did have Negro slaves.

2. No record can be found establishing the fact that such a meeting was held early in July, 1854.

Anti-Slavery man.³ We also took dinner at the Friends or Quaker mission; found the superintendent, Friend Fayer, sick, but were kindly received by his family, and Richard Mendenhall, their teacher, and his amiable wife—all strong Anti-Slavery people, to whom we are indebted, not only for their kindness to us, but for much valuable information.⁴ Say to freemen, “Come on, secure a home, and assist in this great struggle between Slavery and Freedom!”

Our nearest post office at present is Westport, Jackson county, Missouri.

Yours, truly,

SAMUEL N. WOOD⁵

WESTPORT, JACKSON CO., MO.,
July 12, 1854.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Presuming that you, as well as your numerous readers, would read with pleasure a line from this far-off Territory, I seat myself for the purpose of keeping you posted on Kansas matters. Since writing to you last, I have spent about ten days in the Territory, have been over much of the country south of Kansas river, and must say that I have viewed, to my mind, some of the best as well as most beautiful places in the world. Prairies could not be richer, nor scarcely better watered; it is true, in places, timber may be scarce, yet limestone exists in abundance, enough to fence in the whole country. Stone-coal, I am satisfied, exists in abundance. The want of timber will be but trifling, even where it does not exist.

Emigrants are pouring in from all parts of the country, a great majority of whom are non-slaveholders; yet great ignorance prevails among them on the Slavery question. Slaveholders finding, with all their threats and bullying, that Northern men could not be scared or kept out of the Territory, are now trying to control the public sentiment, and contend that we have no right to exclude slave property from the Territory, and that it stands in precisely the same relation as other property. By this means, they are gaining a foothold here, which, I fear, it will be hard to rout them from.

Would some one, who is capable, write a small tract showing the true relation between master and slave, asserting that Slavery

3. Wood probably was referring to Francis Barker, superintendent of the Shawnee Baptist Mission school. This mission, located in present Johnson county, was established in 1831 and was in its final year of operation when Wood visited it.

4. “Friend Fayer” was Davis W. Thayer, superintendent of the Shawnee Friends Mission which was also located in present Johnson county. Richard Mendenhall, mentioned here, was an outspoken foe of slavery and wrote many letters to the East upholding the Free-State cause.

5. Washington (D. C.) *National Era*, July 20, 1854.

is a local institution, sustained only by positive law, and is without foundation in common or natural law, consequently cannot exist in Kansas without positive enactment, and the danger of letting it get a foothold; and then write another, giving a general comparison of the slave and free States, together with the expense Slavery is to the Government—let these two tracts be circulated over the Territory, and to my mind the work is done. Will not some of our Anti-Slavery-extension friends in the States take hold of this matter, and furnish us something on this subject at once, whilst the public mind is famishing for food upon this subject?

It is really a question which here takes precedence of all others, and will our friends in the States but furnish us the matter, we will distribute it broadcast over the whole Territory, and wake up a feeling that will die only with Slavery itself.

To members of Congress I would say, all the matter you can possibly send me, calculated to throw light on Slavery, shall be faithfully distributed among the Kansas settlers.

To emigrants from the North I would say, after you get into the slave States, believe nothing you may hear about Kansas. Every misrepresentation imaginable will be told, to discourage you from coming here; and even after you arrive, find Anti-Slavery men, as you will learn nothing of the Territory by inquiry.

Yours for the right,

S. N. WOOD.⁶

KANSAS, Wednesday, Aug. 2, 1854.

Yours of July 14 is just received by the hand of a friend. I am fifty-five miles from the Post-Office, in what I deem a first-rate country—timber, perhaps, a little scarce. But I have not time, now, to describe the country. Some will get sick and go home, yet hundreds of first rate families are staying. *Log cabins* are going up in every direction. If your wife and daughter could consent to live for a time in a cabin *sixteen feet square*, and do without a thousand luxuries and many necessities which you enjoy in New-York, you could live very well. Furniture of all kinds here is very high. Did I live even in New-York, I would ship all necessary articles of household goods, but no unnecessary ones. Provisions I do not think are high. Corn Meal 40 cents; Oats 30 cents; Wheat \$1 per bushel; Flour \$3.50 per 100 lbs.; Bacon about 6¼ to 8¾.⁷ Goods are some higher—I speak of the Westport market.

Now, after answering many questions you have not asked, I will just say that I believe a newspaper establishment here, right where

6. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1854.

7. This is a cent per pound price on bacon.

we are, would be a paying concern. I know of no way for a printer to get employment now but to establish an office himself. You, of course, would know the expense of one best. I suppose \$500 would fit up an office for this country. I have to-day talked with a number of settlers, and all say "*Bring along a Press,*" yet you could not look for pecuniary help here now. It is poor, hardworking men we have here now.

The fare from New-York to Cincinnati, I believe, is \$16; from Cincinnati by steamboat to St. Louis, \$9; from St. Louis to *Kansas*⁸ the best landing and most convenient place varies. I paid \$10, \$16, \$9—\$35; wife \$35—\$70 from New-York. Goods from New-York I think would average \$2.50 per 100 lbs.; or perhaps you could come quicker from New-York by Chicago. The fare from Chicago I suppose to be about the same as to Cincinnati; from Chicago to Alton, Ill., or Rock Island about \$5; from Alton or Rock Island to St. Louis, about \$9. There is also a railroad building from Indianapolis, Ind., to St. Louis. If it was finished it would be the best way to come from New-York via Cleveland through Ohio to Indianapolis, thence to St. Louis. You might ascertain whether the road is finished. My figures via Chicago are mere guess-work.

At Kansas you are sixty miles from us, and about eight miles from the *Quaker Mission* among the *Shawnee* Indians, which is on the road. If you come, write to me; I will try to meet you at the Mission, or arrange with them to bring you here. Of course you can share our cabin until better provided for. You say you are an "Abolitionist." Does that mean a Garrisonian, a Gerrit Smithite, or *what?*⁹ As to myself, I am an Anti-Slavery man, and could now take by the hand an "Abolitionist" of any kind. Any other queries I will with great pleasure try to answer. Send me a number or two of THE TRIBUNE; I used to read it in Ohio. I believe it is conservative, seeking popularity. But enough.

Yours for Freedom the world over, SAM'L A. WOOD.¹⁰

P. S. *Kansas will be free!* Thirty Massachusetts men arrived yesterday.¹¹

8. Present Kansas City, Mo.

9. William Lloyd Garrison, publisher of the *Boston Liberator*, and Gerrit Smith, New York philanthropist, were both active in the movement against slavery. However, the two were opposed in theory. Smith believed that political action should be used in bringing about reform while Garrison thought that political parties could never succeed in securing emancipation for the slaves of the South.

10. *New York Tribune*, August 15, 1854.

11. The pioneer party of the Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts, numbering 29 men, arrived in Kansas City on July 29, 1854. They moved into the territory immediately and camped on Mount Oread, August 1, 1854.—Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 12 (May, 1943), pp. 115-155.

KANSAS TERRITORY, August 20, 1854.

To the Editor of the *National Era*:

Since the publication of my former letters in your paper, I have received hundreds of letters from all parts of the country, inquiring about Kansas. Although wishing to impart all the information in my power, yet were I to devote all my time to letter-writing, one-half at least would go unanswered. A few put me under personal obligations, such that I am obliged to write at least to them. Others, whose letters may be unanswered, will from this learn the reason why.

One wants to know "if the lands here are subject to pre-emption?" another, if we "get them for nothing, or how to pay twenty-five cents per acre, the cost of survey," &c.—things that are known all over the States weeks before we can possibly know them here, as we are fifty miles in an Indian country, and the same distance from Westport, Missouri, our nearest post office. Another wants to know "what kind of winters we have here, what kind of summers," &c. forgetting that I am just from Ohio and have not resided in Kansas yet three weeks. Another wants to know "if we have the ague here, and if so, whether as bad as in Illinois," a place I never set foot upon, and so on *ad infinitum*.

But hundreds of questions are asked which are all right; and, so far as I possibly can, I wish to write one general answer. The lands purchased of the Indians embrace nearly fifteen millions of acres; of this, all except about eight hundred thousand acres belonging to the Weas south of Kansas river, and the Delawares and Iowas north of said river, are subject to pre-emption. As to the Homestead bill, we know nothing of it here, whether passed or not, or whether it would apply to the Kansas lands or not.¹² I think the Shawnee lands, south of Kansas river, will be first settled; they appear to be settling fastest between Kansas and Wakarusa rivers, on the California road.¹³

To reach here, a person coming by the Missouri should land at Kansas, cross the Shawnee Reserve thirty miles, to Wakarusa ferry,¹⁴

12. There was a homestead bill under discussion in congress during 1854 but the Homestead act did not become law until 1862. The Pre-emption act of 1841, in effect when Kansas became a territory, allowed squatters to buy their claims, prior to public auction, at \$1.25 an acre. On July 22, 1854, congress extended the pre-emption privilege to settlers on unsurveyed public lands in Kansas to which Indian rights had been ceded. For a complete study of the land question in the territory see Paul Wallace Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954).

13. The California road was the same as the California-Oregon trail in eastern Kansas.

14. George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," Pt. 13, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 6 (February, 1937), pp. 16-19, states that the only known ferry across the Wakarusa was that of Charles Bluejacket, located where the Oregon trail from Westport crossed the stream, Sec. 12, T 13 S, R 21 E. According to Root this service was begun early in 1855 which would be a year later than Wood's reference but it is possible that the ferry was in operation during the summer of 1854.

There was another crossing of the stream directly south of Lawrence, Sec. 19, T 13 S, R 20 E, but no record has been found of a ferry in use there.

and you come to the promised land. As to holding claims here, I refer the reader to the Constitution of the mutual Settlers' Association, which, of course, you will publish.¹⁵ These laws will be respected, and justice administered here as peaceably as in the States. Claims are, however, frequently sold by settlers.

I think this Territory is well watered; springs exist in abundance; prairie could not be richer, timber may be scarce in places, yet limestone and coal exist in abundance. Our timber consists principally of walnut, oak, cotton wood, blue ash, &c. Soil of all kinds, from clay loam to rich, sandy soil; good clay, for brick or potter's ware, can now be found. This part of the Territory is very rolling. I am at least five hundred feet above Kansas river, and only three miles from it, on the richest of soil. A pleasant breeze greets us from the southwest; to inhale a draft of it is almost equal to a drink of water. I am satisfied that the country must be healthy, much more so than in Ohio. Possibly some may have the ague along the river, or other streams on the low lands. I think no difficulty would be experienced in securing a location for a "colony of any size," where water, timber, and stone, exist, sufficient for all purposes; yet, to secure such a place now, emigrants would have to go further west.

The Kansas river is nearly as large as the Missouri. Steamboats have been up one hundred and seventy-five miles, to Fort Riley, and I think, with small boats, it may run that high the year round.¹⁶ There are good water privileges in the Territory. Horses, oxen, cows, and in fact all kinds of stock, are high—cows, from \$25 to \$40; oxen, from \$75 to \$100 per yoke; good horses, from \$100 to \$150 per head. All kinds of furniture high—at least one-third higher than in Ohio. Bacon, 8½ cents per lb. Flour, \$3.50 per 100 lbs. Store goods a shade higher than in Ohio. I speak of the Kansas market in Missouri.

Notwithstanding the threats and browbeating of the Missourians, the greatest proportion of the settlers here are Northern people—nine-tenths of the balance honest Southerners, who are coming, as they say, to get rid of slavery. I was much mistaken in the character

15. On August 12, 1854, a meeting of the Actual Settlers' Association was held at the home of B. W. Miller near Lawrence and at that time the Wakarusa Association combined with it. The new organization took the name of the Mutual Settlers' Association of Kansas Territory and had as its purpose the protection of the claims of bona-fide Free-State settlers. S. N. Wood was one of the most active members of the group.—D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas, 1541-1885* (Topeka, 1886), p. 48; William E. Connelley, *Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, New York, 1918), v. 1, pp. 357-360.

16. Wood was not alone in his optimism about the navigation of the Kansas river but unfortunately that stream did not live up to expectations. Generally speaking, the attempts at regularly scheduled navigation were unsuccessful although when Wood wrote his letter the *Excel*, a little stern-wheeler, had made the run to Fort Riley.—Edgar Langsdorf, "A Review of Early Navigation on the Kansas River," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 18 (May, 1950), pp. 140-145.

of the Missourians. A few *fanatics*, who were resolved to extend slavery at all hazards, seem for the time being to give tone to the whole people; but a better acquaintance convinces me that a great majority of the people condemn the violent resolutions of Westport and other places. But the die is cast. Westport will be another *Alton*.¹⁷ Blood is in her heart. Hundreds will shun her; and Kansas, only four miles further,¹⁸ will reap the fruits of her treason.

"Do you apprehend any serious difficulty with the slaveholders?" is frequently asked. I answer, *no*; although they have boasted and threatened much, *yet they are not fools*, and well know the shedding of *Northern blood* to sustain slavery here, would raise a storm that would end only with slavery itself. Northern men need not fear; all they have to do, is to be true to themselves, and not, coward-like, knuckle to the demands of these slaveholders, and padlock their lips, and "wait till the proper time to meet this question." *Now* is the proper time—now is the time that the slaveholders are moving heaven and earth to establish slavery here; and now is the time, like men, we should meet them, and not, like cowards, cry, "Hush, be quiet; don't agitate the question *now*; wait till we are stronger."

One explanation is necessary here. In speaking of the mission establishments, in my last, I did not make the proper distinction. My remarks were true as to Johnson's mission; but since, I have become acquainted with Dr. Still, a true man, who also has a mission here.¹⁹

One word to newspapers which copy my articles. Do not put words into my mouth *which I never utter*. Copy exact from the *Era*, or not at all. Much injustice was done me in former articles by a portion of the Eastern press. Besides, those copying my sayings will do me a favor by complying with the "*courtesies of the press*."

One word to emigrants. Those who have money can do well here. Lands which can be got for nothing now, by paying a year hence Government price, I honestly think in two years will be worth \$25 to \$30 an acre. No new country ever settled one-fiftieth part as fast as Kansas is now settling. Emigrants are arriving in

17. Wood's reference to Alton was in regard to the riots that took place in that Illinois city in 1837, when the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered and his newspaper plant destroyed on November 7 because of his antislavery stand. The violence and bitterness in St. Louis and Alton could be likened to the Kansas-Missouri border difficulties.—See Theodore C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848* (Springfield, 1918), pp. 364-370.

18. Kansas City, Mo.

19. Dr. Andrew T. Still came to Kansas in 1853 with his father, a Methodist missionary, and engaged in farming and the practice of medicine. He served in the territorial legislature in 1857 and with several volunteer military organizations during the Civil War. His greatest fame was gained in the 1870's when he became the world's first osteopath. The Stills were members of the Northern branch of the Methodist church.

scores; tents are stretched all over the prairie; cabins are going up in all directions. Labor is plenty. A man, though poor, if he *can* and *will* work, can do well here. A man with only a team is independent. But to those who have no means, *can't* nor *won't* work, Kansas is no place for *you*.

Emigrants must expect to meet some hardships. We have no fine houses to receive you in; everything is inconvenient yet; settlers are generally of the right kind, with pioneer hearts. Society is good; we are all sociable, accommodating, and the person who now has the *will*, and meets these difficulties, and gets his choice of the land, will never regret it. Were I in Ohio today, with my knowledge of Kansas, I should lose no time in coming here, pitching my tent, building a cabin, and preparing for living. Understand me, I urge no one to come; for, as in all new countries, many chicken-hearted ones will get home-sick, and leave. But if you have made up your minds, and are coming, *now* is the time. The sooner here, the better for you.

I am, truly, yours,

SAMUEL N. WOOD.²⁰

20. Washington (D. C.) *National Era*, September 7, 1854.

Theatre in Kansas, 1858-1868: Background For the Coming of the Lord Dramatic Company to Kansas, 1869—Concluded

JAMES C. MALIN

VIII. ATCHISON THEATRE

FOR the years prior to 1869 Atchison's theatrical history was remarkably simple and brief. During the 1850's and early 1860's halls were available for small gatherings, Holthaus Hall being the principal one. On September 22, 1860, the *Freedom's Champion* welcomed the near completion of Pomeroy's Hall on the corner of Kansas avenue and Fourth street. "We have long needed such a Hall in Atchison. . . ." The specifications given were 45 by 86 feet with an 18-foot ceiling, and fitted with a stage. The Turnverein's new Turner Hall at the corner of Kansas avenue and Sixth streets was opened in December, 1867. It was a brick structure 40 by 70 feet, two stories. The gymnasium in the rear was 40 by 40 feet, with a 19-foot ceiling, and front, facing the avenue, two club rooms, 30 by 20 feet and 22 and 20 feet. The main entrance was from Kansas avenue to the public hall on the second floor, 40 by 70 by 16 feet, which was not completed until the spring of 1868.⁴²

The major focus of Atchison's theatrical history was Price Hall, and about that structure tradition became much confused. In 1859 John M. Price, lawyer, began construction on a three-story brick building on the corner of Fourth and Main streets. The ground floor was designed for stores, the second floor for professional offices, and the third floor for a public hall with an 18-foot ceiling. The dimensions of the building were given as 45 by 100 feet. It was begun in June, 1859, as a two-story structure but March 3, 1860, the *Champion* reported the three-story building nearly completed. Periodically, a similar report appeared about imminent completion, but not until October 6, 1860, did the *Champion* record that Price had moved his law office into his own building. On December 1 the ground floor was reported occupied. The reason for the delay in completion appeared in the *Champion*, July 28, 1860, when the builders were said no longer to fear that it would collapse. When war came in

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42. Atchison *Daily Champion*, December 19, 1867.

April, 1861, and Atchison was training its first volunteer regiment, two companies were assigned to Price's Hall for drill—Companies A and C.⁴³

Contrary to Atchison's traditions, no evidence has been found that the Price Hall was finished as a theatre.⁴⁴ Structural weakness did persist and the building was virtually torn down, the reconstruction being completed in May, 1865, celebrated by a concert and grand ball, May 16. In its new form the Price building was 70 by 100 feet, two stories, except the original portion, 45 by 100 feet, which was three stories, the third story again being a public hall with a stage 20 by 45 feet, two green rooms, and a balcony 10 by 45 feet. But the public hall was not equipped for theatrical performances. That the floor was level and the seats movable was emphasized by the announcement for the opening festivities. After the concert by Paddy Walsh, vocalist, with patriotic and sentimental songs and dances, the floor was cleared for the ball.⁴⁵

The conversion of the Price Hall for theatrical production took place in 1866. On January 31, the *Champion* reported that:

. . . Price . . . is now engaged in fitting up his splendid hall with scenery, drop curtain, &c., preparatory to the advent here of one of the finest theatrical companies in the West. He has leased his Hall to an experienced manager, and as soon as it can be prepared, a Theatre will be opened in our city, and kept up permanently. This news will be received with satisfaction by our people. . . .

The theatrical company in question was that of C. H. Irving, then of St. Joseph. He was in Atchison to inspect the preparations the second week in February, and in addition to the scenery already constructed, he would bring "a large supply with him." The work was being done by James C. Breslaw of his company, a scenic artist who had "already completed two elegantly designed and finely finished drop curtains, and is now engaged in painting the wings, side scenes, etc." The carpenter work was being done by a local workman.

On February 14, 1866, the big day arrived:

We are glad to announce that the theatrical company, under the management of C. H. Irving, for which Price's Hall has been fitted up, has arrived and will inaugurate the season by a performance to-night. The company is not a second-class traveling troupe, but a large combination of talent and ability, which has been playing with great success during the fall and winter at St. Joseph, Mo., where none but first class merit can attain the position which has been . . . awarded them.

43. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, June 11, October 8, 1859, March 3, April 28, July 28, August 4, October 6, December 1, 1860, May 11, 18, 1861.

44. Atchison *Daily Champion*, September 27, 1883, editorial and description of Price's New Opera House; *Daily Globe*, July 16, 1894.

45. Atchison *Daily Champion*, April 14, May 12, 14, 1865.

Note should be taken of the slighting reference made to traveling troupes—in other words, the innovation which the conventional tradition about theatre condemned as inferior to the resident theatre, the established standard by which excellence was supposed to be measured. The first bill was Tobin's "great drama," "The Honey Moon," and the comedy, "The Spectre Bridegroom." But the vicissitudes of travel intervened, a telegram announced that on account of stormy weather train connections had been missed and the show would be given the next night, sure. This was Thursday, and the plays for the remainder of the week were "Lucretia Borgia," and "Camille." The following week the plays were "The Ticket-of-Leave Man," "Othello," "Ireland as It Is," "Love's Sacrifice," "Marco, the Marble Heart," and "Macbeth." The leading players were Francis I. Frayne, and Mrs. J. C. (Melissa) Breslaw. The season closed with the show of March 10. On March 8, the night of Frayne's benefit, the play was "Romeo and Juliet," Melissa Breslaw appearing as Juliet to Frayne's Romeo. The audience was reported to have been the largest of the season, over 600 persons.⁴⁶

The Irving Company's season of three weeks and three days was not exactly permanent theatre. Apparently the company broke up then or soon afterwards, but was reorganized with some new talent during the following month, under Frayne and Breslaw. The announcement of the new venture appeared in the *Champion*, March 20, saying that part of the actors had been engaged, and Frayne was going to St. Louis to obtain others. The opening of "The Atchison Theatre," first announced for Tuesday, April 10, occurred April 11, 1866. The roster of the company, nearly complete and containing 17 names, was published in the theatre advertisement for April 10, amended later. The leading parts were still in the hands of Frayne and Melissa Breslaw. George and Agnes Burt were present for comedy, and, but not least in importance, there was Eliza Logan Burt at the ripe age of five. Another acquaintance of Leavenworth days was Charles F. Walters, but, of course, without Clara.

The management promised to study the tastes of the people of Atchison and to be governed accordingly in the selection of plays—they hoped "to instruct, amuse and entertain. . . ." The bills were the same as those offered by the preceding company and by the Leavenworth Theatre. C. W. Couldock and Eliza starred for one week, April 23-28. The season closed June 1. Still, the thinking about theatre was in the accepted terms—"a home institution

46. *Ibid.*, January 31, February 8, 11, 14, to March 10, 1866.

. . . firmly established." Atchison did not know it, but all that was passed and already a new order was imminent.

But whatever the fate of the institutional forms, the personal equation was still present. The *Champion* summarized the first three performances of April 11-13, 1866, at one sitting, reporting for the first "a large and appreciative audience." The players named were given perfunctory approval, except one who really touched a responsive chord in the reporter: "Geo. Burt . . . convulsed the audience with laughter, and won from it loud and enthusiastic applause. Burt is an old Kansas favorite, and will be one wherever he goes. . . . Altogether the performance was a brilliant success." The second play, "The Stranger," was passed over briefly, and the third, "Othello," likewise, except for notice of "The first appearance of the Infant Actress and Vocalist, Eliza Logan Burt, Only Five Years Old, in her great Comic Song in character, 'Get Out of Mexico.'"

On April 30, 1866, came "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and "for the first time in this city." This seems almost incredible—such isolation of Atchison from Uncle Tomism! Afterwards, the *Champion* reported "the largest and most appreciative audience ever assembled in this city." Accordingly, the show was repeated May 1, but only to "a very fair audience." Was Atchison's Uncle Tomism exhausted in one evening? Probably the answer lies in another direction, and that enthusiasm could be satisfied to even better advantage with plays of more general interest. Mrs. Burt, as Topsy, won approval: "But what shall we say of that child-wonder, little Eliza Logan Burt, in her character of Eva? She is truly an infant prodigy. Her song exhibited fine musical genius and her acting would have done credit to anyone of thrice her age and experience. For a child of five years she is truly wonderful, and will some day make a star in the profession."⁴⁷ So much for her "Eva" performance. The point was that she had her place on the bill quite regularly for a song, and apparently her appearance meant an ovation, whatever the song. The young-unattached-male dominated audience (wishfully dreaming) could not resist such baby-girl charms.

On May 29, 1866, just prior to the close of the season, George Burt, stage manager of the Atchison Theatre, had a benefit, the play, "the fine moral drama of 'Ten Nights in a Bar Room.' . . . Mr. Burt is deservedly popular as a versatile, talented and correct actor. . . . As a comedian he has few equals in the Western

47. *Ibid.*, March 20, April 5, 10, to June 1, 1866.

country." The newspaper commentary continued: "The play . . . is justly regarded as one of the best moral dramas of the time. Its characters are lifelike, and as a lesson to the young, it is without parallel."⁴⁸

The next theatrical season, 1866-1867, Price's Hall did not have a resident theatre, or a pretense of one, but was used by a varied succession of entertainers. In May Burt and Johnson's (or Johnson and Burt) Theatrical Company engaged the hall for two weeks, coming from Lawrence, Kansas City, and other places. They missed connections to play Monday, May 6, but met their engagement the following night in "The Little Barefoot." Eliza Logan Burt took part in both the feature and the after piece and sang her favorite song: "I'm Ninety-Five." Clara Burt sang a popular ballad. The *Champion* summed up: "Burt and his family are well known to our people as talented and versatile performers. . . ." On Saturday night, May 11, "the wonderful child-actress, Eliza Logan Burt, has a benefit, and the splendid sensational drama of the 'Rag Picker of Paris' will be produced. . . ." This was to have been the final performance, but response to the wishes of Atchison people induced them to stay an extra day, Monday, as a benefit for Nellie Grover, the leading lady. The plays were "The Taming of the Shrew," and the "Little Sentinel"—"This is the most attractive bill ever presented to the theatre goers of Atchison. . . ."

But the *Champion* gave the impression that the theatre-going public would not be satisfied. On Tuesday the company consented to present "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Of course, "The child actress, Eliza Logan Burt, appears as Eva, in which character she stands unrivaled." The company was so short handed that both Burt and Johnson played dual roles, and little Clara Burt was cast as Eliza Harris. Clara must have been somewhat older than Eliza Logan, but no clue to her exact age has been found. Wednesday night, May 15, the solicitation of the citizens again prevailed, and the play was "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." The winter of 1868-1869 was similarly irregular, but in March, 1869, Melissa Breslaw and a theatrical company played there several nights. The transition from the attempt of 1866 at a resident theatre as a permanent institution to the complete traveling troupe was in the making. In a sense, of course, it had already arrived, but such companies as presented themselves were few and far between. Varied types of entertainment were available, theatre was only occasional.

48. *Ibid.*, May 29, 1866.

IX. LAWRENCE AND TOPEKA THEATRE

Early Lawrence had a succession of halls available for public gatherings, but no place that could properly be called a theatre. Prior to the Quantrill raid, of August 21, 1863, Miller Hall, over a business building, had been the principal meeting place. Miller rebuilt during the winter of 1863-1864, the hall being pressed into service even before the structure was finished.⁴⁹ Frazer's Hall superseded it for public entertainments, and was located on Massachusetts street next door to the Eldridge Hotel which occupied the southwest corner of Massachusetts and Seventh (Winthrop) streets. The hall was the third floor of a business building. An Alexander Gardner photograph of Massachusetts street looking south from this intersection, taken in 1867 and reproduced in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Summer, 1954, shows this building. The name "Frazer Hall" appeared clearly in the original photograph but lost out in the reproduction. The Lord Dramatic Company played in this hall in December, 1869, and January, 1870, but on the occasion of the second of these visits Lawrence was celebrating the dedication of a new public meeting place, Liberty Hall, in Poole's building over a pork-packing establishment and retail butcher shop, basement and first floor, at the northeast corner of Massachusetts and Seventh streets, or diagonally across from the Eldridge Hotel.⁵⁰ The apparent affinity of a place of public entertainment and a saloon may be easier to explain than association of such gathering places with pork packing. Leavenworth's old Stockton building had had a pork-packing firm in the basement, and a saloon on the ground floor, the theatre occupying the second floor. In Lawrence, the pork business, but not the saloon business, was in the same building under the principal public hall. To be sure, Lawrence had a generous supply of saloons, the distinction being made here pertained merely to location. In 1859 three brewers and 14 saloon keepers were on the list of registered voters in Lawrence, then a town of 1,600 population, while in 1870 there were 25 saloons in a town of 8,000.⁵¹

Lawrence had no resident dramatic company. Its population in 1870 was only a few more than Leavenworth's in 1860. Topeka's mushroom growth from a village of less than 800 in 1860 to a town of nearly 6,000 in 1870 had not yet provided it with a theatre build-

49. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, January 17, 1864.

50. *Lawrence Daily Tribune*, January 21, 1870; *Republican Daily Journal*, Lawrence, December 31, 1869, January 16, 19, 30, 1870.

51. Otto F. Frederickson, "The Liquor Question in Kansas Before Constitutional Prohibition" (Typed Ph. D. thesis, University of Kansas Library, 1931), pp. 163, 346, 347, 349.

ing or a resident dramatic company. Even the largest river cities of the area, Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Leavenworth, were only partially successful in their resident theatrical enterprises. The occasional references to Leavenworth, St. Joseph, and Kansas City theatre companies playing in Lawrence and Topeka represent only short excursions into the interior, the provincial towns, according to the outlook of the river cities. In 1859 Mr. and Mrs. Langrishe made a tour of the interior, giving theatrical entertainment in Topeka and Junction City, but this appears to be an isolated instance for so early a venture.⁵² The Langrishes had been closely identified with St. Joseph theatre and made the transition from resident to traveling theatre proving their durability through the 1860's and 1870's. The Burts had given theatrical and other entertainment to the soldiers in Lawrence, Topeka, and Fort Riley in April and May, 1862.⁵³ Mrs. Walters had taken her People's Theatre Company to Lawrence in May, 1863.⁵⁴ The Leavenworth Theatre played in Frazer Hall, March 18-24, 1867, presenting "Honey Moon," "The Lady of Lyons," "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," "Richard III," "Ingomar," and "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Chaplin and Mrs. Pennoyer played the leads in "Ingomar," while J. Z. Little played "Richard III," with Burt for a change in the dignified role of Lord Mayor. In their traditional character of fun makers, however, Mr. and Mrs. Burt portrayed "Toodles." The Burt children did their turn also. On the first night little Eliza sang "I'm Ninety-five," and "was rapturously encored," and on Thursday night "the wonderful little Eliza—fairly brought down the house with her 'Josiah and his Sally.'" ⁵⁵

Entertainment at Lawrence, except for the occasional theatrical performance, was generally similar to other towns, and included such family groups as the Peak Family (Swiss Bell Ringers), and the Hutchinson Family (temperance), but with a greater accent possibly upon lectures and music. At this point a word may not be out of place about lectures and lecturers who toured the West. They represented all the "isms" that plagued that era elsewhere. Difficulty is encountered in differentiating legitimate lecturers providing information and inspiration from misguided enthusiasts of various descriptions, and charlatans exploiting "magic" and pseudo-psychic phenomena. A study of this problem in relation to public

52. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, December 1, 13, 1859.

53. *Lawrence Republican*, April 10, 17, 24, 1862; *Smoky Hill and Republican Union*, Junction City, May 1, 8, 1862; *Leavenworth Daily Times*, April 12, May 7, 1862. Addis had carried his photographic business with him.

54. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, June 2, 1863. Lawrence newspapers for this period are not available.

55. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, March 19-24, 1867.

gullibility would be well worth while. The emotional tensions of the day, especially those associated with the sense of insecurity, engendered by the conflict about science and religion, and the disillusionments, the bereavements, and the tragedies occasioned by the border troubles and the American Civil War, afforded opportunities for the unscrupulous which they did not ignore. Pending a fuller study of the problem, the present writer would suggest tentatively that probably Lawrence was peculiarly victimized in this respect.

X. SOCIAL ROLE OF THEATRE

In the history of the human race, theatre has served several functions, and with time and change in social structure the cultural role of that institution is modified. All individuals are not affected equally and some not at all. In Leavenworth the *Times*, June 20, 1862, suggested two possible reasons why the theatre was patronized liberally: because of prosperity when people felt they had money to spend, and of depression when they sought forgetfulness from their troubles. That was an oversimplification, certainly, but nevertheless it contained an element of truth. Some, no doubt, used theatre merely to kill time, but for others it meant something else. Each individual finds release from tensions in a different manner, even going on a drunk, but for many the theatre offered a temporary escape, relaxation without unfavorable side-effects. Theatre served for them as a sanatory psychological experience which contributed to mental health. In this context there was a place for George and Agnes Burt in their hilarious rendition of "Toodles," and for Coudock and Chaplin in the tragedies "Hamlet," "Othello," and "King Lear."

XI. THE YEARS 1866-1869, LOCAL AND NATIONAL

The years following immediately upon the American Civil War constitute a period of unique political crises in the United States which included controversies about reconstruction of the national government and of the South in accordance with the military victory of nationalism on the battlefield. All of these controversies, besides being political, had economic and social consequences in a comprehensive sense; the impeachment and trial of the President of the United States, the post-war deflation of a fantastic wartime price structure, national debt policies, greenbacks in relation to monetary standards, and a national banking system—these and many others besides were all transpiring in the midst of phenomenal mechanization of society and economic boom associated with a new technologi-

cal system based upon coal, petroleum, iron, steel, and steam, railroad building, and corresponding redistributions of population and power through urbanization, and the occupation of areas hitherto less developed or wholly undeveloped in terms of these new technologies.

In such a period of dislocations and reconstitutions of society, individual fortunes were highly unstable; they might be made or lost, not once only but several times in succession in the most unpredictable fashion, or fortune might always elude the grasp of others, which gave a peculiar fascination to a favorite question for debate in lyceums and schools: Which affords the greater satisfaction, pursuit or possession? There was no post-war panic or general depression comparable to those inaugurated by the years 1837 and 1857, in the midst of phenomenal expansion of the economic plant of the nation there was no general prosperity characterized by a sense of either economic or social well being—rather the prevailing attitudes were those of stress and tension.

Still more fundamental to the state of society were the impacts of the new deference to scientific method and to science as they were related to philosophy, theology, and ethics. The scientific method of the "higher criticism" applied to religious records, and the implications of the physical and biological sciences for reinterpreting human culture challenged prevailing ideas about philosophy, religion, ethics, and human destiny. Could there be any basis of certainty established between the traditional absolutes and the new absolute of a complete relativism derived from Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, and Thomas H. Huxley? Sooner or later, more and more people, in the years after the American Civil War, had to find some answer to these disturbing challenges as affecting their private lives, and their hope of a future life. If life did not have meaning, What then? ⁵⁶

Kansas was being settled and resettled by populations new to the area, peoples to whom the grassland West was a strange environment. The pre-Civil War occupants remaining were overwhelmed by the numbers of this influx of new people, the most of whom did not remain long in any one place or even in Kansas. Yet, institutions in the western Missouri and the eastern Kansas area, the Missouri river elbow region, maintained a remarkable continuity of development in their own right and in relation to the changing national scene. Although continuity of development may quite

56. These aspects of the Kansas scene will be treated at length in another local case study centering upon Fort Scott.

properly be stressed, it was in fact a transformation, or a series of successive transformations not only in the local area in question, but in American society as a whole—a process of interrelations among the localities as foundations and the nation being newly reconstructed.

On the western bank of the Missouri river, Leavenworth was a city most developed and most nearly representative in reflection of that national transformation. But at the same time it contributed to the aggregate which made up the national whole its local variant in a unique setting. As a local case study it puts in comprehensible terms particulars which were the underpinnings of the larger national transition. Atchison, Lawrence, Topeka, Emporia, and Junction City, each in its own way as newer and lesser towns, contributed their unique behavior to the sum total. It is only out of such local foundations, assembled from the several parts of the United States, that the historian can reconstruct accurately an over-all national history.

XII. RAILROAD COMMUNICATION AND REORIENTATION OF THE MISSOURI RIVER TOWNS AND KANSAS

During the decades of the 1850's and the 1860's the fact is conspicuous that the Missouri river and water communication influenced, if they did not actually dominate, not only the orientation of theatre and other entertainment, but most aspects of the outlook and activities of the inhabitants of the Missouri valley. Until well along in the 1860's most travel necessary to entertainment was dependent upon the river almost as literally as showboats. Whatever the theatrical organization and practices in the East and its large cities, in order to provide continuity and variety along the Missouri river, the resident dramatic company associated with the star system was almost a necessity. Such a combination required the least possible dependence upon mobility, especially during the winter months when the river was closed to navigation. Incidentally, theatre was peculiarly a summer institution outside of the largest cities. The orientation upon New Orleans by way of Cincinnati or by way of St. Louis was based upon long practice interwoven with the multitude of familiar connections and personal relations attendant upon a going concern.

Recruitment of actors for the resident companies at Leavenworth was from St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, or New Orleans, but especially Cincinnati—the Leonards, George Pardey, Frank Roche, Arnold, J. H. Rogers. When the Union Theatre broke up in Jan-

uary, 1864, Chaplin, Mrs. Walters, and other members of the company went to Ben DeBar's St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans.

A study of the New Orleans Theatre of the 1850's and 1860's, both before and after the American Civil War, reveals the major role of that city in relation to the interior river cities, extending to the Missouri river elbow region including Leavenworth. Ben DeBar (1812-1878) came to the United States and New Orleans by way of New York in 1835. Between that date and 1853 when he took over the management of the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans he had been in both New York and New Orleans. In 1855 he bought a theatre in St. Louis to which he gave his own name. Except for the Civil War period, when the St. Charles was closed, he kept both going, adding in 1873 the Wakefield Opera House to his holdings in St. Louis.

Many, if not most, of the stars who played in the Leavenworth Theatre as related in this essay, played at the St. Charles and DeBar Theatres in New Orleans and in St. Louis, and others. Some of them should be named in order to make the point concrete: McKean Buchanan and Virginia, Blanche DeBar (her mother, Clementine DeBar had married one of the Booth family), C. W. Couldock and daughter Eliza, Lotta Crabtree, Julia Dean, Kate and Susan Denin, Mrs. Mary Gladstane, Eliza Logan, the Maddern Sisters, Emma and Lizzie (Lizzie was the mother of Minnie Maddern Fiske), and Cecile Rush. In the St. Charles stock company at times were George D. Chaplin, Clara Walters, and Mrs. Pennoyer. And the plays presented on the stage were mostly the same at New Orleans, St. Louis, and Leavenworth, so far as conditions permitted. After the Civil War interruption at the St. Charles (DeBar remained in St. Louis and operated throughout the war) the old system was continued substantially as prior to hostilities.⁵⁷ Except for the physical equipment and size of the house, a theatregoer might not be able to distinguish which of the three cities he was in: New Orleans, St. Louis, or Leavenworth.

57. John S. Kendall, *The Golden Age of the New Orleans Theatre* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1952), pp. 286-321, 495-552. The portion of the book cited reviews the main features of DeBar's career. Kendall spelled C. W. Couldock's name Couldrock. Cf., *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 4, pp. 466-467; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. 2, p. 346. Kendall misidentified Mrs. Walters, or the indexer did, as all references to her are collected under the name Mary Walters. Evidently her career was not known to Kendall. In other respects the index is quite inadequate.

Other books of some importance to commercial public entertainment, in some cases only because they are the only ones on the particular subject available, are listed here: Philip Graham, *Showboats: The History of an American Institution* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1951); Philip D. Jordan, *Singing Yankees: The Story of the Crusading Hutchinson Family* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1946); Edward Mammen, *The Old Stock Company School of Acting: A Study of the Boston Museum* (Boston, Published by the Trustees of the Public Library, 1945); Carl F. Wittke, *Tambo and Bones: A History of the American Minstrel Stage* (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1930).

Even prior to the Civil War the railroads were changing all this, but slowly, because of the momentum of the "going concern," and the reluctance to abandon old and accustomed connections for new and uncertain methods and personalities. Ben DeBar and his enterprises in both St. Louis and New Orleans, continuing after the war as before, were telling examples of persistence of old associations long after railroads had superceded the water navigation which had originally made the cities and his theatrical enterprises in the Mississippi valley possible.

In all lines of business the intervention of the railroad, and the new orientations it provided were not overlooked. In Atchison the dry goods firm of A. S. Parker ran a two-column advertisement in the spring of 1860 announcing that its stock of spring and summer goods had arrived by railroad. About the same time the Western Stage Company, mail contractors, announced that because of the Atchison and St. Joseph railway, connecting with Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad opened in 1859, nearly 12 hours had been gained in mail arrivals. A new stage service for mail and passengers was announced from Leavenworth to Topeka and Lawrence making possible travel from St. Joseph to either of those points in the interior in one day. The river cities were served by railroad packets which began operations with the breaking of the ice. The first task was to distribute among the river towns the goods that had accumulated by rail for river points, or for rail shipment east.⁵⁸

The Civil War in Missouri in 1861 interrupted river and rail communication. By February, 1862, railroad connections were re-established to Chicago by way of Palmyra, Mo., and Quincy, Ill., and stages afforded connections with railroad terminals along the Missouri river.⁵⁹ With the opening of navigation on the river in 1864 and 1865 traffic moved in a similar pattern, with the aid of a steamboat plying between Weston and Kansas City.⁶⁰ The Union Pacific, Eastern division, finished its line from Kansas City to Lawrence late in 1864, and to Fort Riley in December, 1866. The Leavenworth-Lawrence branch was completed in May, 1866. On the Kansas side of the Missouri river, Kansas City was connected with Leavenworth by the Missouri River railroad in July, 1866, and Atchison, September, 1869. On the Missouri side, the Missouri Valley railroad from Kansas City to St. Joseph was completed in December, 1868, but it had served between St. Joseph and Weston

58. Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, February 24, March 10, 17, 1860.

59. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, February 1, 1862.

60. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1864; *Daily Times*, February 18, 1865.

since early 1864. The Pacific railroad from St. Louis reached Kansas City in September, 1865, providing the second rail line between the Mississippi river and the Missouri river towns of eastern Kansas. The first bridge across the Missouri river was the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad bridge serving Kansas City, completed in July, 1869. The river was bridged at Leavenworth in 1872, and at Atchison in 1875. By the end of 1869 the Mississippi river was bridged at Quincy, Ill., as well as the Missouri at Kansas City, affording through rail traffic between Kansas City and Chicago without ferries, and Leavenworth was tied into this route by the Missouri River railroad—24 hours to Chicago.⁶¹

In 1856 Gabay's Dramatic Troupe, a complete theatrical company traveling from town to town was a rare thing in the West. By 1870 a revolution had occurred that was made possible by railroads. The traveling dramatic troupe had gained during the late 1860's while resident theatre had declined or had been eliminated. In Leavenworth the coming of the James A. Lord Dramatic Company in December, 1869, not only provided the first legitimate theatrical entertainment in that city for a long time, but it was a sign of the completion in large measure of the reorientation of the area upon Chicago by means of rails.⁶²

61. Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, October 17, 1869 ff., adv.; *Times and Conservative*, February 25, 1870; *Evening Bulletin*, January 29, 1870.

62. For a study of Kansas City in this perspective, see James C. Malin, *Grassland Historical Studies: Natural Resources Utilization in a Background of Science and Technology*, v. 1, *Geology and Geography* (Lawrence, the author, 1950), Ch. 22, "After the Civil War," especially pp. 324-338.

Bypaths of Kansas History

A KANSAS BELLE OF 1857

Appreciation of the delicately-turned ankles of womankind, no matter where or in what generation, evidently has been universal. Prof. James C. Carey of Kansas State College, Manhattan, a twentieth-century connoisseur, sends in the following article which he found in *Harper's Weekly*, New York, November 7, 1857.

HOW THE LADIES DRESS IN KANSAS.—A Kansas letter-writer, who recently came down the Missouri on the steamer *Omaha*, says: "At Atchison we took on a young Kansas belle, whose only attendant was a young Missouri blood. The young lady was apparently dressed in the latest agony and style of fashion; the chaste straw hat, the innumerable flounces and wide-spreading hoops of her gay striped silk dress, set off her commanding figure very gracefully. Her stature tall—as Byron says, I hate a dumpy woman. But the richest scene in relation to this young belle was behind the curtain, and is to come yet. At Leavenworth our fair one left us, and, as she was standing on the bank, 'casting a last, long, lingering look' back, we were tempted to admire her delicately-turned ankles—'who can resist a nicely laced gaiter or a peeping ankle?'—when, behold! she hadn't any stockings on! I am unable to say what the fashion is in Kansas—whether it is fashionable for ladies to go without hose or not; but certain I am that the finest dressed one whom I saw in the territory didn't use the article."

WHEN BUFFALO WERE PLENTIFUL

From the *Newton Kansan*, December 26, 1872.

It is estimated that there are about two thousand buffalo hunters now pursuing game in western Kansas, and that they average bringing down about fifteen buffalo daily. One man near Dodge City killed 100 in a day. The hides and meat bringing him a handsome sum of \$300. At Dodge City the hams are worth 1½ to 2 cents a pound, and the hides from \$1.50 to \$2.50 a piece. Notwithstanding the immense business which is being done, there seem to be no diminution in their number, and trains are frequently stopped by them.

FASTIDIOUS EARLY-DAY DODGE CITY

From the *Dodge City Times*, July 27, 1878.

A good story is told of a well known citizen of this city, whose name we suppress. The story runs in this wise. He went into _____'s saloon, took a seat, threw his feet on the table, and called for a glass of beer, a sandwich and some Limberger cheese, which was promptly placed upon the table beside his feet. He called to _____ and told him that the cheese was of no account, as he could not smell it, whereupon the proprietor replied: "Damn it, take your feet down and give the cheese a chance."

THE GREATEST RACE OF THE CENTURY

Although Oklahoma has only this year arrived at its 50th anniversary of statehood, Kansas has looked down on her (from across the border, that is) for many more years than that.

Most of the Indian tribes formerly residing in Kansas were resettled in Oklahoma, and a considerable number of Kansans also migrated to the Sooner state, many in the celebrated opening of the Cherokee Outlet on September 16, 1893. This strip of land 150 by 59 miles, bounded on the north by the southern Kansas line, was literally peopled within two hours. For days prospective settlers lined the borders of the Promised Land awaiting the noon-day signal for the start. The crush was perhaps heaviest along the southern Kansas boundary, particularly in the Arkansas City and Caldwell areas.

The story of the Cherokee run has been told many times. Few eye-witness accounts are more vivid than that written from Caldwell by L. R. Elliott and printed in the *Manhattan Nationalist*, September 22, 1893. It is republished here in recognition of Oklahoma's birthday anniversary and the part Kansans had in the settlement of that state.

The culmination of the long-looked-for event of the year—perhaps the event of the century—came at noon of the 16th of September, 1893. It was like that of a decisive battle. The hosts had gathered awaiting the command that should start the contestants, and the crack of a carbine repeated along the line was the sign that the contest was on. The great army moved, many miles long as it was, horsemen and infantry and supply trains, at the instant. Never a great army was more prompt for the charge. But all the seemings of an army, moving to the battle-shock, ended at the moment of starting. The line was broken on the instant, and speed and endurance were the test. The swiftest horse took his man to the front, and the next and the next and the next in speed, took positions relatively as far as the eye could reach, and clouds of dust obscured the lesser objects completely, and must have greatly annoyed the active participants in the early part of the race. Later, as the mass became a scattered multitude, the dust was less dense. In two hours that bald and parched plain—the Famous Cherokee Outlet—"The Strip"—which has for many months been the cynosure of the ten thousands, was punctured with claim stakes and peopled by many more thousands than will occupy it six months hence. It was our privilege to witness this great race for land and lots, and we wish to let our readers see it, if possible, as we saw it.

Caldwell was probably as good a point of observation as could be found, for it was a central one along the line; and, because of its accessibility, was the rallying point of multitudes.

We were early on the ground, and had a chance to observe the many "outfits" that were moving from their camps of weary waiting to the borders of the promised land. Only a kodak in skillful hands could depict them

faithfully. A noticeable thing in almost every vehicle was the barrel or keg of water, and every man had his canteen slung on his back, and his sharpened stick with a flag attached, by which he was to show location. The demand for canteens was enormous here, and all the neighboring towns were drawn on. The most common and convenient canteen was made by soldering together at the edges two small pressed tin pans or basins, and providing the aperture for filling, and loops for the strap or cord. Sometimes a basin and a pie-tin were thus joined and made to do service. Those who could, filled their canteens with coffee, and this was very palatable even after exposure to the hot sun for hours.

The town of Caldwell was a densely populated city, and every department was over-taxed. The lines of men at the postoffice, getting their last batch of mail, stretched far out into the street. We tried in vain for a conveyance to take us to the registering booths in the 100-foot border, so took to our never-failing resource, "shank's horses."

The booth was two miles away when we started, but it took fully four miles of dusty travel to reach it. The woods were, as had been the streets of the city, full of outfits, or of the debris of the broken camps, and the ankle deep dust was being early stirred, where once was vegetation. The ranch men on this border will have paid dearly for their proximity to the Strip. It was no use for them to complain, the horde was here, and it came to stay, like an army of grasshoppers till ready to move on.

Fortunately for all concerned, a merciful Providence had given, for this last morning of the struggle, the lowest temperature of the month, and thus saved from suffering, and no doubt from death, not a few of the worn and anxious people and their poor beasts.

The multitudes seemed moving without purpose, so various were their directions, but the rallying point was just at the line, where, on the 100 feet allotted inside the border, all who could find standing room for team or horse or self, stood.

The booth was a couple of white square tents standing at right-angles to each other, under the fly of which were rough counters. Behind these stood several clerks, two at a time on actual duty, while a line of hundreds of applicants stretched out in the dust from this attractive corner. We fell in line, at the rear where a man was giving to each, as he came, a number, supposed to indicate his place in the ranks. Ours read "6-39." There were four persons at this time in "our" squad, each received a consecutive number, the "6" being common to all. "It will never do for us to stand in that line," we said; so three stood and one took the four numbers, and soon, with a fee, and a little strategy, the squad was put through and the line relieved by just so much. Our certificate read:

F. Certificate that must be held by party desiring to occupy or enter upon the lands opened to settlement by the President's Proclamation of August 16, 1893, for the purpose of settling upon a Town Lot.

No. 11,577.

General Land Office, Sept. 16, 1893,

Booth in T. 29 N., R. 4 W.

This certifies that L. R. Elliott has this day made the declaration before me required by the President's proclamation of August 19, 1893,

and he is, therefore, permitted to go in upon the lands open to settlement by said proclamation at the time named therein for the purpose of settling upon a town lot.

MELL H. HULL,

Officer in charge.

This certificate is not transferable. The holder will display the certificate, if demanded, after locating on claim.

Officially certified so we could get aboard the cars at the proper time, we were at liberty to move about among the masses. From the elevated position occupied by the booth we could see the city of Caldwell in the distance, and the space between, alive with moving objects, and canopied with dust. Several traveled roads led across the Strip from Kansas to Oklahoma diverging here; and, necessarily, the teams must keep [to] these roads. This caused a massing of vehicles at the points where these roads cross the line, and insured a jam and no doubt some trouble at the start. But horsemen, and lighter vehicles disregard the roads and stretch along for miles and miles, as far as the eye can see. It is reasonable to suppose that this line of invaders was more or less dense on the entire length of the Strip. Think then, of a line of eager men and women stretched out for 150 miles due east and west, fronting south, all waiting for the hour of noon. On the south, fifty-nine miles away, is another such line, ready to advance northward at the moment when these about us move southward, and you may get some idea of the situation.

The Rock Island track enters the promised land through a deep cut, and is fenced on both sides the whole distance with a five-wire fence. The company sent out a caboose and a force of men and sold tickets at the line. This was a great convenience. Those who wanted to ride had a chance to fall in line and procure tickets. Somebody from the top of the caboose called out so no one could fail to understand. "Pond Creek 75 cents, Enid \$1.25" and so on. "Get your tickets, or you can't get on the train." From a good position we looked on; and J. C. Bonnell, who always has just the right equipment at hand, caught Kodak views of the crowds for the next *Western Trail* and the *Settler*.

As tickets were procured the purchasers passed on from the east to west side of the track, received successive numbers, were put into companies under captains, and placed in position along the track ready, each company to board a car when the train came along. The train was made up of Montgomery Palace Cattle Cars—35 cars—and it was loaded with 5,200 persons who bought tickets, and several hundreds of marshals and others, and officers of the road. A Palace Cattle Car will hold a host, when necessary. The second car in this train held 300 persons. These cars proved to be just the thing. The tops afforded good seats for sight-seeing, and the side doors gave easy egress to claim-takers. We held a standing place on one of the upper decks, and commanded a wide range of vision.

The train was propelled by two engines in front and two pushers up the grade. All was at high pressure in the way of excitement as the hour of twelve approached, and comparison of watches was frequent. The crowds in and on the cars were not less excited than those on the ground. There was a lull in the conversation and a pause, a silence as high noon came, broken by the sound of a carbine, and instantly supplemented by several shots along the line. The flash was the signal, and before the sound came the trained horses were several leaps on their way, and before the engineers could communicate

the starting signal to each other, and get the train under way, the miles of strippers were stripping through the Strip.

It was a sight never to be forgotten that spread out over the miles of landscape east and west and south. North was Kansas, and clouds of dust, and vacated camps.

Two of the wagon roads mentioned heretofore, ran for some miles nearly parallel with the railroad, one on either side of the track not far away, and along these many vehicles kept, so we from the train could cheer them, and yell comments on their speed and endurance. For a few miles there was a chaos of vehicles and horsemen, but the best horses were soon far ahead, and looking like pigmies in the distance. A double spring wagon with a man and woman, at our left, did some marvelous driving, and a similar rig at the right, with two men, distanced the train for fully fifteen miles, and then collapsed in a chuck-hole, and we left them trying to repair their rig.

Every five miles the train slowed up or stopped, and many took to the prairie for claims. It was not necessary for the train to stop. Strippers would pitch out the bundle and roll after it in the sand, hastily rush for the wire fence and for the land on the other side of it. It was a very amusing sight. The wire fence, built by the Railroad Company, is new, and has five well stretched wires; and not every one is good at scaling a wire fence, even when not excited. Many a bundle was lacerated by the barbs, and many a garment rent. The stripper could not stop to unhook lest the other fellow should get ahead, so he would yank it loose, and the appearance of some whose coats caught was that of "strippers" for sure. The satchels and bundles would sometimes burst open as they were tumbled from the train, and as the owner somersaulted after them he would find lunch and supplies scattered in the sand. Generally the victim would stop and gather up the contents, some of which were not intended for public view, but sometimes he would rush on with his sharp stick, and let his grub take the chance of the future. Not a few left their hats in this way, and one man went through the fence minus one shoe, but he didn't stop for such a trifle. It was what the boys call "dead loads of fun,"—for those that looked on. How the poor mortals fared who went into camp for the night with such a reduced equipment was not so easy to see. If it was fun for us, it was to them, as it was to the frogs when the boys stoned them.

Not a few women, young and old, were among the claim-seekers, and as a rule they scaled the wire fences very well. One woman in black, with black veil and fan and parasol, and leading a small boy, scaled the fence with all her drapery intact, and the crowd became interested. A man who was more active began to stick his stake, apparently not seeing the woman, when the crowd on the train set up a yell to him to leave that claim, and he yielded it to the woman, who stuck her parasol into the ground, and so made her claim. It was all right for the man to give it up, but what in the world could that woman do as the train pulled away and left her on the bald prairie with apparently only her fan and parasol, and a possible bite of lunch in her hand bag. No water for miles, and no trains to take her away to water, and a ten year old boy to suffer with her?

As we have said, nearly every one who wanted a claim had supplies of water and grub, but a few who left the train, seemingly had nothing but the flag

stick, with which to show location. Such men will have claims to sell in an hour or two.

Jack rabbits, and coyotes, and no end of prairie dogs, were startled by the unusual visit to their realm. The rabbits made good time, as did the coyotes, hastened by the puffs of dust raised near them by the balls that didn't hit them. But the prairie dogs, amid the crack of pistol shots, took no further notice than to give their short tails an extra shake. It takes a chance shot to strike these little fellows from the moving train.

A most interesting sight, was that of an antelope, which, roused by the intruders, vainly ran hither and thither only to be met by strippers which ever way it turned. This was at the point where the fleet horsemen from the south met those from the north; and one of the horsemen took after the weary and frightened antelope, and actually lassooed it in plain view of the thousands of interested ones on the train. A shout went up that rolled across the prairie in a great volume. It was a rare and remarkable sight, and one probably never before observed by such a large audience, if, indeed, such an act was ever before performed.

The exit of strippers from the train all along the line, had seemingly not reduced the number on board, and when the train reached Pond Creek station, twenty-two miles from the north line of the "strip," the people went out of it like flies out of a sugar cask, and in five minutes a square mile of the prairie was spotted with squatters looking like flies on a sticky paper. Oh! it *was* fun to see that swarm go through that wire fence! The fleet horses, and possibly some "sooners" from the brush, were ahead, but could not take all the lots. A large number of women were among the company, and among these we noticed one who hobbled on a crutch. A friend helped her through the fence, and soon she was leaning on her crutch with a satisfied air near the stake of a corner lot. And it was noticeable that the expression of satisfaction on the faces of the women was much more marked than on those of the men. To the women it was, evidently, the event of a lifetime.

Three miles south of Pond Creek is the rival town established by the government for the Land Office, and here a similar exodus of town-lotters took place, and then the cars looked as a man feels at noon without having had breakfast.

At Wild Horse, twelve miles south of Pond Creek, (and about midway in the Strip north and south) our train met the corresponding train from Hennessey. Passengers on that train recited a similar experience with ours, except that in the scramble two women had got broken bones and one man was killed in leaping from the cars. Our train moved southward and developed, as it moved, a most interesting panorama. At first were the scattered settlers, here and there in the distance just simply holding down their claims and resting; then came those who had begun to look up their lines and corners; and farther on, even some attempt at improvement had begun. Besides these fixtures in the landscape, there was a continuous line of vehicles, like the supply train of an army, moving northward. The lightest loads and best teams were in the lead, and the less favored and more heavily burdened came on as they could, but the line was continuous for many miles, and the dust rolled over them, and all were of one color of grime. The white and the black had all become bronzed. This motley train, whose make-up was indiscribable, whose

burdens were varied and miscellaneous, was the rearward of the runners bringing on the supplies and the household goods that were to be set up in cabin or cot or city palace in this Beulah land.

And it was well that these were so faithfully coming on, for supplies are needed at the front, and shelter for the night is only to be found as these burdened vehicles reach the lot or the land which the runner for the family has chosen. There is the lumber for the cabin, the house on wheels complete, the "knocked-down" structure, ready to be erected on the claim; the tent that will do service till something better can be provided. These "outfits" are quite a contrast to those that stood at the northern border, and are now following their swift runners from the north, as are these from the south border. In this train are the unmistakable rigs from the southland. That wagon top shirred in the middle with a puckering string, is from Arkansas; and that strange load of appliances with Uncle Tom for a driver, rigged with rope harness and lines, came from lower Texas, and the gate of the skeleton team indicates that Dinah will wait a long time for the supplies on the claim she has taken.

Passing the town-sites of Enid and its duplicate three miles away, the prairie was even more populous with town-lotteries than were those we left behind. A big run had been made from the south line, and the restive multitude is said to have broken away from the duress of the military, and made the start eleven minutes before the set time. But it was just as well, since all on the south line had an equal chance.

The Enid townsite had a large percentage of colored squatters, and among them a preponderance of women. Indeed the colored people got in their work mostly from the south line.

From Hennessey, where we could find no accommodation for the night, we took the first train northward and passed the populous towns, built in an hour, whose thousands must have had a distressful night on the bare earth, then only to spend the Sabbath following in hardly less discomfort because of President Cleveland's ill-timed proclamation. Sundry lights, gleaming from the prairie, were the only indication in the darkness that a large city was at hand.

It was our good fortune that we got a seat. That train of four cars carried four hundred people out of the Strip. To say that we were tired was only to hint at the fact. But we had seen the run for location in the Strip, the sight of the century—the last, it is to be hoped, of its kind.

L. R. E.
[Manhattan.]

Kansas History as Published in the Press

On October 3, 1886, the Rev. John A. Bright organized what is now the Excelsior Lutheran church near Ellsworth. A brief history of the church appeared in the *Ellsworth Messenger*, September, 1956.

The Coffeyville *Daily Journal* published a short history of the Chetopa Christian church September 28, 1956. On October 5 an article by Alice Wade appeared in the *Journal* on incidents of the attempted Coffeyville bank robbery by the Daltons, October 5, 1892, as recalled by Mrs. A. L. Severance.

Late in 1899 the novelist, William Dean Howells, made a lecture tour which included several engagements in Kansas. An account of the tour entitled "The Dean in Person: Howells' Lecture Tour," by Harrison T. Meserole, appeared in the Autumn, 1956, number of *Western Humanities Review*, Salt Lake City.

American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, included in its issue of October, 1956, a 71-page article entitled "Trail Blazers of the Trans-Mississippi West." The two-page section devoted to Kansas mentioned several of the state's early Jewish settlers.

Identification of the principal printed items that chronicle the origin and growth of Protestantism in Kansas is the objective of Dr. Emory Lindquist's *The Protestant Church in Kansas: an Annotated Bibliography* which comprised the October, 1956, number of *The University of Wichita Bulletin*.

"Who Were the Pioneers? What Became of Them?" was the title of a series by Charles A. Scott, beginning October 4, 1956, in the *Westmoreland Recorder*. Included were biographical sketches of Pottawatomie county pioneers.

Argonia's early history is the subject of a series of articles by Mrs. Grace Handy which began appearing in the *Argonia Argosy*, October 11, 1956. This Sumner county town was incorporated on Kansas Day, 1885.

A sketch of the Marion Hill Lutheran church, near Dwight, was printed in the *Junction City Union*, October 12, 1956. The church was organized June 1, 1876, with 61 charter members. Histories of the church also appeared in the *Council Grove Republican*, October 17, and the *Alta Vista Journal*, October 18.

Recent articles in the Chanute *Tribune* included: a biographical sketch of Octave Chanute, the man for whom the town of Chanute was named, October 16, 1956; and Woodson county pioneer life as recalled by O. C. Rose and G. C. Jackson, whose parents were early settlers in the county, December 1.

T. C. Briggs, a Kiowa county rancher, was the subject of a biographical sketch by Mrs. Fern Eller in the *Kiowa County Signal*, Greensburg, October 18, 1956. Briggs came to the county in 1885 when he was ten years old.

W. F. Elland organized the Christian church of Bucklin in 1906 according to a history of the church printed in the *Bucklin Banner*, October 18, 1956. The first church building was completed in 1909. The article appeared in the *Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, October 25.

Beginning October 18, 1956, the *Turon Press* has been publishing a historical series by Alfred B. Bradshaw entitled "When the Prairies Were New—A History of the Lerado Community." Settlement of the Reno county community started in 1873.

Goodland's city library was the subject of a historical sketch in the *Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, October 25, 1956. In November, 1908, a small library was opened as the result of efforts by Goodland church groups. A grant from Andrew Carnegie provided a library building which was completed in 1913.

Two anniversaries were celebrated by the Fort Scott First Methodist church, November 1, 1956: the 90th anniversary of its founding and the 50th of the cornerstone laying for the present church building. Historical notes on the church were published in the *Fort Scott Tribune*, November 1.

The Colby *Free Press-Tribune*, November 5, 1956, printed a history of Wesley chapel, near Colby, by Mrs. Ruth Pence. The chapel was dedicated October 29, 1916.

In 1903 a Methodist church organization was effected and a minister assigned at Talmo, Republic county. A building was erected in 1906. The *Belleville Telescope* and the *Concordia Blade-Empire* published a church history November 8, 1956.

Haviland was incorporated in 1906. The town company was formed and the townsite established in 1886. In observance of the town's double anniversary, a special edition was published by the

Haviland *Journal*, November 8, 1956. An eight-page section reviewed the history of the community.

In 1920 Anna VanLew read a history of Axtell at an old settlers' reunion. The manuscript was recently rediscovered and the story printed in the *Axtell Standard*, November 8, 15, 1956. By 1871 Axtell was "on the map," with a railroad and a post office.

Reece Ingle, Cherokee, Okla., narrated his personal experiences in making the Cherokee Strip "run," September 16, 1893, staking, filing, and farming his claim, and living in a dugout for six years, in the *Cunningham Clipper*, November 8, 15, 29, December 6, 13, 1956. Ingle still lives on his claim.

In June, 1857, D. R. Anthony, I, left Rochester, N. Y., to settle in Kansas. From his new home Anthony wrote frequent letters to his father, brother, and sister in Rochester. Excerpts from the letters were published in the *Leavenworth Times*, beginning November 18, 1956.

A history of the Herington Methodist church, by Mrs. F. E. Munsell, was published in the *Herington Advertiser-Times*, November 22, 1956. Organization of the church was effected in 1884 and the first building was dedicated in 1886.

School districts 22, 24, 50, and 56, Rawlins county, were organized in 1885, according to a historical sketch by Ray Moore in the *Citizen-Patriot*, Atwood, November 22, 1956. The sketch was given as an address at the recent dedication of the new school building in these districts—now consolidated into district 234.

Bernard H. Lemert's reminiscences of his experiences as a Western cattleman, 1879-1889, are related in an article called "The Round Up of Eighty-Four." Portions of this story appeared in the *Southwest Daily Times*, Liberal, November 23, to December 8, 1956.

"Know Your Town" is the title of a series on the history of Derby beginning in the *Derby Star*, November 29, 1956. First settlers in the area were featured in the first article.

A "Highland Park" edition of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, was issued in December, 1956. Included are biographical sketches of many prominent Highland Park families.

"Living Conditions—1860 to 1956," an article by Nellie Oder Whiteside, read at a recent meeting of the Butler County Historical

Society, began to appear serially in the *El Dorado Free-Lance*, December 13, 1956.

"Wellsford—Once a Thriving, Bustling City, Has a Colorful and Exciting History," by Ecile Hall, was published in the *Kiowa County Signal*, Greensburg, December 20, 1956, and in the *Haviland Journal*, January 3, 1957. Included in the history of this Kiowa county town is a biographical sketch of C. E. Anderson, for 59 years a Wellsford merchant.

Historical articles appearing in the 1957 number of *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, included: "Noon Doings at the Sod School," by Boyne Grainger; "When Russian Royalty Hunted American Buffalo," by Lelia Munsell; "Earliest Americans," by L. L. Hodgdon; and "A Century of Kansas Architecture," by John Cranston Heintzelman.

"Missouri's Struggle for Kansas—the Story of a Lost Cause," an article by Bartlett Boder, was included in the Winter, 1957, issue of *Museum Graphic*, published by the St. Joseph, Mo., museum.

An article by Carl G. Klopfenstein, "Westward Ho: Removal of Ohio Shawnees, 1832-1833," published in the *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, Cincinnati, January, 1957, tells of the migration of the Shawnee Indians from Ohio to present Kansas in the 1830's.

As a background for Butler county's centennial in 1957, Clarence King has written a review of early Butler county history which was published in the *Augusta Gazette*, January 9, 10, 1957. William Hildebrand was the county's first permanent resident, arriving in May, 1857, and settling near present El Dorado.

Historical articles continue to appear regularly in the *Hays Daily News*. Included recently were: "Union Pacific's 1887 Prospectus Painted Rosy Picture of Country," January 20, 1957; "Fast Thinking Saves Buffalo Bill [Cody] on Ride," January 27; "Old Stone Depot at Victoria Served as Station, Hotel, Post Office, Club," and "St. George's Church in Victoria Unique in Beauty for Its Time [1877]," February 3; "Parties, Indian Killings, Flood, Mad Dogs Highlight 1878 News," February 10; "Englishman [Robert Cox] Surprised at Pleasant Life on Kansas Plains at Victoria in 1877," February 17; "Dramas Were Risky Business With Failure Certain Back in 1874," February 24; "Buffalo Wallows Near Hays Still Show Signs of King of the Prairie's Reign," March 3; "Copies of Old Letters Prove Wild Bill Hickok Could Write," and "[Dave] Morrow, Purveyor of Prairie

Dogs, Calmly Kills Legendary White Buffalo," March 17; "Old Time Editor [W. A. Montgomery] Lauds Industry, Ingenuity, and Thrift of German-Russian Settlers," March 24; "In 1877 Detroit Newspaperman Wrote Wonderful Things of Hays City Area," April 7; "Mrs. [Amelia] Huntington, Real Pioneer Woman, Helped Improve Culture, Beauty of Hays," April 14; "Peach Tree Corner in Old Hays Favored as Spot for Swapping Ideas and Tales," April 21; and "Cody Shot 69 Buffalo in Only Challenge of His Title as 'World Champion Killer'," by Maurine Bergland, April 21.

Articles prepared by the Lane County Historical Society from information received in answer to questionnaires sent to residents and former residents of Lane county, have appeared regularly in the *Dighton Herald*, beginning January 23, 1957. The stories are in the form of personal reminiscences and family histories.

"90 Years of Ellsworth and Ellsworth County History," by George Jelinek, began appearing by installments in the *Ellsworth Messenger*, January 24, 1957. The Ellsworth townsite was laid out in January, 1867.

Mrs. Fred Gerken's history of the Girard Public Library, presented at a library board dinner, was printed in the *Girard Press*, January 24, 1957. Work toward a library for Girard was started in 1898 by the Ladies' Reading Club. Other city clubs were invited to join in a federation which was successful in opening a library early in 1899.

In 1867 the Frankfort Town Company was formed, a townsite purchased and laid out, and the first houses were built, according to a history of Frankfort by J. M. Lane published in the *Frankfort Index*, January 31, 1957. Frankfort became a third class city July 24, 1875.

An article in the *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, January 31, 1957, reviewed the history of Smith county. Gov. James M. Harvey organized the county February 1, 1872.

Heritage of Kansas, a quarterly publication of the department of English, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, made its first appearance in February, 1957. Articles in the first issue were: "Men Against the Frontier," by Neil Byer; "The Drouth of 1860," by J. N. Holloway; "At Kawsmouth Station," by Henry King; "Emigrant Life in Kansas," by Percy G. Ebbutt; and William Allen White's "The Story of Aqua Pura."

Among historical articles appearing the past few months in the Clay Center *Dispatch* were: "Rivers, Creeks Once Supplied Ice for Use in Summer Here," by L. F. Valentine, February 2, 1957; "The Beginning of the Clay Center Schools," by Mrs. A. R. Russell, February 22; a description of Clay Center 90 years ago, written 30 years ago by George A. Gray, March 6; and "Our Once-Forested Country Now Has Tree Planting Day," by L. F. Valentine, March 30.

The Valley Falls *Vindicator*, February 6, 1957, printed a short history of the Pony Express. Beginning April 3, 1860, the express operated for about 17 months on the route between St. Joseph and California.

On February 6, 1957, the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler* printed an article entitled "Last 'Boomer' Train Left Arkansas City 74 Years Ago This Month." In February, 1883, over 500 "boomers" under Capt. David L. Payne set out from Arkansas City intending to settle near present Oklahoma City. But Payne and several others were arrested by federal troops and the plan failed.

A biographical sketch of Maj. Andrew Drumm was published in the Kiowa *News*, February 7, 1957. Drumm came to Kansas in the early 1870's, settling near Caldwell. Later he was one of the founders of New Kiowa.

The Jetmore *Republican*, in conjunction with Jetmore's 75th anniversary, has in recent months published a group of historical articles by Margaret Raser. Included were: "Story of the County Seat," February 7, 14, 1957; "The First Houses Built in Jetmore," March 7; "Lives of Early Settlers," March 14, 21; "Early Finances, From 1879-1882," March 28; "The Big Blizzard of 1886," April 4; and "It Happened 75 Years Ago," May 2, 9.

Elizabeth Barnes' column "Historic Johnson County," has continued to appear regularly in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park. A few recent subjects were: reminiscences of Fred W. Stolte, Jr., February 7, 1957; Hotel Olathe, February 28, March 7; and the Bishop Miege High School, March 14.

A new feature began in the Hutchinson *News-Herald*, February 8, 1957, titled "This Was Hutchinson." It is a series of pictures of early scenes and old buildings in Hutchinson with brief explanations. An article by Ruby Basye, "Merry Men of England Wrote History on the Prairies of Western Kansas," appeared in the *News-Herald*, February 10. On April 21 a 20-page special section was

printed by the newspaper, now called the *News*, which included items of its own history.

Seventy years ago pioneers of German origin began arriving in the area of present Bushton, according to an article on the history of Bushton in the *Bushton News*, February 14, 1957. Mentioned in the story are the city officers, businesses, schools, churches, and other institutions.

William Errol Enrau's "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians" began appearing serially in *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, February 19, 1957. The history will also be printed in booklet form. A revised version of the story is scheduled for publication in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* late in 1957.

Stanton county's 70th anniversary was the occasion for a special 38-page edition of the *Johnson Pioneer*, February 21, 1957. Included were articles on Stanton county people, institutions, and organizations.

"Early Creameries Helped Recovery of Central Kansas During 1890's," an 11-column article by Earl W. McDowell, appeared in the *Hillsboro Star-Journal*, February 21, 1957. The establishment of creameries began in 1889 in several towns, just as "hard times" appeared in Kansas. This new market did much to "save the day for the farmers."

Cherokee county's county-seat war between Columbus and Baxter Springs, was reviewed in the *Columbus Advocate*, February 28, 1957. Some historical information about Columbus was included in the *Advocate*, April 12. John Appleby, who settled at present Columbus in 1868, is credited with being the first settler in the area. *The Modern Light*, Columbus, has continued its column of historical information, "Do You Remember When," which included notes on the Columbus-Baxter Springs fight, March 21.

Zebulon Pike's expedition of 1806-1807 was reviewed in an article by Dick Blackburn, the first installment appearing in the February 28, 1957, issue of the *Belleville Telescope*. A large portion of the article is devoted to the location of the Pawnee Indian village visited by Pike in late September, 1806.

Histories of the Beloit Presbyterian church were published in the *Beloit Gazette*, March 7, 1957, and in the *Beloit Call*, March 15. The church was organized in 1872 under the leadership of the Rev. Charles Higgins.

Historical articles in the March 7, 1957, issue of the Marysville *Advocate* included a biographical sketch of Joe Carroll, by Mrs. Byron E. Guise, and an article on early Marysville schools. A story in the *Advocate*, May 9, by Gordon S. Hohn, recalled horse racing in Marysville around 1906.

"Indians, Hostile Whites Pioneer Perils," by U. S. Grier, was published in the magazine section of the *Wichita Eagle*, March 10, 1957. The article is comprised largely of pioneer experiences of Grier's father. In the same issue of the *Eagle* was an article on Sedan by Velma E. Lowry. The town was founded in 1868. "Everything Goes in Wichita," was the signboard greeting to visitors to that town in 1877, Lynne Holt said in an article on early Wichita in the *Eagle* magazine, May 12, 1957. The article points out that Wichita lived up to the promise.

Joseph Thoes and his brother, who arrived in 1855, are thought to be the first settlers at Alma. A series on the history of Alma began in the *Alma Signal-Enterprise*, March 14, 1957.

Publication of "Gardner—Where the Trails Divide," a historical series by Virginia L. Johnson, began in the *Gardner News*, March 14, 1957.

Glasco was founded in 1870 and incorporated in 1877, Mrs. L. W. Sheets reports in a brief history of the community printed in the *Glasco Sun*, March 14, 1957. The same issue of the *Sun* included reminiscences of Theodore D. Palmer, who came to Glasco in 1878, and Estell Arthur Owens, who recalls life there in 1912.

Histories of Emporia's colleges have recently been featured in Emporia newspapers. Leon Reynolds' history of the College of Emporia appeared in the *Emporia Times*, March 21, 1957, and in the *Emporia Gazette*, April 1. A history of Kansas State Teachers College, by Ralph Daggett, was published in the *Gazette*, April 2, and the *Times*, April 25 and May 2. The College of Emporia was founded in 1882 and Emporia State in 1865.

The historical committee of the Lebanon Community Development Association has prepared a brief history of Lebanon which appeared in the *Lebanon Times*, March 28, 1957. The original town was established about two and a half miles west of the present site in 1873. The move to the new location was made in 1887.

On April 7, 1882, a meeting was called in the Chautauqua county courthouse to organize the Sedan Baptist church, it is pointed out in histories of the church by H. E. Floyd in the Independence

Reporter, March 31, 1957, and Howard Moore in the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, April 4. The first pastor was the Rev. F. M. Walker, and the first building was completed in 1889.

History Today, a London magazine, published "The John Brown Legend," by Arnold Whitridge, in its issue for April, 1957. Whitridge says the legend that surrounds the name of John Brown was put together "out of most unpromising materials."

Simon E. Matson's series, "Early-Day Events in Shaping an Empire," a history of the St. Francis area, first printed in the *St. Francis Herald*, June 14, 1956, continues to appear regularly.

Articles in the April, 1957, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, included: "The Story of My Life," by Albe Burge Whiting; "History of Potwin," by Charlotte McLellan, continued from the July, 1955, *Bulletin*; "The Fortyniners and the Pottawatomie Baptist Mission," by Lena Baxter Schenck; and "1256 Western Avenue and the People Who Lived There," and "Julia Ward Howe Visits Kansas," by Lois Johnson Cone.

"Last Major Indian Battle in Kansas Fought Near Scott County State Park," is the title of a full-page article in the *News Chronicle*, Scott City, April 4, 1957. The article reviews the Battle of Punished Woman Creek in 1878 and events leading up to it. The troop commander, Col. William H. Lewis, was killed in this action.

Caldwell is designated the "Border Queen" cowtown by George Viele in an article published in the *Caldwell Messenger*, April 11, 15, 18, 25, 1957. The town was laid out in 1871, incorporated in 1879, and became a cowtown in 1880.

The Kansas Chief, Troy, celebrated its 100th anniversary with a special 16-page edition April 11, 1957. The first issue of the *Chief* was published June 4, 1857, in White Cloud by Sol. Miller, its founder. Featured in the special edition is a biographical sketch of Miller which includes an autobiography first published in 1893. Among other articles is a sketch of Henry J. Calnan, Sr., publisher of the *Chief*, 1904-1919. His son, Charles C. Calnan, is the present publisher.

A biographical sketch of Prudence Crandall, by Lily B. Rozar, was published in the *Independence Reporter*, April 14, 1957. Miss Crandall is credited with establishing at Canterbury, Conn., in the early 1830's, the country's first integrated school. In the 1870's she came to Elk Falls, Kan., where she died and is buried.

Stories on the opening of Indian territory for settlement and articles on the history of Oklahoma and the West, by Dr. B. B. Chapman and others, were included in the Guthrie (Okla.) *Daily Leader's* annual '89er edition published April 16, 1957.

Wayne A. O'Connell is the author of a history of Chetopa which appeared in the *Chetopa Advance*, April 18, 25, May 2, 1957; the *Oswego Independent*, April 19, 26, May 3; *Oswego Democrat*, April 19, 26, May 3, 10, 24. Chetopa's history began in 1857 when Dr. George Lisle and several companions arrived and the first cabins were built. Chetopa was named after an Osage Indian chief.

A story by Myra Lockwood Brown on Butler county's first courthouse was printed in the *Butler County News*, El Dorado, April 18, 1957. The building, a log cabin, is believed to have been erected about 1867.

Winding Vale school, district No. 20, Jackson county, was organized April 26, 1862. A history of the now-abandoned school, prepared by M. C. Barrows, appeared in the *Holton Recorder*, May 2, 1957.

Southeast Kansas history as found in 1903-1906 directories of that area, by Harold O. Taylor, appeared in the *Pittsburg Sun*, May 5, 1957. Advertising in the directories recall business firms of the period.

An article by M. F. Amrine entitled "The Good Old Days," was published in the Council Grove *Republican* in three installments, May 6, 8, 13, 1957. The author compares life in Kansas in the 1870's and 1880's to life at present, and leaves the impression that the "good old days" weren't so good.

Oxford school history was featured in the May 9, 1957, number of the *Oxford Register*. The Oxford high school started in 1896, the grade school a few years earlier.

With the issue of May 15, 1957, the Hiawatha *Daily World* published the first section of the *Centennial World*. Section two was printed June 11, section three July 18, others appeared later. The special editions were described by the publishers: "The Centennial World is dedicated to a review of the historical events of the past century and a recital of stories that relate to the activities of the people who have brought this wonderful, modern community into being from the raw prairies."

Kansas Historical Notes

The 82d annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held at Topeka on Tuesday, October 15, 1957.

Gov. George Docking has appointed a Kansas centennial commission to formulate plans for the state's 100th anniversary in 1961. Maurice Fager, Topeka, has been named chairman of the commission. Other members are: Barbara Aldrich, Atchison; Howard Blanchard, Garden City; Fred Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg; Lynn Broderrick, Topeka; H. E. Bruce, Horton; Rolla Clymer, El Dorado; Dr. Elizabeth Cochran, Pittsburg; Leila Elliott, Coffeyville; Mrs. Frank Haucke, Council Grove; John Helm, Jr., Manhattan; Henry Jameson, Abilene; Walter Keith, Coffeyville; Frank W. Kirk, Parsons; Marion Klema, Salina; Mrs. Charles Larkin, Leavenworth; Larry Miller, Topeka; Nyle Miller, Topeka; John Montgomery, Junction City; Jim Reed, Topeka; T. T. Riordan, Solomon; Rev. G. Harold Roberts, Atchison; Sen. Fayette Rowe, Columbus; Homer E. Socolofsky, Manhattan; Mrs. Alice M. Wade, Coffeyville; Lester Weatherwax, Wichita; and Robert Wells, Garden City.

All officers of the Butler County Historical Society were re-elected at a meeting of the board of trustees in El Dorado January 14, 1957. They include: F. H. Cron, president; Charles E. Heilmann, vice-president; Mrs. R. C. Loomis, secretary; and Clifford W. Stone, treasurer.

Angelo Scott, Iola, was re-elected president of the Allen County Historical Society at a meeting of the board of directors in Iola, February 5, 1957. R. L. Thompson, Jr., was chosen vice-president; Spencer Gard, secretary; and Mary Hankins, treasurer.

Chester C. Heizer was elected president of the Border Queen Museum Association at a meeting of the board February 4, 1957, in Caldwell. Other officers chosen were: Walker Young, first vice-president; Don Stallings, second vice-president; Frederick Thompson, secretary; and Harry Jenista, treasurer. J. E. Turner is resident agent of the organization.

Rolla A. Clymer, editor and publisher of the *El Dorado Times* and president of the Kansas State Historical Society, was recipient of the William Allen White award for journalistic merit February 11, 1957.

The newly organized Ottawa County Historical Society met in Minneapolis February 16, 1957, adopted a constitution, and named

a board of directors. In addition to the officers, those elected to the board included: Glen Adee, Rolla Geisen, and Louis Ballou. At a meeting in Minneapolis April 27 the society heard historical talks by Mrs. Louis Ballou, Mrs. Bert Bourne, B. E. Ferris, Ray Halberstadt, and Mrs. Claud Childs.

The Lyon County Historical Society met in Emporia, March 4, 1957, for its annual business meeting. Officers were elected as follows: O. W. Mosher, president; Sam Mellinger, first vice-president; Fannie E. Williams, second vice-president; Lucile Owen, secretary; Warren Morris, treasurer; and Lucina Jones, Mrs. F. L. Gilson, and Mabel Edwards, historians.

Dr. Dudley T. Cornish reviewed his book, *The Sable Arm*, the story of Negro soldiers in the Civil War, at a February 27, 1957, meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg. At a meeting on April 26 Nyle Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, showed and commented on colored slides of historic places and structures in Kansas. Dr. G. W. Weede is president of the Crawford county society.

All officers were re-elected at a meeting of the Ford Historical Society March 8, 1957. They are: Mrs. Walter Umbach, president; Mrs. Harold Patterson, vice-president; Mrs. Addie Plattner, secretary-treasurer; Kathleen Emrie, historian; and Mrs. W. P. Warner, custodian.

The Riley County Historical Society opened its museum in new quarters in the Manhattan city building April 7, 1957. It was reported that 450 persons visited the museum the first three days.

Dr. S. J. Sackett, of Fort Hays Kansas State College, spoke to a meeting of the Lane County Historical Society in Dighton, April 8, 1957, on Kansas folklore.

Herman M. Quinius was elected president of the Wichita Historical Museum Association at a meeting April 11, 1957. Owen McEwen, retiring president, was named first vice-president. Other officers elected were: Mrs. Schuyler Jones, Jr., second vice-president; Morris Neff, Jr., secretary; Carl Bitting, treasurer; and Mrs. Frank Slay, curator. Elected to the board of trustees were: Brace Helfrich, R. T. Aitchison, Bitting, Gene Combs, Bertha Gardner, Mrs. Harry Overend, Britt Brown, Bruce Petrie, Waldo Toevs, E. L. Meader, Mrs. Frank Grabendike, and William Quiring. The museum was opened in its new quarters at 3751 E. Douglas, May 19.

Events included in Chetopa's 100th birthday celebration May 4, 1957, were a parade, a calf show, an Indian dance, and presentation to the city of a plaque by George F. Lisle, honoring his father, Dr. George Lisle, founder of Chetopa.

Fort Larned, established in 1859 as Camp Alert, was opened to the public as a museum and place of historical interest with colorful ceremonies May 19, 1957. Events included a sham battle between cavalymen and Indians, talks by political and military leaders, including Col. Brice C. W. Custer, grand nephew of Gen. George A. Custer, a parade of military units, unveiling of the dedicatory plaque, and raising of the flag. To handle the maintenance and administration of the museum the Fort Larned Historical Society has been organized. The fort is the property of Robert Frizell.

Much of the history of printing in Topeka is included in a 64-page booklet recently published as a 75th anniversary souvenir by Topeka Typographical Union No. 121.

"1857—Emporia—1957," by Roger Triplett, was the featured article in Emporia's 76-page historical booklet, published as a part of the city's centennial observance.

A 36-page pamphlet entitled *Ottawa-Kansas City Tornado*, by Joseph B. Muecke, published by the Central Press, Topeka, presents the story and pictures of the destructive tornado of May 20, 1957.

Through the Years, a 50-page pamphlet by Mrs. Cecil Moore and Joy Fox, edited by Chas. A. Knouse, was published by the Greeley centennial committee in connection with Greeley's recent centennial celebration. The townsite was selected in 1856, settlement and building began the following year.

On August 14, 1886, the Methodist church of Hugoton was organized under the direction of the Rev. A. P. George. The history of this church was recently published in a 10-page pamphlet. The Rev. Charles Brown was the first pastor.

The lives of two chiefs of the Osage Indians, Black Dog and his son, also named Black Dog, are reviewed in Tillie Karns Newman's new 221-page book, *The Black Dog Trail*, published by the Christopher Publishing House, Boston.

B. Smith Haworth is the author of a recently published 174-page history of Ottawa University entitled *Ottawa University: Its History and Its Spirit*. The first classes were held in 1866, although efforts to start the school had begun several years before. The book was published by the Allen Press, Lawrence.

Earning the Right to Do Fancywork is described by the author, Kunigunde Duncan (Mrs. Bliss Isely), as an informal biography of Mrs. Ida Eisenhower. It is a 38-page booklet published by the University of Kansas Press in 1957.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION: An Analysis of Its Membership.....	Robert W. Johannsen, 225
With picture of Gen. John Calhoun, <i>facing</i> p. 240, and photograph of portion of first page of the Lecompton constitution, <i>facing</i> p. 241.	
THE ORIGINAL LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION RETURNS TO KANSAS AFTER 100 YEARS	244
THOMAS BENTON MURDOCK AND WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE	
<i>Rolla A. Clymer, 248</i>	
With portraits of Thomas Benton Murdock and William Allen White, <i>facing</i> p. 256.	
THE STORY OF FORT LARNED.....	William E. Unrau, 257
With a sketch of Fort Larned (1867) and a photograph (1886), <i>facing</i> p. 272, and a facsimile of first page of <i>The Plains</i> , an 1865 Fort Larned newspaper, <i>facing</i> p. 273.	
NOTES ON TWO KANSAS IMPEACHMENTS: Josiah Hayes, 1874, and Theodosius Botkin, 1891.....	Cortez A. M. Ewing, 281
TRAVELING THEATRE IN KANSAS: The James A. Lord Chicago Dramatic Company, 1869-1871. (In two installments, Part One)	
<i>James C. Malin, 298</i>	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	324
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	326
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	333

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THE COVER

An Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe inspection train near the end of track, 50 miles west of Dodge City, in the fall of 1872.

The blurred appearance of the man on horseback was caused by movement of his mount while the time exposure was being made. Perhaps to his surprise, the photographer came up with an excellent silhouette of himself and camera.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Number 3

The Lecompton Constitutional Convention: An Analysis of Its Membership

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN

DURING the latter years of the decade preceding the Civil War, the town of Lecompton, Kansas territory, received a notoriety that completely belied its humble and dusty existence. Its name became a byword in political controversy. Spread across newspaper columns from coast to coast and hurled forth by countless political speakers, the town's name came to symbolize one of the most significant developments in a growing sectional conflict. An already declining Presidential administration was further weakened, an additional gash was torn in a great national political party and the Union itself was brought closer to the brink of destruction by the events which Lecompton symbolized.

On December 8, 1857, President James Buchanan, in his first message to congress, reviewed in calm and approving tones the recent events in Kansas. A constitutional convention had assembled and had drafted a state constitution that promised to settle all the difficulties for which Kansas had become notorious. That the constitution to which Buchanan referred did not settle these difficulties, but on the contrary, created new and insurmountable ones, has become one of the grim and inescapable facts of the pre-Civil War decade.

On the following day, December 9, Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois and author of the act which created Kansas territory, exploded in a three-hour address to the senate. The action of the convention was, he charged, "a mockery and insult," "a system of trickery and jugglery," and the fight was on. In the resulting melee, the Kansans who had participated in the convention, innocent of the reactions that would greet their efforts, were denounced and maligned. Few groups of frontier politicians and state makers have suffered more at the hands of their contemporaries and later

DR. ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN, associate professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, is currently on leave at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, as visiting lecturer in history.

historians than the members of the constitutional convention that assembled in Lecompton one hundred years ago.

Lecompton, Kansas territory, was at the height of its prosperity in 1857. Laid out in the spring of 1855 on the south bank of the Kansas river about 50 miles above its confluence with the Missouri river, the town was named for Judge Samuel D. Lecompte, one of the first justices on the territorial supreme court and member of the original town company. In August, 1855, the territorial legislature designated Lecompton the capital of the territory, and for the next few years the town served as the headquarters for the Proslavery element in Kansas. With a population of one thousand or more in 1857, the town boasted a half dozen dry goods stores, a school, four churches, three hotels (described as "roomy" in the local press), and a livery stable, besides the land office, the surveyor-general's office, the capitol, and the United States court. Lots in the center of town were priced from \$500 to \$1,000 each.

The local newspaper editor reported that the town was in the throes of rapid and unrestrained growth; the din and clatter of the hammer, plane, and saw prevented quiet concentration. Lecompton already had direct stage and express connections with all parts of the territory and steamboats plied the Kansas river. A bridge soon to be constructed across the Kansas river would put the town on the shortest route between the Missouri and the High Plains.¹ The correspondent of an Eastern newspaper more realistically observed that Lecompton was "not particularly progressive," owing its trade "more to the fact that it is the seat of Government than to any advantage of location."²

In February, 1857, the Kansas territorial legislature passed a bill providing for a convention to frame a state constitution, to meet in Lecompton on the first Monday of the following September. Delegates to the convention were to be apportioned among the counties on the basis of a special census of voters carried out by the sheriffs and supervised by the local county officials. The election of delegates was scheduled for June. The bill was vetoed by Gov. John W. Geary in one of his last acts in office but was promptly passed over his veto.³

1. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 351; *Lecompton Union*, April 11, 1857.

2. *New York Times*, June 6, 1857. One young settler of antislavery proclivities described Lecompton, "The only proslavery town in Kansas that flourishes is Lecompton, and that is built up entirely by the patronage of Uncle Sam. The only business places besides one or two stores are lawyers' shops and grogshops—and the United States Land Office,"—John Everett to his father, September 18, 1857, "Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864: Miami County Pioneers," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 8 (August, 1939), p. 285.

3. The bill calling a constitutional convention was passed in response to the decision of the voters at the previous territorial election, when the question of forming a state constitution was approved by a decisive majority. The free-soil element in the territory, however, had boycotted this election and did not vote.

The bill met the immediate hostility of the antislavery group in the territory. Governor Geary reflected this opposition in his veto message. Not only was the statehood movement premature,⁴ in his opinion, but the apparatus for taking the census and registering the voters was faulty, being entirely in the hands of county officials appointed by the Proslavery legislature. Finally, he maintained, the failure of the legislature to insist on the submission of the constitution to a popular vote constituted a breach of legislative responsibility. When the secretary of the territory, Frederick P. Stanton, issued a proclamation in May setting forth the apportionment of delegates to the convention, further cries of opposition were heard from the Free-State camp. The census for the apportionment of delegates to the convention was not taken in many of the interior counties, where Free-State sentiment was strong. Out of an estimated 20,000 adult males in Kansas, only slightly more than 9,000 were registered. Since the population of the territory was heaviest in the eastern counties, these areas secured the largest number of delegates. Thirty-seven out of the 60 delegates were to be elected from counties bordering on Missouri, thus assuring, the free-soilers maintained, a thoroughly Proslavery body. T. Dwight Thacher, editor of the *Lawrence Republican*, expressed the point of view of the antislavery group when he wrote,

A corrupt, bogus concern, calling itself the Legislature of Kansas, but in reality a creation of fraud and violence, passes an act over the Governor's veto for taking a census and registry, and holding an election for delegates to a constitutional convention. That act is framed with cunning malignity for the express purpose of defrauding the great mass of people of any voice in making the constitution. . . . Nearly half of the counties of the Territory are left off of the returns. . . . The sixty delegates are all apportioned, and the Missouri River districts, where a pro-slavery victory has been made sure, get thirty-seven out of the sixty.

He urged all Free-State men to ignore this election as they had previous territorial elections, in the hope that "no Congress will *dare* to admit Kansas with a constitution based upon a representation in which half the Territory had no part."⁵ Thacher's advice was endorsed by a convention of Free-State men at Topeka just three days before election day.

4. Much was made of the "prematurity" of this statehood movement in the arguments condemning the action of the legislature. Later historians have reiterated this argument without taking into consideration the fact that statehood movements had been organized in territories with smaller populations and that the free-soil group in Kansas had already written a state constitution and appealed to congress for admission as a state.

5. *Lawrence Republican*, June 11, 1857. The editor of one of the Proslavery journals in the territory, himself a candidate for the convention, admitted that the census was faulty, but maintained that the fault lay with the Free-State men who refused to co-operate with the census takers.—*Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 13, 1857.

The election for the 60 delegates to the constitutional convention was thus a one-sided affair. The Democratic party organizations on the county level, dominated by Proslavery men, nominated candidates and in most counties these tickets were unopposed. In some of the counties independent slates were presented in opposition to the Proslavery tickets, but these tickets, if they did not fall apart before election day, secured almost no votes. In Leavenworth and Douglas counties, for example, Free-State Democrats attempted without success to oppose the Proslavery leadership in the regular party organizations.⁶ Only slightly more than 2,000 voters participated in the election, less than one fourth the total number of voters registered in the census and only one tenth of the estimated adult population; the Proslavery tickets were in all cases successful.⁷ The election was denounced as a sham by the Free-State elements in the territory but the men elected to the convention approached the task of constitution-making with seriousness and a great sense of responsibility. The one-sided nature of the election caused some feelings of apprehension among Proslavery men in the territory,⁸ but for the most part they were confident of the election's legality.

The members of the constitutional convention gathered in Leecompton during the first week in September, 1857. The town was transformed. Not only delegates, but also newspaper correspondents and interested bystanders taxed the facilities of the community. The correspondent of the New York *Herald*, dispatched to Leecompton just to cover the convention, described the scene:

Although the Constitutional Convention . . . has brought to this miserable little town a large number of people—some of them of the most excitable character—everything goes on quietly and peaceably. There has been so far no disturbance. . . . There are two small inns here, not capable of accommodating properly one-fifth of the number of people that are registered as guests. But the most is made of every apartment in these houses. As many beds and cots as can be got into a room are laid down, and as many persons as they can possibly hold are squeezed into each of them. But still many lie about the bar rooms and even under the trees and it is customary to consign to the barn such as are not otherwise provided for. There is not a private habitation in the town large enough to admit of renting an apartment.⁹

6. Leecompton Union, June 12, 1857; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 13, 1857; *New York Times*, June 25, 1857.

7. The lightness of the vote was explained by one Proslavery editor: "The vote is small but it would have been much larger if our friends had thought there was any show for the opposition ticket. They knew it would be defeated, and hence they made no effort to bring their friends to the polls."—*Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 20, 1857. Sen. William Bigler of Pennsylvania, visiting in Kansas during the election, reported that many voters were indifferent to the election of delegates, confident that they would be able to vote on the ratification or rejection of the constitution that resulted.—Clearfield (Pa.) *Republican*, July 21, 1857, quoted in *Kansas Weekly Herald*, August 15, 1857.

8. The correspondent of the St. Louis *Missouri Democrat* wrote, "The Pro-Slavery residents are greatly discomfited, and declare that the Free-State men are a 'd--d stubborn set of people,'" quoted in the *New York Times*, June 27, 1857.

9. *New York Herald*, September 19, 1857.

The delegates opened their convention in a simple two-story frame building on September 7 and remained in session for four days. After electing permanent officers and choosing a slate of committees, they adjourned until the 19th of October. One of the delegates, a newspaper editor, explained that the adjournment had been carried to give the committees time to gather and examine information and to save the members money. "No rooms could be obtained at Lecompton," he wrote, "for the sitting of the different committees. With all these disadvantages it could not be expected that members were willing to remain there and pay \$14 per week for board."¹⁰

The comments of the Free-State press in the territory on the adjournment were probably closer to the truth. An election for territorial delegate to congress and for members of the territorial legislature was scheduled for the first week in October. The newly-arrived territorial governor, Robert J. Walker, had made repeated assurances that this election would be a fair and impartial one. As a result, the Free-State group, meeting in a convention at Grasshopper Falls in late August, pledged their participation in the election. With the prospect that the October election would be the first in the territory in which all parties participated, the hopes of the Proslavery element for continued domination in the territorial government dimmed. The Lecompton convention, it was said, had adjourned until after the results of the election should be known. Its deliberations, particularly with regard to the submission of the constitution to the electorate for ratification, would depend upon the political complexion of the territory after the election.¹¹

The election resulted in a Free-State triumph. Marcus J. Parrott, the Free-State candidate for delegate to congress, won over his opponent, former Michigan governor Epaphroditus Ransom, by a decisive majority. After Governor Walker threw out the election returns from two voting areas as being fraudulent, the Free-State group counted majorities in both houses of the territorial legislature. Thus the cause of the Proslavery Lecompton constitutional convention was lost before it got under way. The delegates became aware that no constitution which they could produce would possibly be endorsed by the voters and some feared that congress might reject their constitution if it were not submitted to the electorate for approval. There were rumors that the delegates would resign their positions and abandon the statehood movement.¹² However, the

10. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, September 26, 1857.

11. *Lawrence Republican*, September 10, 17, 1857; *New York Herald*, September 22, 1857.

12. *Ibid.* A mass meeting of the Free-State supporters was held in Lecompton on October 19 to protest against the reassembling of the convention.

dilemma in which some of the delegates may have found themselves as they reassembled in Lecompton in October did not concern them for long. Many recognized instead a new urgency in their labors; the last hope for establishing slavery in Kansas now resided in the Lecompton movement.

The members of the Lecompton convention were denounced in 1857 by the Free-State supporters, and they have been generally condemned by subsequent generations of historians. To the editor of the Lawrence *Republican*, the convention was a "plug-ugly" or "felon" convention and its members were "lawless malefactors."¹³ A meeting of Free-State men at Big Springs in late November denounced the proceedings of the convention as the "sublimated essence of all villainies" and the authors of the new constitution as "traitors and villains, fit only for the association of robbers and outlaws."¹⁴ Preston B. Plumb, editor of the strongly antislavery *Kansas News*, of Emporia, described the convention as a "conclave of broken-down political hacks, demagogues, fire-eaters, perjurers, ruffians, ballot-box stuffers, and loafers." Under the heading "The Roll of Infamy" he listed the members of the convention and for some of them provided brief thumb-nail sketches in the most uncomplimentary language.¹⁵ William Phillips, the correspondent of Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune*, emphasized the "grotesque" appearance and intemperate drinking habits of the delegates.¹⁶ But the peak of invective came from the pen of the correspondent for a New Hampshire newspaper:

A more incongruous mass of heterogeneous materials than this said Convention, it has never been my lot to meet. I do verily believe that if the Messrs. Fowler of New York City were to come out here and take casts of the heads of the delegates, they would make such a splendid addition to their phrenologic museum of "busts of distinguished criminals" as could be procured under no other circumstances. The low, retreating foreheads—the red, inflamed eyes; the bulging development of animalism at the back of the cranium, eclipsed everything I have heretofore seen or ever again hope to see. You might rake the purlieus of the "Five Points" of New York City to their very dregs, but you could find nothing whose characteristics of depravity were more marked than those of the men who have usurped the office of law-makers of the people of Kansas. . . .

Faces so much like snakes you could hear their sibilant hisses.

Faces like trodden worms, beseeching you to let them wriggle to their holes.

Faces like a tormented conscience, livid with rage, and purple with the pains of hell.

13. Lawrence *Republican*, December 3, 10, 1857.

14. *Ibid.*, December 10, 1857.

15. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857.

16. New York *Tribune*, November 6, 19, 1857.

Faces like the concentrated essence of all meanness and all scoundrelism; faces which struck a chill to your heart like death.

Such are the faces of some of those who are to draft a State Constitution for the government of the people of Kansas.¹⁷

The Proslavery press in both the territory and the South devoted little space to a discussion of the character of the convention membership. To this element, the convention was a regularly constituted body, legally elected, and differing but little from other such bodies in other territories.

Against the great body of denunciation emanating from the Free-State spokesmen, the description of the convention by Samuel G. Reid, editor of the Proslavery *Tecumseh Note Book* and a member of that body, seemed pitiful and ineffectual. "Of one thing we cannot be mistaken," Reid wrote, "rarely have so able, zealous, and commanding a body of men, young and old, presided over the organization of a sovereign State of the American Union." But Reid continued, "The rights of the South can, shall, and must be maintained."¹⁸ John Calhoun, elected president of the convention, reiterated these sentiments in his opening address: "I think that the character of the members of this convention over which I have the honor to preside, ought to give the world assurance that their deliberations will result, not merely in the settlement of difficulties here, but in the settlement of the question as to whether this Union shall continue. . . ." ¹⁹

Some of the venom of the Free-State men fell upon the town of Lecompton. As the center of Proslavery influence in the territory, the community had never enjoyed a high degree of popularity with the antislavery group.²⁰ As the meeting place of the constitutional convention, the town became the target of additional verbal abuse. The correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, who seldom failed to mention the drinking habits of the Proslavery men in his dispatches, referred to Lecompton as "this celebrated whisky-drinking capital" and reported that on election day "the grog-shops were closed in Lecompton, which well-nigh amounted to a total abolition of the business of the place for the time being."²¹ Preston Plumb's *Kansas*

17. Kansas correspondence of the Concord (N. H.) *Independent Democrat*, quoted in *Lawrence Republican*, October 8, 1857.

18. *Tecumseh Note Book*, September 18, 1857.

19. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, September 19, 1857.

20. The New York *Times* correspondent wrote of Lecompton in May, 1857, "Being recognized throughout the Territory as the rendezvous—the *point d'appui* of the 'Border Ruffians'—its social reputation in the Free State towns is not peculiarly flattering. So far as I have seen it, however, I feel called upon to say that a more friendly, generous, warm-hearted and intelligent people than that of this same Lecompton I have not met since my entrance into Kansas," June 6, 1857.

21. New York *Tribune*, October 8, 15, 1857.

News described the assembling of the convention delegates in Lecompton after the adjournment:

It's the meanest town that ever was manufactured for a speculation. It's one of the towns we read of. In the summer time it is overrun with rattlesnakes, most of the fall and spring by mud, and by loafers and land sharks all seasons of the year. . . . It ought to be good for the *Constitution* to sit and hear them [the delegates], for I declare to patience, Job couldn't keep from laughing. . . . They have been here just ten days since the adjournment, and have done so near nothing that I can't tell the difference. The first four days were spent without a quorum, in swearing against the absentees, making big mouths at all Governors and Secretaries, and drinking all the whisky they could get on credit or in treats from those who wanted to take care of the *constitutions* of the delegates rather than the constitution of the future State.²²

To the editor of the Lawrence *Republican*, Lecompton was "the citadel of usurpers of the rights and powers of a harrassed and down-trodden people."²³

Most historians of the pre-Civil War decade have shown a tendency to continue in the tradition of denunciation established by the antislavery press in the 1850's, probably because the most complete, although at the same time the most biased, reports of the convention proceedings were those of the antislavery newspaper correspondents. In 1948 Roy Franklin Nichols, in his Pulitzer Prize winning *Disruption of American Democracy*, dismissed the membership of the Lecompton convention with the comment that it was

composed of poor material. Its members were largely ignorant, unstable, frontier adventurers, too often drunk. Though the convention officially numbered sixty, a large part were irregular in attendance and inattentive when present . . . the manner of conducting business was slovenly in the extreme.²⁴

Two years later, Allan Nevins, in his study of the controversial 1850's, relied heavily on the New York *Tribune* and Plumb's *Kansas News* for his descriptions of the convention members. "Any critic of democracy," Nevins maintained, "who wished to indict its American workings would have done well to attend the constitutional convention which sat at Lecompton in the fall of 1857." By far the greater majority of delegates, according to Nevins, were "ignorant, semi-illiterate, and prejudiced men."²⁵ In 1956 Nevins wrote that the convention delegates were "a handful of ignorant, reckless, semi-drunken settlers . . . led by a few desperadoes of politics

22. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 7, 1857.

23. *Lawrence Republican*, December 10, 1857.

24. Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), p. 121.

25. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (2 vols., New York, 1950), v. 1, p. 229.

. . . the shabbiest conclave of its kind ever held on American soil." ²⁶

What were these delegates to the Lecompton convention really like? Was the vituperation levelled against the meeting by the antislavery press justified by the character of the members themselves? Was this convention any more "shabby" in its composition than other such frontier political meetings? The answers to these questions are not easily available. Many of the men who sat at Lecompton in the fall of 1857 have slipped into almost complete obscurity. Most of them left Kansas following the convention when it was apparent that their cause had been lost.²⁷

One eastern newspaper correspondent who attended the opening of the deliberations in September, 1857, reported that the Lecompton convention differed but little from similar conventions in other parts of the country:

As to the *personnel* of the Convention, I have nothing unfavorable to say. It differed not at all from the usual construction of party conventions in New York and elsewhere. There was the usual supply of bores—men who will talk, though it be nonsense, and will make speeches which no one wants to hear, which few can understand, and which tax the ingenuity of the reporter to shape into correct English. There were also pretentious young lawyers innumerable, and several equally pretentious young editors. And finally, there was a large proportion of farmers and country shopkeepers, (merchants they call themselves) few of whom were talkers, while some of them were practical business men and not unused to the work of political conventions. It was, altogether, a body of ordinary respectability; but it struck me as being one little qualified to frame an organic law or perform a work of such immense responsibility and requiring so much legal, political, and historical knowledge. One of two of the delegates only appeared to me to be so qualified. The rest might do very well for county conventions or even for State Legislature, but were rather out of their sphere in a convention to frame a constitution.²⁸

An examination of the membership of the convention bears out this conclusion.

Although the number of delegates actually participating in the proceedings varied from time to time, a total of 55 out of the 60 elected were present at one time or another. Only 45 of these signed the finished constitution. Five of the elected delegates never appeared in Lecompton. Like most frontier political conventions, the Lecompton convention was primarily a gathering of young men.

26. Allan Nevins, "The Needless Conflict," *American Heritage*, New York, v. 7, No. 5 (August, 1956), pp. 6, 88.

27. An examination of the 1860 census schedules for Kansas has revealed that 41 out of the 55 members who attended the deliberations were not residing in Kansas during that year. At least two of these were deceased by 1860; two others were living in the Colorado mining country.

28. New York *Herald*, September 22, 1857. The reports of the *Herald* correspondent, although more objective in their tone, have been ignored by most historians in favor of the fiery antislavery accounts of the New York *Tribune*.

Thirty-seven members were below 40 years of age and 18 of these were in their 20's; only nine members were over 50. The youngest delegate was Batt. Jones, 21 years of age, representing Johnson county, although residing in Westport, Mo. The eldest was Dr. Blake Little, a Fort Scott physician, 64 years old. The delegates were almost wholly from slave states. Only 12 members had been born in free states and only six had resided in free states before migrating to Kansas. More delegates had been born in Kentucky than in any other state; Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee followed in that order. A majority of the members originated in the border region, both slave and free, of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, the area that contributed the most to the peopling of the West and represented a stronghold of conservatism during the sectional conflict.²⁹ In occupation, there were more farmers in the convention than any other group, followed by lawyers, merchants, newspaper editors, and physicians.³⁰

Politically, the Lecompton convention, with some exceptions, was a conservative body. Thirty-four of its members were Democrats and seven still called themselves Whigs, in spite of the fact that the Whig party by 1857 had disappeared as a political force. Twenty had been Whigs before their arrival in Kansas. The remaining members employed such labels as Proslavery, State Rights, Ultra Southern Rights, Nullifier, and Ultra Democrat to describe their political affiliations.³¹

All the members were Proslavery in their sympathies and at least seven of them were, or had been, slave owners.³² One of these, a Leavenworth county farmer named Jesse Connell, expressed the views of the majority of his colleagues when he argued that since slavery already existed in the territory, the convention should "recognize the institution as it now exists and throw around it the same safeguards that they would any other vested property."

Having been born and raised in Kentucky [he continued], having owned slaves all my life, unfortunately for me perhaps, I have always considered the

29. The places of birth of the convention delegates were as follows: Kentucky 18, Virginia 7, Georgia 6, Tennessee 5, Pennsylvania 4, Missouri 2, Ohio 2, Alabama 2, North Carolina 2, Indiana 1, Iowa 1, Massachusetts 1, New York 1, South Carolina 1, Illinois 1, and Michigan 1. Not all of the delegates had come to Kansas directly from the states of their births. Thirty-eight of them had resided in Missouri, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois immediately before their arrival in Kansas.

30. Farmers 21, lawyers 11, merchants 8, newspaper editors 6, physicians 5, and mechanic, surveyor, stone mason, and carpenter, 1 each.

31. The statistical information dealing with the age, birthplace, residence before Kansas, occupation, and political affiliation of each of the members has in large part been drawn from a table in the *New York Tribune*, November 19, 1857. This table was based on written statements from each of the delegates.

32. J. H. Barlow, Jesse Connell, Rush Elmore, Blake Little, William Mathews, John M. Wallace, and William Walker.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7 (1901-1902), pp. 238-240, v. 10 (1907-1908), p. 184; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 13, 1857; "Kansas Territorial Census, 1855" (manuscript returns in Kansas State Historical Society).

system a good one and that the condition of the slave is preferable to that of the free negro. I should always be opposed to the admission of free negroes into the Territory, as a free negro population is conceded to be worthless by all intelligent and thinking men, both at the North and South.³³

The antipathy toward the free Negro in Kansas was not limited to the Proslavery group but had been expressed as well by the Free-State men in their earlier Topeka statehood movement. Not only were the Proslavery attitudes of Kansans in 1857 justified by racial arguments but they were also supported by an appeal to economic considerations. The large majority of the Kansas population, wrote one correspondent, was desirous only of "promoting their individual wealth and the general prosperity of the Territory. If they were of opinion that the establishment of slavery in the Territory were more calculated to produce that end, there would be undoubtedly a large majority in favor thereof without any reference to politics; and *vice versa*."³⁴ This notion that slavery was simply a matter of "dollars and cents" was a typical frontier attitude toward the institution.³⁵

Although occupying the same general Proslavery position, the delegates expressed differing opinions regarding the advisability of imposing the institution on Kansas against the will the people, especially after the October elections indicated a Free-State majority in the territory. The conservatism of the convention was ruffled by a small group of Proslavery fanatics. Three Georgia-born delegates, Lucius Boling, a Lecompton attorney described as "the finest looking man of the lot, tall, with dark hair and eyes, and considerable talent";³⁶ Joshua H. Danforth, correspondent of the *Charleston Mercury*, "a dangerous foe and a devoted partizan";³⁷ and Batt. Jones, who was in correspondence with Howell Cobb, Buchanan's secretary of the treasury, during the sitting of the convention,³⁸ together with William H. Jenkins of South Carolina, led those who argued that Kansas must be made a slave state at all hazards. Of this group, the correspondent of the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, a Democratic newspaper, wrote,

They are as fanatic in their views as the ultra Massachusetts abolitionists, and equally as honest in avowing their purposes and objects, that they would as soon see the Union dissolved as not see Kansas admitted as a slave State.

33. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 13, 1857.

34. *New York Herald*, September 19, 1857.

35. See Robert W. Johannsen, *Frontier Politics and the Sectional Conflict: The Pacific Northwest on the Eve of the Civil War* (Seattle, 1955), ch. 2.

36. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Howell Cobb to Alexander H. Stephens, October 9, 1857, Ulrich B. Phillips, ed., *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb*, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association 1911* (Washington, 1913), v. 2, p. 424.

With the exception of Bolling of Douglas (who is young and talented) there is not a leader of the ultra proslavery interest on the floor of the Convention who will come up to mediocrity. They are a burlesque, in my opinion, upon Southern statesmanship.

Of the rest of the delegates, this correspondent reported, "Much the largest portion of the Convention are proslavery in sentiment, but conservative in their political action . . . and, I think, with a single exception, they have all or most of the talent in that body."³⁹ The New York *Herald* correspondent supported this conclusion. By 1857, he reported, the conviction was growing in Kansas, even among the Proslavery men, that slavery would not enhance the local economy. From an intimate acquaintance with the delegates, he wrote, "you would find that most of them, particularly responsible settlers and property holders, while they had 'slave State' on their lips had 'free State' in their hearts." The few extremists, he continued, "are men who came here on principle, and who stand ready to vacate Kansas so soon as that principle is defeated."⁴⁰

As in many frontier political conventions, the members of the Lecompton meeting had little previous political experience, and for most of them, service in the convention was to be their last excursion into local politics.⁴¹ Seventeen of the delegates had been, or were at the time, either members of the Kansas territorial legislature,⁴² or officers in their county governments.⁴³ A large proportion of them were active in the territorial Democratic party organization.⁴⁴

Three of the most prominent members of the convention were William Walker, John Calhoun, and Rush Elmore. Walker, a member of the Wyandotte Indian nation, had resided in Kansas

39. Correspondence of the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, quoted in New York *Herald*, November 17, 1857.

40. New York *Herald*, September 22, 1857.

41. There are some exceptions, Jesse Connell, a life-long slave owner, was elected to Kansas' first state legislature; James Adkins later became a member of the Missouri state legislature; Thomas Jefferson Key was elected to the Arkansas state legislature; and Isaac Hascall put his experience in the Lecompton convention to good use as a member of the Nebraska constitutional convention, later becoming a member of the Nebraska legislature.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), p. 238; *Atchison Daily Globe*, July 10, 1909; Wirt Armistead Cate, ed., *Two Soldiers: The Campaign Diaries of Thomas J. Key, C. S. A., and Robert J. Campbell, U. S. A. (Chapel Hill, 1948)*, p. 4; "Kansas Biographical Scrapbooks, H," v. 10, pp. 167-172 (Kansas State Historical Society).

42. James Adkins, Harrison Butcher, Cyrus Dolman, Lucian Eastin, William Heiskell, William Jenkins, James Kuykendall, Blake Little, David Lykins, John W. Martin, and Hugh M. Moore.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), pp. 170, 208; Daniel Webster Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas, 1541-1885* (Topeka, 1886), pp. 60, 61, 140, 149.

43. James Adkins, Alexander Bayne, Harrison Butcher, Cyrus Dolman, William Heiskell, Samuel Kookagee, James Kuykendall, Claiborne R. Mobley, John S. Randolph, M. Pierce Rively and Hiero Wilson. Kuykendall had been sheriff of Platte county, Missouri, for four years before moving to Kansas.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), pp. 208, 648; Andreas and Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 311, 422, 521, 941, 1071, 1304; George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2 (November, 1933), p. 358; "Collected Biography, Clippings," v. 1, p. 38 (Kansas State Historical Society).

44. Nineteen of the members of the Lecompton constitutional convention sat as delegates in a convention of the "National Democratic" party of Kansas territory, held at Lecompton during the summer of 1857.—*Kansas National Democrat*, Lecompton, July 30, 1857.

since 1843 when his tribe was removed from the Ohio valley to a small reservation at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. Born in Michigan and educated at Kenyon College in Ohio, Walker had owned slaves since 1847. In 1853 he was elected governor of the provisional government of "Nebraska territory," a nebulous organization promoted by certain members of the emigrant Indian tribes to safeguard their interests west of the Missouri river.⁴⁵ Although to the Free-State men, Walker was "completely broken down by intemperance," his election to the convention was a source of gratification to some in the area. One editor wrote,

Aside from his known and acknowledged ability, it is but right that the red men should have one of their own race in the convention which frames the organic law for the State of Kansas. They have a deep interest in the results of this constitutional movement, and need a representative bound to them by blood as well as by friendship . . . it will be the first instance in our history where the Indian participated in enacting the fundamental laws of a civilized State.⁴⁶

John Calhoun was the most controversial of the members of the Lecompton convention. As surveyor-general of Kansas and Nebraska territories, with headquarters at Lecompton, Calhoun had come to be regarded as the real power in the territorial government. Although a New Englander by birth, he had spent his entire life in Illinois where he became a close personal friend of both Abraham Lincoln, to whom he taught surveying, and Stephen A. Douglas, whose cause he served in local Illinois politics. He had been a member of the Illinois state legislature, mayor of Springfield for three terms and an unsuccessful candidate for congress before he was appointed to office in Kansas territory in 1854. Calhoun was elected president of the convention, a wise choice according to one correspondent who described him as "a discreet, conservative man . . . a gentleman of profound talents, and broad, liberal and comprehensive views."⁴⁷ To a second correspondent, he was "a clever democratic manager, a shrewd politician, and an astute and energetic laborer in the cause of conservative democracy."⁴⁸ He was regarded in the territory as a champion of the Proslavery cause. "Born and raised in the North," wrote one local editor, "his sympathies are all with the South, and he is to-day stronger on the

45. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), p. 85. See, also, William E. Connelley, *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory, Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society* (Lincoln, 1899), series 2, v. 3.

46. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857; *Kansas City (Mo.) Enterprise*, June 13, 1857.

47. Correspondence of the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, quoted in *New York Herald*, November 17, 1857.

48. *New York Times*, September 17, 1857.

slavery question than one half of those born and raised in the South.”⁴⁹ For the same reason, the Free-State element looked upon Calhoun with contempt. Preston Plumb described him as “a choice specimen of the *genus homo* known as political demagogue . . . his principal aim has been to advance ruffianism, annoy the Free State men, drink bad liquor and do the smallest amount of work possible.”⁵⁰ Much of the criticism of the Lecompton convention was heaped on Calhoun and his reputation and career was one of the principal casualties of the Lecompton movement.

Rush Elmore, “a keen party leader, an acute, high-minded, and well-disposed Southern Democrat,”⁵¹ was conceded even by the Free-State press to be a man of outstanding ability. An Alabaman by birth, Elmore had served in the Mexican War and practiced law in Montgomery in partnership with William Lowndes Yancey before being appointed by President Pierce to the supreme court of Kansas territory. He moved to Kansas shortly after his appointment with his family and 14 slaves, becoming one of the original proprietors of the town of Tecumseh in Shawnee county. Removed from office in the fall of 1855 because of alleged speculation in Indian lands, Elmore was reappointed to the supreme court by President Buchanan, and remained in this office until Kansas was admitted to the Union as a state in January, 1861. Even Plumb admitted that he was “decidedly the most talented of his profession ever appointed to office in Kansas,” although he hastily added that Elmore was nonetheless “unscrupulous and designing . . . a schemer [whose] physiognomy expresses a mixture of cunning and intellect, vigor and weakness, and animal passions, restrained by a desire to appear decent.”⁵²

One of the most important positions in the convention was the chairmanship of the committee on slavery. Not only was this committee charged with the responsibility of formulating the slavery provisions of the constitution, but it also was compelled to grapple with the submission issue. This important post fell to Hugh M. Moore, a young native of Georgia and a prominent Leavenworth attorney. Moore, in addition to occupying this key chairmanship,

49. *Lecompton Union*, November 20, 1856.

50. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857. Allan Nevins has accepted the Free-State estimate of Calhoun, describing him as a man whose “limited moral stamina had been weakened by whiskey,” with “florid face, swinish eyes, and Bardolph nose” and a “drink-fogged mind.”—*Emergence of Lincoln*, v. 1, pp. 230-233. For a brief biographical sketch of Calhoun, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 3, pp. 410, 411.

51. *New York Times*, September 17, 1857.

52. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857. Elmore remained in Kansas, practicing law in Topeka until his death in 1864. Elmore's career is described in John Martin, “Biographical Sketch of Judge Rush Elmore,” *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8 (1903-1904), pp. 435, 436.

had been elected vice-president of the convention. Calhoun, Elmore, and Moore led the submissionist forces in the convention and were responsible, more than any others, for the final compromise of the submission issue.⁵³

John Calhoun and Rush Elmore were not the only federal office holders to have seats in the Lecompton convention. Two men in the Indian service, Harvey Foreman and Daniel Vanderslice, were present at the deliberations. Foreman had been employed as a farmer for the Sac and Fox Indians in northeastern Kansas since 1844.⁵⁴ Daniel Vanderslice, a Pennsylvanian by birth and a newspaper editor in Kentucky before he moved to Kansas, had been appointed Indian agent to the Iowa, Sac, and Fox Indians by President Pierce in 1853, an appointment he held until Lincoln became President in 1861.⁵⁵

The number of newspaper editors elected to the Lecompton constitutional convention was indicative of the important role played by the press in frontier politics. Six of the delegates were associated in an editorial capacity with newspapers in the area. Perhaps the best known was Lucian J. Eastin, who, on October 20, 1854, became editor of the *Kansas Weekly Herald* which had been established in Leavenworth on September 15, the first newspaper in Kansas territory. Eastin had a long journalistic career behind him, having edited five different Missouri newspapers between 1834 and 1854. He left his post as editor of the *St. Joseph (Mo.) Gazette* in the fall of 1854 and crossed the river into the newly-opened Kansas territory. He identified himself immediately with his new home, helped to locate the town of Easton and was elected to the first territorial legislature. Although strongly Proslavery in politics, Eastin nevertheless commanded the respect of many Kansans, regardless of their political sympathies. The *Free-State Kansas News* described him as "polite and polished, compared to the majority of his colleagues," but added that Eastin was nevertheless "stout, gross looking and careless in his dress and appearance."⁵⁶ In 1859, with his cause lost, Eastin returned to Missouri where he edited a newspaper in Chillicothe. Much less respect was accorded one of Eastin's jour-

53. Of Moore's oratorical style, Plumb wrote, "Moore dealt much in metaphor, saved the Union about fifty times in each speech, and folded the starry flag around him so often that we feel sure that he wore that much abused banner all to pieces."—*Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857.

54. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16 (1923-1925), p. 729. Foreman's brother, John W. Foreman, was a member of the Free-State Wyandotte constitutional convention in 1859.

55. Martha B. Caldwell, ed., "Records of the Squatter Association of Whitehead District, Doniphan County," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 13 (February, 1944), p. 21; P. L. Gray, *Gray's Doniphan County History* (Bendena, Kan., 1905), pp. 41-43.

56. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857. For Eastin's biography, see Walter Bickford Davis and Daniel S. Durrie, *An Illustrated History of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1876), pp. 505, 506.

nalistic rivals in Leavenworth, 24-year-old John Dale Henderson, editor of the *Leavenworth Journal*. Little is known of Henderson, other than the fact that he aligned himself with the conservative group in the convention and was later, in December, arrested for falsifying election returns from a Leavenworth county precinct. By 1860 he had moved to Denver to participate in the gold rush there. To hostile Free-State observers, Henderson was a "tall, coarse looking man, [with a] light, freckled face, and features on which devotion to whisky and licentious habits are plainly written."⁵⁷

Alfred W. Jones, editor of the *Lecompton Union* and one of the delegates from Douglas county, had arrived in Kansas in 1855 at the head of a company of colonists from his native Virginia. Only 23 years old, he described himself as a Proslavery conservative. Jones ended his connection with the *Union* before the convention met, perhaps to take up the practice of law, and left Kansas after the defeat of the Lecompton constitution. By 1868 Jones had returned to the East, where he edited a New Jersey newspaper.⁵⁸ Samuel Reid, a delegate from Shawnee county, edited the Proslavery *Tecumseh Note Book*. Twenty-four years old and an Alabaman by birth, Reid also mixed the legal profession with his journalistic career. Thomas Jefferson Key had been editor of a newspaper in Tuscumbia, Ala., before he migrated with a group of colonists to Kansas territory. In Kansas he established the *Doniphan Constitutionalist*, a militant Proslavery Democratic paper. Key soon became convinced that the South was fighting a losing battle in Kansas; his own presses were dumped into the Missouri river by angry free-soilers. After the defeat of the Lecompton movement, he moved to Arkansas, where, as a member of the Arkansas state legislature in 1860, he voted for secession. In 1862 he enlisted in the Confederate army.⁵⁹ G. W. McKown, the sixth journalist in the convention, was one of two delegates listing Westport, Mo., as a home address. McKown was assistant editor of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star of Empire*.⁶⁰

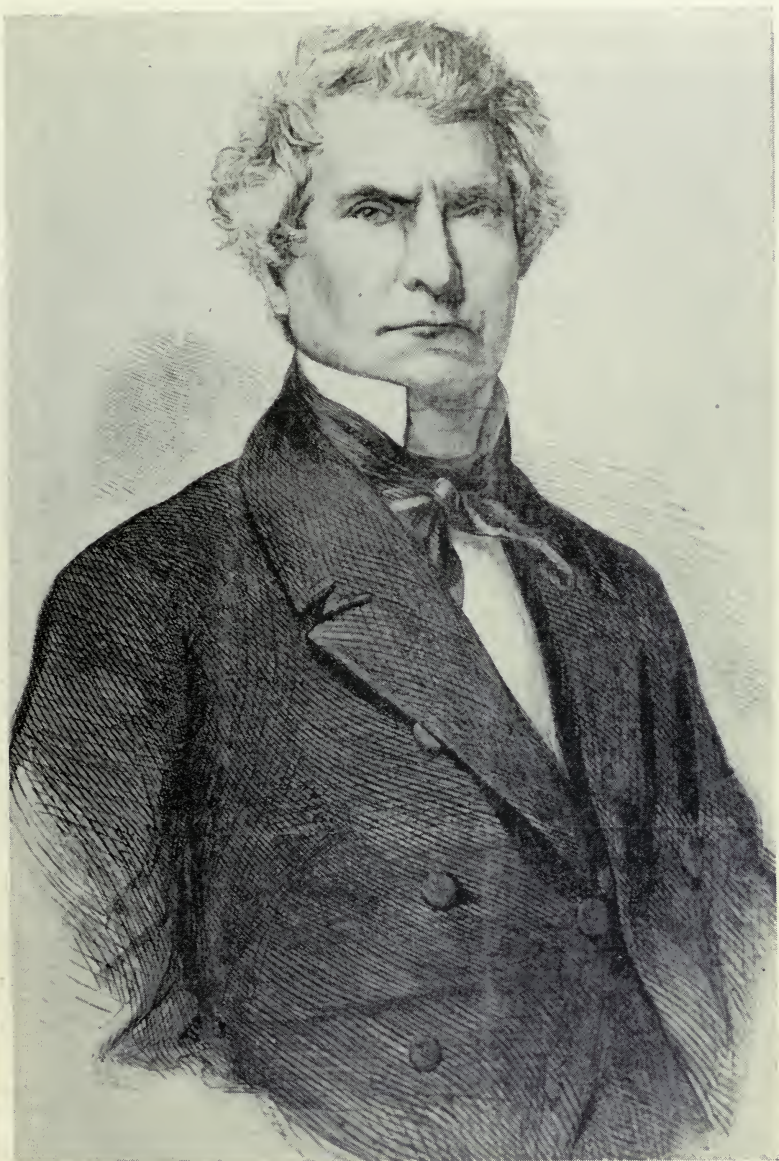
The Lecompton constitutional convention was not composed of recent arrivals in Kansas who had no roots in the territory or interest

57. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), p. 198; *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857.

58. Jones was responsible for the preservation of the engrossed draft of the Lecompton constitution. After his return to New Jersey, he presented it to the New Brunswick Historical Club. The club in turn permitted the constitution to become a part of the collections of the Rutgers University Library.—See L. Ethan Ellis, "The Lecompton Constitution," *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, New Brunswick, N. J., v. 3 (June, 1940), pp. 57-61. In September, 1957, the Lecompton constitution was returned to Kansas where it is now preserved in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society. (See pp. 244-247.)

59. See Cate, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4.

60. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857. The other resident of Westport in the convention was Batt. Jones.—*Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, September 9, 1857.



Gen. John Calhoun (1806-1859), president of the Lecompton constitutional convention, was a nationally-known Democrat who had been state surveyor of Illinois and mayor of Springfield. He came to Kansas in 1854 when President Pierce appointed him surveyor general of Kansas and Nebraska.

CONSTITUTION of the STATE OF KANSAS

Article 1

Section 1

Section 2

Section 3

Section 4

THE KANSAS CONSTITUTION WHICH INFLAMED THE NATION

The upper portion of the first page of the engrossed copy of the constitution drafted at LeCompton in the fall of 1857. The document, after 100 years, has been returned to the Kansas archives. (See p. 244.)

in its development. The stereotype of the Missouri "border ruffian" invading Kansas for the sole political purpose of making Kansas a slave state cannot be applied with accuracy to the membership in the Lecompton body. Most of the delegates had resided in Kansas since 1855, the year following the organization of the territory.⁶¹ At least seven of the members had settled in Kansas before the territorial government was organized in 1854. David Lykins established a Baptist mission among the Wea Indians in 1840, and two years later Henry Smith, delegate from Brown and Nemaha counties, settled in what became Johnson county, probably being connected in some way with the Indian service. William Walker arrived in 1843 with his tribe, and in the same year, Hiero T. Wilson became sutler at Fort Scott after serving nine years in a similar capacity at Fort Gibson. Harvey Foreman and Daniel Vanderslice settled in Kansas in 1844 and 1853 respectively, each holding appointments in the Indian service. M. Pierce Rively operated a trading post near Fort Leavenworth in 1852.⁶²

Many of those who gathered at Lecompton in the fall of 1857 played leading roles in the economic and social development of Kansas territory. Ten delegates had participated in the establishment of towns. Wathena, Richmond (in Nemaha county), Marysville, Palmetto (later absorbed by Marysville), Easton, Tecumseh, Iowa Point, Paola, and Fort Scott were founded either wholly or in part by members of the Lecompton convention.⁶³ Two of the delegates, Hiero Wilson, one of the founders of Fort Scott, and David Lykins had been honored by the territorial legislature when counties were organized bearing their names. Six members either incorporated or maintained ferries on Kansas streams and three had been appointed road commissioners.⁶⁴ When the territorial legislature authorized the organization of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Kansas Territory in 1855, four of the incorporators named in the act were men who later sat in the Lecompton convention.⁶⁵ At least two of the delegates, John W. Randolph and William S.

61. The date of settlement in Kansas of the members of the convention has been difficult to ascertain. Of the 55 members who attended the deliberations, at least 31 had settled in Kansas by 1855 and at least 20 of these were living in Kansas in 1854.

62. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas, 1541-1885*, p. 33; George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," *loc. cit.*, v. 2 (August, 1933), p. 274; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7 (1901-1902), p. 474; v. 9 (1905-1906), pp. 85, 569; v. 10 (1907-1908), p. 278; v. 16 (1923-1925), p. 729; Andreas and Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 459, 1065.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 494, 533, 881, 917, 942, 1071; Root, "Ferries in Kansas," *loc. cit.*, v. 2 (May, 1933), p. 134.

64. *Ibid.*, v. 2 (February, 1933), pp. 14, 19; (May, 1933), p. 184; (August, 1933), p. 278; (November, 1933), pp. 358, 359; v. 3 (February, 1934), pp. 22, 38.

65. William Walker, David Lykins, James Kuykendall, and Lucian J. Eastin.—See James C. Malin, "Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21 (Spring, 1955), p. 339.

Wells, had been preachers; David Lykins had been a missionary among the emigrant Indians.⁶⁶

Few of the members conformed to the popular conception of a "border ruffian" and some had actually suffered violence at the hands of Free-State individuals. Batt. Jones and G. W. McKown, the two delegates from Johnson county who resided in Missouri, probably came closest to being "border ruffians." Batt. Jones had the additional distinction of being an election judge at the Oxford precinct in Johnson county during the October territorial elections where over a thousand fraudulent votes were cast. The *Kansas News* described the 21-year-old Jones as "the *beau ideal* of a bully . . . Desperate looking, loud voiced and reckless, looks a character that we should not desire to meet on a dark night if our purse was well lined."⁶⁷ Two of the members, James Adkins and Jarrett Todd, had participated in the organization of the Platte County (Missouri) Self-Defensive Association in July, 1854, but each of them, unlike some others in the association, settled in Kansas shortly afterward and became identified with their new homes. John W. Martin was captain of the Kickapoo rangers, of which Adkins was also a member, a band of men organized to "protect" Kansas from abolition influences.⁶⁸

An examination of the membership of the Lecompton constitutional convention does not lend credence to the charge of the Lawrence newspaper editor that the meeting was one of "plug-uglies" and "felons" nor does it substantiate the conclusion of Allan Nevins that this was the "shabbiest" group of its kind in all of American history. At the same time, the talent and ability ascribed to the group by the Southern and Proslavery press does not seem justified. The body was, as the New York *Herald* correspondent had noted, one of "ordinary respectability," differing from numerous other frontier political conventions only in the one-sided political alignment represented.⁶⁹

The constitution produced by the convention was not a bad constitution. Like most such documents of the period, particularly

66. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857; Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

67. *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857.

68. *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1885), p. 633; *Kansas News*, Emporia, November 21, 1857.

69. Three constitutional conventions were meeting in widely separated frontier areas during the fall months of 1857. Besides the Lecompton convention, meetings were in session in Oregon territory and Minnesota territory. In Minnesota the efforts to draft a state constitution were hampered by an extreme amount of partisan rivalry and confusion, the convention itself splitting into two distinct groups. Lucian Eastin, a member of the Lecompton meeting, commented, "From news received from Saint Paul, Minnesota, we learn that they are having a most novel and interesting time up there. It seems that they are taking the wind out of our sails."—*Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, August 1, 1857.

those drawn up on the frontier, it was a "paste-pot" constitution, embodying elements from several older frames of government. Only in the manner of submission did the convention deviate from sound practice. In their attempt to extend the protection of the new government to the slave property already in Kansas, the convention delegates denied the populace an opportunity to pass on the constitution as a whole. The *New York Times* commented, at the conclusion of the deliberations, "It seems to be generally conceded that, in the main, and with the exception of the Slavery clause, the new Constitution of Kansas is not obnoxious to any very serious objection. Its provisions are substantially such as are embodied in all the more recent Constitutions of the other States."⁷⁰ Even the provision forbidding the amendment of the constitution before the year 1864 had precedent in the action of the Free-State element in Kansas. The Topeka state constitution, drafted by this group in 1855, forbade amendment until after 1865.⁷¹

The most serious indictment of the Lecompton convention seems to have been its unrepresentative character. The members of the convention, as the October elections so clearly indicated, did not represent the true sentiments of the people of Kansas territory. Yet the fact that the convention was wholly a Proslavery meeting cannot be blamed on the Proslavery members who were elected. The Free-State faction boycotted the election of delegates, thereby insuring a one-sided result. Actually there was no alternative for if the Free-State leaders had agreed to participate in the Lecompton movement, it would have meant giving up their own premature, unrepresentative, and extra-legal statehood movement.

The attitude of historians toward the convention has been molded in large part by the role the Lecompton constitution played in disrupting the pattern of American politics and in heightening sectional tension. At the end of October, 1857, the editor of the *New York Herald* wrote, "We await the issue of this Kansas pro-slavery Convention. It may be, as we expect, a fire-breathing monster, but it may, perhaps, be an innocent mouse."⁷² Not many months later when President Buchanan urged the admission of Kansas as a slave state the nation became aware that the Lecompton convention had indeed brought forth a monster.

70. *New York Times*, November 21, 1857.

71. See James C. Malin, "The Topeka Statehood Movement Reconsidered: Origins," *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial* (Lawrence, 1954), pp. 64, 65.

72. *New York Herald*, October 30, 1857.

The Original Lecompton Constitution Returns To Kansas After 100 Years

THE original Lecompton constitution, historic Proslavery document of Kansas territory which inflamed the nation 100 years ago, has been returned to the area of its origin. In September, 1957, the Kansas State Historical Society received the constitution as a gift from the New Brunswick Historical Club of New Brunswick, N. J. For many years this priceless Kansas item has been held for the New Jersey organization by the library of Rutgers University. Dr. Richard P. McCormick of the club and of the Rutgers history department, and Donald A. Sinclair of the library were instrumental in returning it to Kansas.

The circumstances of the constitution's removal to the Eastern seaboard still are not known. On October 29, 1875, the constitution was presented to the New Brunswick Historical Club by Col. Alfred W. Jones, then of Woodbridge, N. J.¹ Jones, one of the members of the Lecompton constitutional convention, was a delegate from Douglas county. Since he was neither president nor secretary of the convention, it can only be surmised why the constitution remained in his possession for the years between the adjournment of the convention and the presentation to the New Brunswick group.

Jones first arrived in Kansas in 1855 as a member of an emigrant party from Virginia and on May 3, 1856, with C. A. Faris, began publication of the Lecompton *Union*. He continued in that capacity for nearly a year, publishing his "valedictory" in the April 11, 1857, number of the newspaper. He remained in Lecompton for several months and engaged in the practice of law but it cannot be established definitely when he ceased to be a resident of the town. The advertisement for his law office does not appear in the Lecompton newspaper, then the *National Democrat*, after the issue of January 28, 1858, but it is possible that he remained in the territory beyond that date.

Jones was one of the more conservative members of the Lecompton convention—an assemblage which contained some of the arch Proslaveryites of the territory. His party affiliation was given as "Democrat" rather than "Ultra States Rights" or "Proslavery" but

1. Ethan Ellis, "The Lecompton Constitution," *The Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, v. 3 (June, 1940), pp. 57-61.

even so he came in for his share of criticism from the rabid Free-State press.

Preston B. Plumb, editor of *The Kansas News*, Emporia, in the issue of November 21, 1857, labelled the movement "the traitors' convention." He published a "Roll of Infamy," and wrote brief sketches of some of the members. While Jones was not as roughly denounced as men like John Calhoun, president of the convention, Plumb did write the following paragraph about him:

A. W. Jones, of Lecompton, formerly of Virginia—a lawyer, ex-editor of the defunct *Union*, and a sound National Democrat. Jones is good looking, twenty-three, talented, *very* ambitious, cunning and reserved. A pretty good speaker—his aim seemed to be to impress upon the Free State reporters who were present, the fact that he was in favor of submitting the whole Constitution to the people for adoption or rejection. In reality he was most active in pushing through the dodge submission, being the secret log-roller of that party. He will be heard from again.

The "dodge submission" mentioned by Plumb was the provision that the constitution be submitted to a popular vote, with the ballots marked "Constitution with Slavery," and "Constitution with no Slavery." This meant that the people were not to be allowed to vote on the constitution itself. Neither would a victory for the second alternative mean what it said, for only the *extension* of slavery was to be prohibited. Slave property already in Kansas in either case was *not to be interfered with*. So the 200 or 300 slaves then in Kansas, and their descendants, were consigned to continued servitude, no matter whether Kansas voted for or against slavery.² No wonder, then, that the howls which arose in Kansas reverberated throughout the nation and in the halls of congress. This furor, coupled with the persistent efforts of the Buchanan administration to persuade Kansas to accept the constitution, explains why all United States political histories inevitably mention the Lecompton constitution.

Jones apparently moved to Missouri soon after the close of the convention. On March 23, 1858, at Independence, Mo., he married Julia Lawrence of that city where he engaged in the practice of law.

On May 18, 1861, Jones was made a lieutenant colonel in the Missouri state guard on Sterling Price's staff. It was later stated by Jones' political supporters in New Jersey that he had deserted the Confederate cause in October, 1861. However, Confederate records show that he was still with the Missouri forces in December, 1861, and probably through the first few months of 1862. In

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

February, 1863, he was in Union custody and was investigated by Gen. B. F. Loan, commanding the central district of Missouri. Loan, who had known Jones before the Civil War, decided that he no longer had any sympathy with the "rebel cause" and paroled him.³

In 1868 he appeared as an editorial partner in the *Middlesex County Democrat*, Perth Amboy, N. J. In November of that same year he was elected to the New Jersey state assembly from Middlesex county. In April, 1876, he started *The Independent Hour*, a newspaper at Woodbridge, N. J., which he published until the summer of 1879.⁴

Jones, in his letter of presentation to the New Brunswick Historical Club which accompanied the constitution, did not explain why the document was in his possession. He addressed the club on the subject of the constitutional convention and its aftermath on November 4, 1875, and the New Brunswick *Daily Fredonian* carried a lengthy article about his speech the following day.

It reported that Col. Jones was a "very fine orator, and his speech . . . was an excellent production." The newspaper went on to say that Jones was planning to deliver the speech in New England, presumably on a tour of some sort, and the reporter felt that it would not offend the New Englanders because it did not have any of the "hot-headed Southern in it." Although the *Fredonian* reported extensively on the Kansas situation of 1857 and mentioned Brown, Lane, Pomeroy, Calhoun and numerous other prominent names of the territorial period it neglected to shed further light on Colonel Jones' career between 1858 and 1868.

There is one course of conjecture which might explain Jones' possession of the manuscript. Someone possibly had to take the constitution to Washington, D. C., in late 1857 or early 1858 for presentation to President Buchanan and the Congress. The Lecompton *National Democrat* files in the Kansas State Historical Society are not complete but the issues are representative of December, 1857, and January and February, 1858, and no mention is made in them of anyone acting as a courier for the constitution. Neither does the *Congressional Globe* list any Kansas names on February 2, 1858, the day that Buchanan sent the constitution to Congress for con-

3. Information about Jones' marriage and his service with Price and the Missouri state guard is taken from a letter written to Robert W. Richmond, state archivist, by Donald A. Sinclair of the Rutgers University library, September 20, 1957. Sinclair has been a student of Jones' career for several years and obtained his information from newspapers and Confederate records in the National Archives.

4. Ellis, *loc. cit.*, p. 61.

sideration. It is possible that Jones was the messenger—or one of the messengers—to Washington and that after the constitution's rejection he retained custody of the document.

The constitution is written on eight large sheets of parchment each of which are approximately $23\frac{1}{2}$ by $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The ink has faded with the passage of a century but the writing remains legible. The final page of the document bears the signatures of the delegates to the convention—including, of course, that of Mr. Jones.

Thomas Benton Murdock and William Allen White

ROLLA A. CLYMER

BUTLER county, in its long history—some say 100 years, some say 90—has been the home and working arena of numerous accomplished newspaper men and women.

El Dorado has had its full share of these—and it is significant that the most eminent were writers, gifted ones who wafted the glory of the Walnut valley and the Kingdom of Butler into far places.

Many of them were of pioneer persuasion. None of them ever knew wealth in any form. Few of them experienced even competence or comfort in worldly affairs. All of them were accustomed to grinding toil, to hardship in the routine of their vocation, and even to personal danger.

But all of them were filled with zeal for their work, and sustained with pride in the products of their art. So they came with their few fonts of type and their hand presses and other rude tools of their craft—and helped to write some stirring pages of Kansas history that shall forever shine with their ardor and their valiance.

It would be interesting, perhaps highly valuable in an historic sense, for someone, some day, to chronicle carefully the lives and works of these competent newspaper folk, who made valuable contribution to the sturdy progress that Butler has always known.

Today, however, we are concerned with only two of them—but those two among the most noteworthy of all, whose lives were singularly bound together by professional ties as well as long-enduring and affectionate personal relationship.

The elder of these was Thomas Benton Murdock, a figure of marked charm and character, whose color still gleams after the passage of many years. He was a power both politically and editorially in a period during which Kansas, after having thrown off its sod-breaking shackles, was seeking to blossom into the full stature of statehood. The times were hard, the public economy was weak, revolution and rebellion against established custom were in the air.

ROLLA A. CLYMER, of El Dorado, the 1956-1957 president of the Kansas State Historical Society, is editor of the *El Dorado Times*.

This paper was the address he delivered at the dedication of a plaque on the site of the historic home of the *El Dorado Republican*, at ceremonies held by the Eureka Federal Savings and Loan Assn., in El Dorado on March 17, 1957.

Through this troubled scene, Mr. Murdock strode with calm mien and superb assurance. He was a born leader; he had faith in himself, and a way with people. He was friendly and down to earth in his contacts, and was made to be esteemed and admired. While he had enemies who worked at the job, few hated him with bitter intensity.

He was a handsome man, above middle height and built thick-about through the chest. As a lowly cub around the office of the *Emporia Gazette*, I remember seeing him many times. He had the "full, round, ruddy face of a man who loved good living, and the soft voice of one who persuaded rather than commanded." He was always faultlessly dressed, his collar flaring out to points and his cravat neatly tied, and he invariably wore a flower in his lapel.

He had suffered snow blindness during his army campaigning in the Rockies, and this affliction bothered him all the rest of his life. So he never appeared without glasses—and behind these glasses his kindly eyes twinkled with a canny and complete understanding of human kind.

He was born in the mountains of Virginia in 1841. His parents could not endure the iniquity of slavery, so freed their slaves and went to Ohio in 1849. After some wanderings, they came to Kansas—to Topeka—in the winter of 1856-1857—just 100 years ago.

They kept a tavern—and young Benton grew up in the company of Jim Lane, A. D. Stevens, and other famous border fighters. The family finally settled permanently near Emporia.

When the Civil War broke out, Benton enlisted with his father and brother, Roland, in the Ninth Kansas cavalry but was discharged in 1863 because of illness. Returning from the army, he learned the printing trade after having served as a hod carrier and a general workman around Topeka in his youth. He worked in the office of the *Emporia News*, then owned by P. B. Plumb—later a famous Kansas senator—and Jacob Stotler. His brother, Marshall, who later founded the *Wichita Eagle*, was then running the *Burlingame Chronicle*.

Benton came to El Dorado, and on March 4, 1870, founded the *Walnut Valley Times* with J. S. Danford.

His first wife was Frances Crawford, the sweetheart of his boyhood, and Mary Alice Murdock (Pattison) became the survivor of their marriage. The wife and mother died in a tragic ending after ten years. Mr. Murdock then was married to Marie Antoinette Culbreth. They had five children, but only Ellina Murdock Starke, who died several years ago, survived to womanhood.

From the first, Mr. Murdock became a political leader in this county. In 1876, he was elected a member of the state senate. There he served with many of the distinguished men of that day both in the house and the senate. In 1880 he was defeated for re-election, unfairly he thought, so sold the *Times* to Alvah Shelden, moved to Topeka and became connected with the *Daily Commonwealth*.

But the lure of El Dorado still held him, and in 1883 he returned to this town and founded the *El Dorado Republican*. The daily edition followed the weekly in 1884, and the paper at once took a prominent place among Kansas publications.

Thus, Mr. Murdock established in this town the two papers which comprise the roots of the present *El Dorado Times*, as that paper came into being by merger of the two elder ones on December 1, 1919. These roots go back to the early date of 1870.

It is related that Mr. Shelden felt aggrieved when Mr. Murdock returned to start the *Republican*. Mr. Shelden claimed that Mr. Murdock had made a promise never to engage in the newspaper business in El Dorado, after selling the *Walnut Valley Times*. Whatever the truth of that contention, these two men—both strong, able leaders—were bitter enemies all the rest of their days.

In 1888 Mr. Murdock was again elected to the state senate. He was a member of the committee that tried Theodosius Botkin and canvassed the county-seat troubles of western Kansas. He was upset by the Populist and Farmers' Alliance wave in 1892, and never ran for office again. At the end of his career he was named state fish and game warden by Governor Stubbs. He took office on July 5, 1909, and died November 4 of the same year.

Volney P. Mooney's *History of Butler County, Kansas* praises Mr. Murdock in warm and cordial fashion. The late Judge Mooney wrote: "He was a public man all the time. His influence on the state was more rather than less because of the fact that he was not in office. In every Republican State convention for forty years Mr. Murdock has been a power of the first class."

That power and influence reached its zenith when he was in the state senate, for he was leader among the forces that ruled the roost in those days. That was a period in which all public officials, as well as most politicians of sorts, rode on railroad passes. But Mr. Murdock warranted much more than a pass; he had a private car—and when it rolled into El Dorado and stood on a siding while he spent a day or two at home, it was the focus of monumental pride and interest.

W. A. White said impishly in his *Autobiography* that even after Mr. Murdock was named fish and game warden, he still had his private car—though it was the car in which young fish were delivered from the state hatchery at Pratt to various points around Kansas.

Again Judge Mooney testified: "As an editor he was equipped as few men are equipped—with an individual style. He expressed something more than an idea. He reflected an ideal plus a strong, unique personality. He therefore in a way dramatized whatever he wrote—made it the spoken word of a combatant in the conflict.

William Allen White is also on record as saying: ". . . he taught me more than anyone before him to write short sentences, to use simple common words, to say exactly what I meant in the vernacular. . . ."

An illuminating aside about Mr. Murdock was related by Mr. White, also in the *Autobiography*. A noted criminal lawyer had made an eloquent plea in a court trial, and White had written a full column about it. Next day, the lawyer slipped a \$5 bill into White's hand.

Feeling conscience stricken and that he had been bribed and corrupted, the young reporter went to Mr. Murdock, told the story and asked, "What shall I do?"

The old man looked at me quizzically and broke out: "Tried to bribe my reporters, eh? The damned scoundrell! Hasn't he got any moral sense left?" He saw the bill still in my hand and said: "Willie, give me that bill. By Godfrey's diamonds, plowing with my heifer, eh? I'll show him he can't buy my reporters." And slipping the bill into his pocket, he gave me the funniest, quizzicalest and chucklingest smile, and added, "Now go to work." He kept the bill!

And that reminds that Murdock, who was indifferent to business matters, was always hard up. He loved his fleshpots, and he never lowered his standard of good living, but he had to borrow from Peter to pay Paul, he always owed the banks—and there was never enough money to go around. His managers, like Sumpter Smith and Earl Forgy, had to "steal" money out and carry it in separate accounts to pay paper and material bills. But Mr. Murdock was serene and though he often was hagridden for lack of ready cash, he never failed to carry on in the comfortable way of life he set for himself.

Judge Mooney further related that Murdock always stood by the home folks. Of course he took part in local matters, and having taken part he had to take sides. He was never neutral in any

important contest here at home. But he always fought in the open, and he always fought fair. He never abused a man. He attacked causes, movements, administrations . . . [but not the personal character of his opponents]. He had no newspaper fights. . . . He had no office blacklist. . . . Many [a county] politician . . . in the old days . . . fought Mr. Murdock knowing he could depend upon [him] . . . to keep to the issue, to be silent on old scores, to leave personal matters out of the question.

The other El Dorado and Butler county editor we consider today, of course, was William Allen White.

He had his first newspaper training in this town, and it led him into a career that reached the heights. No editor in the history of this state—which has produced outstanding members of the profession at all its ages—ever attained the breadth and quality of fame that came to him.

Mr. White was born in Emporia on February 10, 1868, the son of Dr. Allen White and Mary Hatten. "Old Doc" White was an individualist—a story in himself—a vocal Democrat in days when members of that party were almost poison in Kansas, and variously a doctor, a trader, and a merchant. Both the father and mother were well long toward middle age when "Willie" was born.

Shortly after "Willie's" birth, "Doc" White, who was always restless, came "down the Warnut" southwest from Emporia and established a store in what was then the straggling village of El Dorado. The White *Autobiography* relates this incident:

On the journey I came within an ace of my life. It was spring. The creeks were swollen. We were traveling by spring wagon. We were crossing a stream and missed the ford. The wagon lurched. I was wrapped in a big, brown shawl and was thrown into the swiftly moving spring flood. For two or three seconds I floated, and in those seconds I was rescued by the driver of the team and went on my way rejoicing in my deep, infantile sleep."

From the age of two until he finally went to work in Kansas City when he was 24 or 25, barring absences while he was off at college or the University, Mr. White lived in this town. Thus, he spent nearly a third of his life in the beautiful Valley of the Walnut. Here he romped and rollicked through the "Court of Boyville," drinking deep the heady bead of adventures which he later recreated in a book by that name. And here he came under the influence of "Bent" Murdock.

His own father died when he was about 14 years old. The Whites and Murdocks were closely akin in the little town. Murdock was the elder White's best friend. Will White, seeing the Murdocks every day and being a companion to their little crippled

daughter, Alice, was to all intents and purposes a member of the family. And so White wrote:

He [Murdock] was my foster father. Because my father held him as his little brother Benjamin, he took me as his spiritual child. I was proud of him, grafted him into the wound that death had left when my father went, and gave him a son's affection and respect which I never withheld.

Again White wrote:

Across the years, he stands before me, looking down over his glittering bifocal glasses, and making humorous self-deprecating noises, not words, more than grunts but less than giggles, framed by funny grimaces, when confronted with some shortcoming. Then he turns away airily sighing, "Well—oh, well—I guess we're all poor sinners!" and shuffles away.

It is a temptation to relate a number of Mr. White's joyous experiences in this town of the early days—this microcosm of Kansas pioneer life, which was decidedly not all grief and affliction but gilded heavily with joy and good cheer. Yet time will not permit that indulgence, so only a few brief high lights may be noted.

White learned to set type at Emporia during his college days, and his first newspaper job in El Dorado was under T. P. Fulton of the *El Dorado Democrat*—another intriguing character.

Then later, one summer between school terms, he went to work for Mr. Murdock at the *El Dorado Republican* for what he called the "princely" salary of \$8 a week. He served as reporter, general roustabout, and boss of the carriers. Still later, as he developed, he drew \$18 a week—when Murdock went off on political excursions and put him in charge of the paper.

He tells that once, when he was home for the summer, the "boys" took him on a raid on Sandifer's melon patch. It was a put-up job. Just as the young vandals began their melon thumping, one of the elder Sandifers started blasting with his shotgun. White said: "And I, who in childhood's happy hour had been regarded as a good second-class runner by my innocent companions, started out, fleet of wing as Eden's garden bird. Lord, how I ran!"

White had trouble with higher mathematics at the university, and consequently never received enough credits to enable him to graduate. But, friends of that period have reported, he spent more time with books than he did in classroom work.

When he finally left El Dorado, he worked a year or two for both the old *Journal* and the *Star* in Kansas City—his talent constantly expressing itself and a mild fame growing up about him. And then, in 1895, he bought the *Emporia Gazette* from Billy Morgan—and was firmly set on the way to glory.

This chronicle today need not recount the steps by which he rose. All of you, in a general way, and some in particular fashion, are familiar with the manner in which he increased his stature and broadened his favor with God and man. Suffice it to say, that in his middle 40's a scant 20 years after he located in Emporia—he was a figure of national prominence.

None of the numerous able contemporaries of his day approached the dimension of his talent. He set the standard for professional competency, as well as a wide understanding of men and affairs, that not only encompassed the Kansas, but the American, heart.

Sometimes we hear the remark that someone of the writing craft hereabouts is "another William Allen White." Nothing could be more carelessly said nor farther from the truth. In his day he stood supreme among the writers of his field for individual color, for clarity, and for stirring vigor of expression. Ellery Sedgwick has said of him that he was "as authentic a saint as ever wrote American."

He gave the country press a lustre which it had not hitherto attained; there was not an editorial chair in the country which he could not have graced.

He was hugely gifted by talents above the run of ordinary men—and wielded dominance in three fields of endeavor:

In newspaper making,

In literary accomplishment, and

In the arena of politics and government, where he fought more valiantly for causes than for men.

I was fortunate to be in his employ for seven years at an impressive stage of my life. Not only did he influence me profoundly, but he gave me the kindest and most generous personal consideration. I have always looked upon him as a foster father of my own. It was at his urging that I came to El Dorado. I had held other plans in mind. I wanted to go to the *Kansas City Star*—where a job had been offered me.

In the years when I was a *Gazette* reporter, the paper was small. What gave it essential and outstanding distinction was the omnipresence of Mr. White himself. He literally—to employ his own expression—"ran about the paper in his shirt sleeves." It was not alone the daily swing and sweep of his powerful editorials that lifted the *Gazette* from the ruck, but that his capable hands were busy in every nook and corner of the *Gazette's* being.

He burst in every morning with suggestions for timely news stories, which usually meant that the town's sacred cows were in for

another distressing series of shocks and outrages. He interpolated straight-away news copy here and there with some twist of his own that raised ordinary reporting to a high level. Upon occasion, he and Walt Mason would collaborate in blocking out display heads in rhyme—the main line and decks and sub-decks all forming a true jingle. I have never seen anyone else do this.

He himself worked with blazing fury. When something hot was coming off the griddle of his nimble mind, his flying fingers beat a tattoo on his old double-keyboard Smith-Premier that was little short of plain assault.

Many golden memories flood back from those years around the *Gazette* office, and I have time to recount only one or two of them. His comebacks in conversation were lightning thrusts of wit.

Once I hesitatingly told him that a shady politician, who thought he was running for congress but wasn't, had hinted that he might take me to Washington as his private secretary, in the event of his election.

Whereat, Mr. White gave vent to a roaring, gusty laugh as he exclaimed: "Boy, all you private secretaries to Joe Boltz ought to get together and hold a mass meeting."

Then again, I mentioned to him the quick and fat profit a certain miserly fellow had made on a land deal, and he flashed out with a grin: "Well, Rolla, the Lord shows how little he thinks of money by the kind of folks he gives it to."

During the years after I left his employ, he wrote me a total of more than two hundred letters—messages of friendliness and wisdom and faith.

Occasionally he would drop an offhand line to say that Joe Dobbins might be good material for attorney-general or lieutenant-governor, and that I might profitably look into his qualifications. Then, after I had done so and had timidly written a few words to the effect that Joe might shed glamor on the state service, Mr. White would pick up my remarks in his column.

Observing, in the manner of one making a great discovery, that "the papers around the state" were beginning to mention Joe Dobbins, he would forge ahead in slashing, 12-cylinder fashion to boost the candidate he had already hand-picked and launched upon his trail to the stars.

Thus, all the way and in many phases, his life was shed over mine as a great benediction. Nothing could ever come to me in the way of honor or riches or fame that would outweigh the encompassing friendship which he so bountifully extended.

One of his contemporaries has said of him: "He may not have been the greatest man that Kansas has ever produced, but undoubtedly he was the Kansan to have the greatest effect upon the country as a whole."

The world of William Allen White was spun from out his heart—a glowing, gorgeous, fervent heart—which keenly perceived all the lust and cruelty and evil with which this earth is encrusted, and yet—through the surpassing richness of his own character—made of it, for himself and others, a world of beauty and of joyousness and of love.

So, my friends, I have tried to give to you here today a picture of two men of unusual traits and sterling achievements whose lives ran partly parallel in what was once the little town of El Dorado. They lived and worked and complemented each other in the publication of a newspaper which was long housed in a building, standing upon a portion of the ground where this handsome, modern edifice has now been reared.

The officers and directors of the Eureka Federal Savings and Loan association, I believe, have performed a gracious act as well as one helpful historically, by having installed a suitable plaque which commemorates enduringly the names and fame of these two gifted men.

For myself, I have always felt a sense of unfitness and of futility in trying to carry on the destinies of a newspaper which grew partially out of the product which they so consummately created.

Today, we dedicate that plaque and its stirring memories, not so much by formal words of expression, as by the abiding gratitude and admiration that moves our hearts.

TWO FAMOUS KANSAS NEWSPAPERMEN OF OLD EL DORADO



Thomas Benton Murdock
(1841-1909)

Courtesy Charles E. Heilmann.



William Allen White
(1868-1944)
About 1910.

The Story of Fort Larned

WILLIAM E. UNRAU

ONE of the motives that prompted the government to construct a fortification at the confluence of Pawnee creek and the Arkansas river was to provide a base from which troops might protect Santa Fe trail commerce in an area that was notorious as an Indian rendezvous. Equally important was the desire for a more centralized annuity distribution point to carry out the government's treaty obligations to the Plains Indians.

In the years 1822-1843, the monetary value of the Santa Fe commerce averaged over \$130,000 per year, making a total of nearly \$3,000,000 for the 21 years. The last year before the Mexican ports were closed (1843) saw \$450,000 worth of goods being shipped, involving 250 wagons and 350 men. In this 21-year period, however, only three official military escorts were provided.¹

The acquisition of vast new stretches of territory through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided an added impetus to traffic. The trade in 1859, according to one source, had risen to \$10,000,000 annually. The *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, reported that between March 1 and July 31 2,300 men, 1,970 wagons, 840 horses, 4,000 mules, 15,000 oxen, 73 carriages, and over 1,900 tons of freight left Missouri for New Mexico. These were exclusive of the gold seekers who "were too numerous to count."² With such a volume, it became obvious that some type of fortification was needed between Forts Riley and Leavenworth and Forts Bent and Union.

As white settlements became more numerous in Texas during the 1840's, depredations by Indians increased. The belligerent attitude of the people of Texas forced large groups of Kiowa and Comanche Indians to relocate farther north, especially along the heavily traveled Santa Fe trail. William Bent, agent for the Upper Arkansas Indians, in a letter to A. M. Robinson, superintendent of Indian affairs for the Central Superintendency at St. Louis, reported on October 5, 1859, that he had encountered 2,500 Kiowa and Comanche warriors at the mouth of Walnut creek (25 miles east of

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1. Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York; Francis P. Harper, 1902), v. 2, pp. 588, 589 (quoting the figures of Josiah Gregg).

2. Walker Wyman, "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 1 (1931-1932), p. 24.

Pawnee Fork). Bent also stated that he had witnessed, to October of 1859, 60,000 white people along the trail.³

A. B. Greenwood, commissioner of Indian affairs, in his annual report (1859), enlarged upon the critical relations between Indians and travelers on the trail. He attributed the accelerated traffic to the discovery of gold in the Pike's Peak region, and his report pointed out the difficulty the Indians were having to maintain their natural subsistence.⁴

The location of Fort Larned at Pawnee Fork was the choice of William Bent. In his appeal for military protection, he stated,

I consider it essential to have two permanent stations for troops, one at the mouth of Pawnee Fork, and one at Big Timbers, both upon the Arkansas River. . . . To control them [the Indians], it is essential to have among them the perpetual presence of a controlling military force.⁵

There was no legal barrier to the establishment of a permanent military post and mail escort station.⁶ By the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1851 the Cheyenne-Arapaho reserve came as far east as the 101st meridian and the eastern Indian reserve line was approximately the 97th meridian.⁷ The area where Fort Larned was to be located was government held land, being free from any binding Indian treaty.

On October 22, 1859, Maj. Henry Wessels arrived at Pawnee Fork with two companies of United States infantry. This group began the actual construction of "Camp on the Pawnee Fork," as the first Fort Larned was named. The exact location of this installation was at the base of Lookout Hill (now known as Jenkins Hill), on the south side of the Pawnee, eight miles from its confluence with the Arkansas river.⁸ Major Wessels was aided by Company K of the United States cavalry, under the command of Capt. George H. Stewart. This company had been busy during the summer patrolling the region between Cow creek and Fort Union.⁹

A description of the first structures of "Camp on the Pawnee Fork" is given in Capt. Lambert Wolf's diary,

3. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1859*, pp. 138, 139.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

6. The need for a mail escort station along the trail appears to have been another motive for the building of Fort Larned. An official mail route survey was instigated along the Santa Fe trail, the route being selected by Jacob Hall with L. J. Berry as official surveyor. The route, as designed in 1858, was to begin at Wyandotte and terminate at Pawnee Fork. The record of this survey to October, 1859, shows that at this date the farthest penetration was to Durham, roughly halfway to Pawnee Fork.—*See Twenty-Seventh Biennial Report of the Kansas Historical Society (1928-1930)*, p. 23.

7. James C. Malin, "Indian Policy and Westward Expansion," *University of Kansas Humanistic Studies*, Lawrence, v. 2 (1921), facing p. 103.

8. George A. Root, ed., "Extracts From the Diary of Captain Lambert Bowman Wolf," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 1 (1931-1932), p. 204.

9. Merrill J. Mattes, ed., "Patrolling the Santa Fe Trail: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan," *ibid.* (Winter, 1955), pp. 583, 584.

October 23, plans are made for the horse and cattle stable, also for officers' and company quarters, all of which are to be built of sod, cut with spades by members of our company. Our stable [probably meaning fortification] is to be 100 feet square . . . wall 12 feet high. . . .¹⁰

These plans, however, apparently were deferred for several months, since as late as July 22, 1860, a letter from Camp Alert (as the installation was then called), failed to note anything more permanent than tents in the fort.¹¹

The forces of Stewart and Wessels remained at "Camp on the Pawnee Fork" until November 27, 1859, when they were relieved by a detail of 40 men under the command of one Lieutenant Bell, whose specific instructions were to act as a construction crew for the permanent site.¹² Some time during the period from October 22, 1859, until the midsummer of 1860, the original plans to construct a permanent sod fort were carried out at a new location three miles west.¹³ The new location had the natural advantage of being located on the south side of the Pawnee, with a big bend of the creek affording a natural barrier on two sides.

Just prior to the completion of the sod buildings and earth works, the post was given its third and lasting name, Fort Larned. On May 29, 1860, pursuant to General Order No. 14, the post was named Fort Larned, in honor of Col. Benjamin F. Larned, paymaster of the United States army.¹⁴ The reservation was four miles square, but the official survey was never carried out.¹⁵

On April 24, 1860, Major Wessels left Fort Riley to return to the nearly completed fortification with 160 men who had been based at Fort Riley.¹⁶ Some of these recruits left immediately on a campaign against the Kiowas and Comanches.¹⁷ Obviously the new commander was wasting no time attempting to make the government's new investment pay dividends.

10. Root ". . . Diary of Captain Lambert Bowman Wolf," *loc. cit.*

11. *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, August 2, 1860.

12. *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 9 (1906), p. 572.

13. "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum . . .," *ibid.*, v. 11 (1910), pp. 562, 563.

14. Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, A Cyclopedia of State History* . . . (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), v. 1, p. 663.

15. "Report on Barracks and Hospitals," *Report of the Surgeon General, 1870*, p. 299. According to General Order Number 22, Headquarters, Department of Missouri, 1867, 16 square miles were "laid out," the exact center of the reservation being the northwest corner of the commanding officer's quarters that were constructed in 1867.—See *Larned Eagle-Optic*, November 10, 1899.

16. *Correspondence of John Sedgwick, Major-General* (De Vinne Press, 1903), v. 2, p. 11.

17. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, August 2, 1860.

INDIAN RELATIONS AT FORT LARNED

By the Treaty of Fort Atkinson (1853), the Kiowas and Comanches accepted annuities amounting to \$18,000 a year for a ten-year period, the distribution point for these annuities to be at Beaver creek in present-day Oklahoma.¹⁸ Since this station was to be a temporary one, and since Bent had stated in his October 5, 1859, report that the Kiowas and Comanches desired an annuity distribution station on the Arkansas, it is reasonable to assume that Fort Larned was an official Indian post as early as 1860. To support this assumption is the fact that Col. Jesse Leavenworth at Fort Larned was known to be sending reports about these Indians in 1861.¹⁹

Efforts to relocate the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes farther south came in 1860, the year that Fort Larned was under construction. In this year congress authorized the negotiation of a treaty to take place at Fort Wise²⁰ on the Arkansas. Initial parleys with several Indian chiefs left the opinion that there was little hope that a permanent treaty would be drawn up.²¹ This proved false, for on February 18, 1861, the Fort Wise treaty was concluded with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians of the Upper Arkansas. The treaty authorized annual payments and it provided for a new reservation farther south that would initiate these Indians to an agricultural economy.²²

Fort Lyon was located in this reservation and was headquarters for these Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Great difficulty was experienced in keeping the Indians confined to a permanent location, as evidenced by the report of a large group of Indians camped near Fort Larned on August 5, 1862.²³ Since this group included tribes of Cheyennes and Arapahoes, it is reasonable to assume that Fort Larned was storing and handing out annuities under the Fort Wise treaty. In support of this assumption is the fact that Fort Larned was much closer to Forts Riley and Leavenworth, the general supply depots for Indian annuities, and as such, the freight to Fort Larned would have been considerably less than to Fort Lyon.

18. Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), v. 2, p. 446.

19. George B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 121.

20. Named for the governor of Virginia. After Virginia seceded, it was renamed Fort Lyon after Nathaniel Lyon, Union military hero.

21. *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2d Sess., November 30, 1860, appendix, p. 26.

22. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863*, p. 617. A map of this reservation is found in "Map of the Public Lands, States and Territories From the Surveys in the General Land Office, 1864"—*Ibid.*, 1864.

23. Joyce Farlowe and Louise Barry, eds., "Vincent B. Osborne's Civil War Experiences," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (May, 1952), p. 132.

With the establishment of Fort Larned, the roving Indians began, for awhile, to respect the trail commerce. In August, 1861, Colonel Leavenworth, reporting from Fort Larned, stated that the Indians had left the Santa Fe trail area and that there was no apprehension of any hostilities in the near future.²⁴ In the following spring, however, Fort Larned very nearly became directly involved in the Civil War. In May, 1862, Gen. Albert Pike, Confederate officer in Texas, arranged an alliance with some Kiowas and a group of renegade Seminoles. This alliance had as its design the seizure of Forts Larned and Wise by these Indians. Nothing came of this, since as soon as the weather permitted, the Indians left for their annual hunt.²⁵

In June of the same year, Fort Larned's small garrison was threatened by a large group of hostile Indians. Squadrons B and C of the Second Kansas cavalry under the command of Captain Whittenhall were sent from Fort Riley to bolster the fort.²⁶ A group of traders had induced some Cheyennes and Arapahoes to attempt the seizure of their annuities before they were to be issued. This incident, which took place in August, 1862, was thwarted by the ever watchful Colonel Leavenworth.²⁷

As more white people came to the area along the Arkansas river, the buffalo supply diminished immensely, with the result that the Indians resorted to looting in order to survive. It was this situation that brought about what is called the Nine Mile Ridge massacre.²⁸ In January, 1863, a wagon train that was preparing to bed down for the night was surrounded by a group of hungry Indians who demanded food and coffee. In the excitement that followed, a teamster wounded one of the Indians. This prompted them to return before daylight and massacre all the teamsters, excluding one who escaped to the protection of Fort Larned.²⁹ In that same year a group of destitute Kiowas, under the guise of wanting to trade, ran off 300 cattle from Fort Larned.³⁰

The deterioration of peaceful relationships between the Santa Fe traders and the Indians in the early 1860's was furthered by the

24. Grinnell, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 122.

26. *Official Military History of Kansas Regiments* . . . (Leavenworth; W. S. Burke Company, 1870), p. 69.

27. Grinnell, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

28. Nine Mile ridge is located approximately 75 miles west of Fort Larned, near the source of Pawnee creek in present eastern Finney county.

29. William H. Ryus, *The Second William Penn—Treating With Indians on the Santa Fe Trail, 1860-1866* (Kansas City, Mo., Frank Riley Publishing Co., c1913), pp. 16-20.

30. James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (New York, Hurd and Houghton, 1868), pp. 291, 292.

killing of an Indian chief at Fort Larned. In August, 1863, Little Heart, en route from his Cheyenne village just west of Fort Larned to the fort for the purpose of obtaining supplies, was shot by a sentry. It was later determined that Little Heart had been drunk and that he had attempted to ride over Isaac Marrs, the sentry. Gifts presented to this Cheyenne tribe by the Indian agent at the fort to compensate for the killing seemed to have little effect.³¹

Conditions precipitated by the Civil War resulted in further responsibilities for Fort Larned. On January 25, 1863, S. G. Colley, agent for the Upper Arkansas was visited at Fort Larned by 26 chiefs of the Caddo Indian confederacy. These chiefs represented one thousand Indians who farmed near Fort Cobb, in present Oklahoma. They told Colley that they had been abandoned by their agent, a man by the Name of Leaper, who had deserted to the Confederate army. Not wanting to join the Confederate army, these Indians drifted north to seek aid. Being very destitute, they were befriended by the authorities at Fort Larned, and W. P. Doyle, commissioner of Indian affairs, forwarded to Colley \$5,000 to help provide for them.³²

Since these Indians had been accustomed to farming, this money was used to set up a farm along the banks of Pawnee creek. Accordingly, 2,000 acres of land were surveyed on the south side of the Pawnee; this site was chosen over a Fort Lyon site because it was the opinion that more water would be available for irrigation purposes. Corn was planted the following spring, and here was probably the first instance of a large scale irrigation attempt in the Pawnee valley, an area that today is noted for irrigated farming.³³

This farming enterprise of the Caddos lasted till the fall of 1864, when open hostilities broke out in the area. By October 4, 1864, 250 acres of corn had been planted and buildings were being built. These Caddos, fearing that they might become involved in the Indian war, drifted to the southeast and finally established themselves between Cow and Crow creeks. They left all their crops, buildings, and equipment, and what the warring Indians did not take was plundered by soldiers from Fort Larned and freighters on the Santa Fe trail.³⁴

In the early months of 1864 conditions between the whites and the Indians became progressively worse, with the result that a general war broke out on the Plains. The underlying factor appears to

31. Grinnell, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

32. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863*, pp. 253, 254.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-260.

34. *Ibid.*, 1864, pp. 387, 388.

have been that the Indians, due to the encroachments of white settlers, were having difficulty finding enough game to live on. Also it is a fact that most of the military posts on the Plains, due to the Civil War, were not adequately garrisoned³⁵ and that a good per cent of these meager garrisons did not appreciate the Indians' predicament. At Fort Larned, for example, the soldiers were reported, on January 28, 1864, to be selling whisky to the Indians and demoralizing their women.³⁶ The Chivington massacre of the Cheyenne Indians at Sand creek in November, 1864, served to compound the problem. From an examination of the documents concerning this incident, it appears that a very basic factor was that some Indians were openly friendly and that others were not, but that it was, in many cases, difficult to determine the one group from the other.³⁷

The decision was made by the War Department to subdue by force the Indians who were guilty of depredations. On July 27, 1864, Gov. John Evans of Colorado territory ordered all friendly Indians to the military posts, so that only the belligerent ones would remain in the field. He ordered the Sioux to Fort Laramie, the Arapahoes and Cheyennes of the Arkansas to Fort Lyon, the Arapahoes and Cheyennes of the Platte to Camp Collins, and the Kiowas and Comanches to Fort Larned.³⁸

In the summer of 1864 large numbers of horses and mules were stolen by angry Indians who found that ration day did not provide adequate supplies.³⁹ This and other similar events, brought about General Field Order No. 2, Headquarters, Department of Kansas, July 31, 1864, which stated that stockades or abatis enclosures must be provided for all troops and stock at the military posts of the frontier. These same orders severely reprimanded Fort Larned for not having a stone blockhouse or enclosures for the animals.⁴⁰ Consequently, on February 20, 1865, Col. James H. Ford reported the erection of a stone fortification.⁴¹

During the Indian war of 1864, Lt. George Eayre used Fort Larned as a base for a campaign against the Cheyennes. He engaged the Cheyennes about 50 miles northwest of Fort Larned, an encounter that Grinnell thought to be an unprovoked attack. Soon

35. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

37. These documents are found in *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 26*, 39th Cong., 2d Sess., 1866-1867.

38. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864*, p. 362.

39. "A Brush With the Cheyennes," *The Trail*, Denver, v. 2 (April, 1910), p. 17.

40. *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 26*, 39th Cong., 2d Sess., 1866-1867, p. 76.

41. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. 1, v. 48, pt. 1, p. 923.

after the battle, Eayre moved his force to Fort Larned. The fort was under the command of Captain Parmeter, who had been warned by a group of Kiowas that they intended to run off Lieutenant Eayre's horses. Parmeter was reported drunk, and while the Indians were entertaining the fort's garrison, other Indians were stealing 240 horses and mules. Subsequent events led to even more strained relations.⁴²

Col. J. M. Chivington campaigned in the vicinity of Fort Larned during this same period. On July 26, 1864, upon his return to Denver from Fort Larned, he reported that ten men had been killed at that post, and that all coaches on the Santa Fe trail were given an escort of between ten and forty men.⁴³ In October, 1864, Gen. James Blunt and Maj. Scott Anthony met a group of Cheyennes at Walnut creek, with the result that nine Indians were killed.⁴⁴

The Chivington massacre in November brought an official opinion from Fort Larned, as voiced by J. H. Leavenworth, Kiowa and Comanche agent, January 9, 1865:

It is impossible for me to express to you [addressed to the commissioner of Indian affairs] the horror with which I view this transaction [Chivington massacre]; it has destroyed the last vestige of confidence between red and white man. . . . What can be done? Nothing; unless the department takes the matter up in earnest, and demands that the parties who were the cause of this wicked treatment of the Indians be properly dealt with.⁴⁵

In the spring of 1865 Colonel Leavenworth requested the government to authorize him to hold a peace treaty with the various warring tribes. At the same time, Gen. J. H. Ford, commander of the Upper Arkansas district, was marching to Fort Larned with orders to pay no attention to any peace movements. Ford was overruled on June 15, 1865, when President Andrew Johnson authorized Leavenworth to go ahead with his treaty plans.⁴⁶ Six tribes of Kiowas, one tribe of Apaches, eight tribes of Comanches, four tribes of Arapahoes, and five tribes of Cheyennes agreed to meet at a camp on Bluff creek, about 40 miles south of the mouth of the Little Arkansas⁴⁷ in October, 1865.⁴⁸

42. Grinnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-141. This incident is also recorded in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864*, p. 383.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 374, 375.

44. Grinnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-157.

45. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865*, p. 571. This was obviously a statement from the standpoint of the Indian agent and it shows the disagreement that existed between the War Department and the Department of Indian Affairs as related to the Plains' Indian problem in general.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 573-576.

47. Approximately 125 miles southeast of Fort Larned.

48. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865*, pp. 278, 279.

At this treaty conference, Col. Jesse Leavenworth was retained as Kiowa-Comanche agent at Fort Larned and an official Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Apache agency was created there, with Maj. E. W. Wynkoop as their agent.⁴⁹ This brought 8,600 Indians under the control of Wynkoop.⁵⁰ On October 14, 1865, the Cheyennes accepted annuities amounting to \$56,000 for a period of 40 years,⁵¹ and they agreed to a reservation immediately south of Fort Larned. The Apaches broke their confederation with the Kiowas and Comanches and allied themselves with these Cheyennes and Arapahoes;⁵² they were to receive \$16,000 a year for a period of 40 years.⁵³ The Kiowas and Comanches accepted annuities amounting to \$40,000 for a period of 40 years,⁵⁴ and they agreed to a reservation which was to be located south of the Cimarron river.⁵⁵ It was emphasized that these reservations were not to be considered permanent, since in the future all Indians were to be removed from the state of Kansas.

Continued depredations by roving bands of Cheyennes in 1866 and early 1867 prompted the War Department to plan an extensive campaign to chastise the so-called dog soldiers. For this job the department chose Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, a hero of the Battle of Gettysburg. Just prior to marching to Fort Larned, he wrote to Agent Wynkoop that he was able to chastise any tribes who might molest people traveling across the Plains.⁵⁶ The general left Fort Harker on April 3, 1867, and arrived at Fort Larned on April 7. His force, numbering nearly 1,400 men, included four companies of the 7th cavalry, six companies of infantry, one company of the 37th infantry under George Custer and some artillery.⁵⁷

At the suggestion of Agents Wynkoop and Leavenworth, Hancock was induced to hold a council with the Cheyenne chiefs on April 13, about 20 miles up the Pawnee, near the Cheyenne village. Nothing came of this council, so, on the following day, Hancock moved within a mile of the village, where he met the dog soldiers. Hancock's understanding was that the Indians were to remain, but during the ensuing night, the Cheyennes quietly slipped away,

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 710, 711.

50. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 514.

51. *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 361.

52. Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 679.

53. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867*, p. 361.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Kappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 683-685.

56. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868*, p. 497.

57. George A. Custer, *Wild Life on the Plains* (St. Louis, Royal Publishing Co., 1891), pp. 39, 40.

much to his disgust. General Custer was sent after these Indians, but was not able to locate them. They (the Cheyennes) crossed over to the Smoky Hill river, where they destroyed some stations of the Overland Stage Company. When notified by Custer of this action, General Hancock ordered the whole Indian village to be burned to the ground.⁵⁸

General Hancock had great difficulty understanding the conduct of these Cheyenne Indians, when he found out later that they thought he was planning another Sand creek massacre. Agent Wynkoop answered by saying, "The nation knows, and I know, who General Hancock is . . . but the Indians . . . had no means of discriminating between him and Colonel Chivington or distinguishing the *man* from the *monster*."⁵⁹ Wynkoop also showed the true character of General Hancock by pointing out that the general had ordered the killing of six Cheyennes at Cimarron crossing before he had received any word from Custer regarding the Overland Stage depredations.⁶⁰

Before leaving the plains General Hancock had a council with Satanta, Kiowa chief. In a meeting at Fort Larned, it became apparent that the Civil War hero was no match for the Kiowa chief. Hancock was so impressed with Satanta's peace overtures that he presented the chief with a coat of a Union major general. A few days later Satanta proudly displayed this new wearing apparel while stampeding the livestock at Fort Dodge.⁶¹

By the fall of 1867 the Indians had agreed to peace councils to be held on Medicine Lodge creek.⁶² This parley was to solve permanently the Indian problem in its entirety. A preliminary council was held at Fort Larned, and on October 13, 1867, the peace commissioners and chiefs left Larned for Medicine Lodge creek. At the same time the gifts for the oncoming treaties were being shipped from Fort Larned to the treaty grounds, a task that took nearly a month.⁶³

Upon the completion of the Medicine Lodge treaty arrangements,⁶⁴ it became obvious that the Indians were not quick to remove themselves to their new homes. As late as July 4, 1868, Gen.

58. William E. Connelley, "The Treaty Held At Medicine Lodge," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17 (1926-1928), pp. 601, 602.

59. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867*, p. 314.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-313.

61. *Harper's Magazine*, New York, v. 36 (February, 1868), pp. 297, 298.

62. Located near present Medicine Lodge, some 75 miles south of Fort Larned.

63. Grinnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 263, 264.

64. Stipulations of the Medicine Lodge treaty are found in Kappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 754-764.

Alfred Sully had to detach six companies of cavalry from Ellis Station to Fort Larned where the Kiowa and Comanches were holding up Santa Fe freighters.⁶⁵ The Cheyennes were reported to have killed 16 men at Pawnee Fork in September of the same year.⁶⁶ Because of these sporadic depredations, Agent Wynkoop was instructed to withhold all issues of arms until the Indians had confined themselves to their new reservation as outlined in the treaties of the previous year. Just after this order was issued, the Cheyennes raided the Kaw settlements near Council Grove where they stole some livestock. Since Wynkoop was not aware of this incident and since he still did not believe that any of the Indians of his agency would deceive him, he acted contrary to his orders by issuing arms to a group of Cheyennes who argued that unless they were issued arms and ammunition, they would starve. These very same Indians, with their newly acquired weapons, proceeded to the Saline and Solomon where they killed 16 white farmers and ravished several women.⁶⁷

The War Department acted swiftly after these depredations were reported. Lt. Gen. William T. Sherman of the Department of Missouri, on August 10, 1868, issued General Order No. 4, which stated, "W. B. Hazen, Major General, United States Army will have the supervision of all issues and disbursements to said Indians. . . ." ⁶⁸

On September 21, 1868, Agents Wynkoop and Leavenworth were relieved of their duties at Fort Larned and on September 25, the Interior Department (Department of Indian Affairs) abandoned the annuity distribution center at Fort Larned. Fort Cobb, in the Indian territory, had thus inherited the functions of Fort Larned with respect to the five Indian tribes.⁶⁹ In the fall of 1868, General Custer was planning his winter expedition to the Washita river and the outcome of this campaign served to remove any organized Indian troubles for the area around Fort Larned.

Troops remained at Fort Larned to as late as 1882, but these garrisons saw very little action. In the early 1870's Fort Larned troops were used to subdue the Wichita and Osage Indians who were revolting against railroad construction,⁷⁰ and in 1874 three Fort Larned cavalrymen were wounded in a battle which saw five

65. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1868*, p. 10.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-12.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

69. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868*, pp. 536-538.

70. *Topeka Daily Capital*, June 24, 1928.

Indians killed. These Indians had scalped a man south of Dodge City.⁷¹

Ralph Wallace, manager of the *Larned Tiller and Toiler*, stated that newspaper files record 192 deaths of red and white men in the vicinity of Fort Larned from the year 1859 to 1869. In addition to this, Wallace stated that there were approximately another 200 wounded cases recorded, bringing the total casualties to nearly 400 for the period that Fort Larned was active in Indian affairs.⁷²

LIFE AT FORT LARNED AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION

It will be remembered that early as February, 1865, General Ford had erected a stone blockhouse, primarily because of an official reprimand from the War Department. The type of defenses at Fort Larned prior to this construction were described as "earthen-works [that] were . . . washed away by the constant rains."⁷³ Other installations were described as tents,⁷⁴ dugouts covered with thatch and sod,⁷⁵ or mud-houses.⁷⁶

There may have been some who entertained the idea that the treaty at the camp on the Little Arkansas in the fall of 1865 had resolved the Indian troubles, but surely it was not the War Department. Maj. Gen. John Pope, in a letter dated August 11, 1866, to General Sherman, stated that he was sure that hostilities would break out in the near future. He went on to say that he would order the military posts on the frontier to be placed in the best possible condition, since he did not believe the Treaty of 1865 worth the paper that it was written on.⁷⁷

Also in 1866 Gen. U. S. Grant, in a letter to Secretary of War Stanton, remarked on the adverse condition of the frontier military posts. Explaining the great need for more suitable barracks and storehouses, he suggested that the appropriations needed to correct the situation could be held to a minimum by having the garrisons of each fort do their own construction work.⁷⁸ Consequently, a building program was instigated at Fort Larned, beginning in late 1866 and ending some time in 1868. For construction materials,

71. *Progress in Pawnee County* (18th anniversary supplement to the *Larned Tiller and Toiler*), December, 1952.

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, loc. cit.

74. George A. Root, ed., "Reminiscences of William Darnell," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17 (1926-1928), p. 510.

75. *Larned Chronoscope*, November 20, 1919.

76. *Harper's Weekly*, New York, v. 11 (June 8, 1867), p. 357.

77. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1866*, p. 80.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

pine timbers were obtained from Michigan and sandstone blocks were quarried from near-by Lookout hill.

The building of barracks probably began in late 1866, since a drawing made in June, 1867, shows one division completed.⁷⁹ When finished, the two barracks, which also included mess rooms, kitchens, orderly rooms, and storage space, were capable of accommodating four companies. The space allotted each company was 40 feet square. Both of these buildings were ten feet high and they were located just south of the Pawnee creek bed, facing south and forming the north side of the quadrangular parade grounds.⁸⁰ These buildings still stand today, the only basic change being the addition of roofs to provide for hay lofts that are today used by the Frizell family in their ranching operations.

The dimensions of the buildings today are, west barracks, 150 feet by 43 feet, east barracks, 172 feet by 43 feet. It is reasonable to assume that these dimensions are the same as when constructed, since there is no physical evidence that the masonry has been tampered with.

The officers' quarters, probably built in late 1867, were constructed of sandstone, with shingle roofs and broad porticos in front. They were located on the west side of the quadrangle, facing east, with the banks of the Pawnee forming a convenient means of protection to the rear. The commanding officer's building was the middle of the three in this group. It had four rooms, 14 by 16 feet each, a kitchen 19 by 16 feet and servants' quarters upstairs.⁸¹ This building, containing the original sandstone (although remodeled somewhat), still stands today.

The other two buildings for officers were described in 1870 as follows:

Each contains four sets of quarters. They are traversed by two halls seven feet wide, each hall being common to two sets of quarters so that each building is supposed to accommodate two captains and four lieutenants. The captain's quarters are in the ends, and consist of two rooms (sixteen by fourteen and one-half feet by twelve feet high) and a kitchen (nineteen by ten feet), from which opens a servants' room. The two rooms communicate by folding doors and the kitchen opens into the back or bedrooms. Under the kitchen is a cellar that has been transformed into a kitchen, leaving the kitchen proper for use as a dining room. On the opposite side of the hall two lieutenants live in one room each, without kitchens.⁸²

79. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 11 (June 8, 1867), p. 357.

80. "Report on Barracks and Hospitals," *Report of the Surgeon General, 1870*, pp. 299, 300.

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*

Additions to these subalterns' quarters were made in 1870 to provide them with kitchens, dining rooms, and additional room for servants.⁸³ Today, excluding repairs and modernization, these two buildings are practically as they were when constructed in 1867.

The hospital at Fort Larned, an adobe structure, was erected in 1860. It contained four rooms, two for use as wards with four beds in each ward. In 1866 a shingle roof was added and in 1867 the bare ground floor was covered with planks; the ceiling was of canvas.⁸⁴ The medical officers made repeated requests for a new, more permanent hospital. The following excerpts from a letter give an example of one of these requests:

FORT LARNED
October, 1868

WAR DEPARTMENT
Washington D. C.

SIR:

I have the honor to request that I may be furnished with one hospital in good order, for use of the sick at this post. The adobe building now used for this purpose is about worn out, and in a condition which renders it liable to fall down on the sick at every storm that comes. . . . It was custom in former times to look after the comfort of the sick as one of the first things in building a post, but here it seems to have been left to the last, and, finally, by some oversight, neglected altogether. . . .

Very respectfull
Your obedient servant,

W. H. FORWOOD
Brevet Major and
Assistant Surgeon ⁸⁵

This request was not granted. After a storm in 1869 destroyed one of the walls, another request for a new hospital was sent to Washington, but this was turned down also.⁸⁶

By 1874 the fort had become less important, as reflected by the smaller garrisons stationed there.⁸⁷ Since a substantial part of the enlisted men's barracks was empty, the eastern part of the east barracks was converted into a hospital. This new hospital had two wards, a mess room, dispensary, kitchen, storeroom and attendants' rooms. A portico was added to the front to give it a more attractive appearance. The old adobe hospital (which has long since disap-

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*

86. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, April 11, 1926.

87. Official garrisons of Fort Larned are found in *Report of the Adjutant General*. The reports begin in 1867 and end in 1878.

peared) was converted into an ordnance shop, with the cellar as a magazine.⁸⁸

The blockhouse erected in 1865 was a hexagonal building located about 50 feet southeast of the southeastern corner of the parade grounds. It had a strategic location, since it protected that side of the fort which had no natural means of protection. This blockhouse was taken down some time after 1886, since a photograph of that year shows it intact.

In 1866 the commissary building was constructed.⁸⁹ Located on the eastern end of the south side of the parade grounds, this building today measures 160 feet by 28 feet and it was used primarily to house the livestock. Just west of the commissary building is located the quartermaster building, constructed in 1867.⁹⁰ The measurements of this building are 158 feet by 40 feet. These two buildings guarded the south side of the quadrangular fortification, the side that faced the vast open prairie. Both were constructed of sandstone blocks nearly two feet thick and it is interesting to note that the south wall of the quarter-master building has gun slits, similar to openings found in blockhouses.

Other buildings constructed during the years 1866-1868 were a bakery in 1868⁹¹ and a utility shop which was used by the blacksmith, wheelwright, and harness repairmen. Both of these buildings, located on the east side of the parade grounds and forming the final side of the quadrangle, measure 84½ feet by 30 feet and they also were constructed of sandstone. They are still standing today.

A stone sutler's store was built at Fort Larned in 1861 and it was termed "the first stone building west of Fort Riley."⁹² There was either another sutler's store built the following year or an addition to the existing one, since John K. Wright was reported to have built the foundation for a sutler's store in 1862.⁹³ The exact location of this building or these buildings is not known.

Other civilian buildings at Fort Larned included a saloon,⁹⁴ a dry goods store,⁹⁵ a trading post operated by Dave Butterfield,⁹⁶ and a

88. "Report on the Hygiene of the United States Army," *Report of the Surgeon General*, 1875, p. 272.

89. This date appears on a concrete block on the north wall.

90. This date appears on a concrete block on the north wall.

91. This date appears on a concrete block on the west wall.

92. Larned *Eagle-Optic*, November 3, 1899.

93. "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum," *Collections of the Kansas Historical Society*, v. 11 (1909-1910), p. 567.

94. Larned *Chronoscope*, September 4, 1947.

95. *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, May 21, 1936.

96. Henry M. Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons), v. 1 (1895), p. 28.

corral and some additional civilian buildings constructed in 1872.⁹⁷ Regular mail service to Fort Larned was begun in 1863 and as a result a stage and mail building was erected that year.⁹⁸ The government put up a power sawmill in 1861; it was located about 15 miles west of the fort on the banks of the Pawnee.⁹⁹

Probably the pride of the commander of Fort Larned was a 100-foot flagpole that was erected in the exact center of the parade grounds. It had been hauled to Fort Larned from Fort Leavenworth in 12-foot sections some time prior to June, 1867, and was reported destroyed by lightning in 1878.¹⁰⁰

The water supply for Fort Larned was obtained by hauling water from Pawnee creek and placing it in huge barrels that were located in the yards adjacent to the barracks. Wells were drilled down to 40 feet, but the water was too sulphurous for human consumption.¹⁰¹ The great importance placed on the water supply for a military post is exemplified by the construction of a tunnel from the fort to the creek bed, probably used in time of siege.¹⁰²

Whisky consumption seems to have been quite prevalent at Fort Larned. A Santa Fe freighter related how he sold a barrel of whisky to the director of the stage station. Since whisky was considered contraband at United States military posts, the spirits were smuggled into the fort under a load of hay.¹⁰³ H. T. Ketcham, who visited Fort Larned in April, 1864, had this to say concerning the morals of that post, "Dissipation, licentiousness and venereal diseases prevail in and around [the fort] to an astonishing extent."¹⁰⁴

Fort Larned experienced a mild cholera epidemic in the summer of 1864. It was brought to the fort by the 38th infantry, en route to New Mexico territory. The commander of the fort knew that the detachment carried the dreaded disease, but contrary to the request of the surgeon general he allowed the men to stop there. The first case broke out on July 6 and the victim died ten hours later. Two more cases occurred on the 10th and 11th; one died in six hours and the other recovered.¹⁰⁵

97. *Report of the Surgeon General*, 1875, p. 272.

98. *Larned Eagle-Optic*, November 10, 1899.

99. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1899.

100. *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, October 23, 1947.

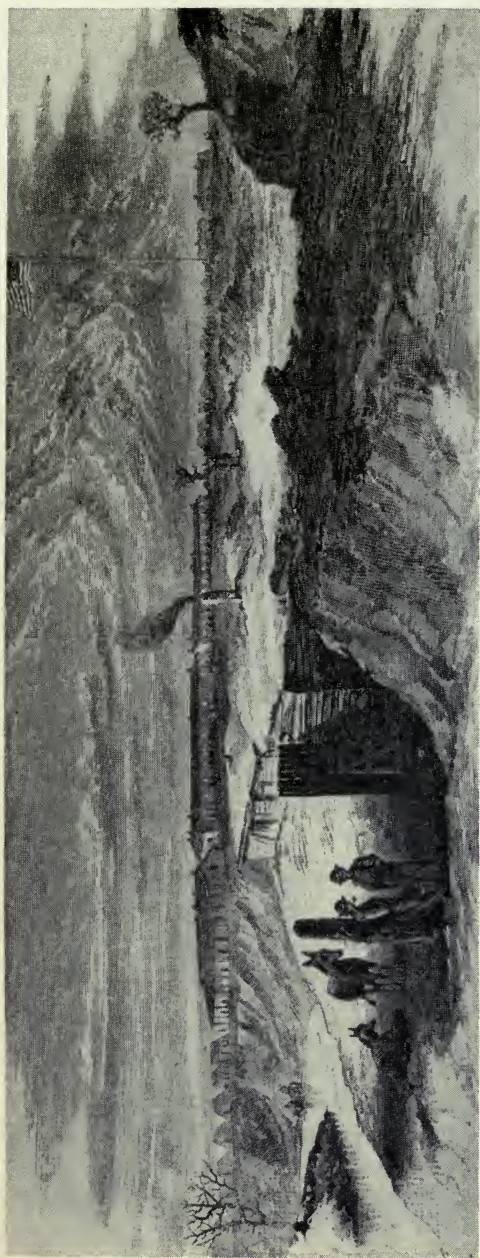
101. "Report on Barracks and Hospitals," *op. cit.*, p. 299.

102. O. P. Byers, "When Railroadng Outdid the Wild West Stories," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17 (1926-1928), p. 339.

103. Charles Raber, "Personal Recollections . . .," *ibid.*, v. 16 (1923-1925), p. 322.

104. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1864, p. 401.

105. "Report on Epidemic Cholera and Yellow Fever," *Report of the Surgeon General*, 1868, p. 46.



Upper: Fort Larned as sketched by Theodore R. Davis in *Harper's Weekly*, New York, June 8, 1867.
Lower: Fort Larned, looking northwest, from a photograph of 1886.

THE PLAINS.

"WESTWARD THE STAR OF EMPIRE TAKES ITS WAY."

VOL. I

FORT LARNED, SATURDAY, NOV. 25, 1865.

NO. 1

THE PLAINS.
Published every Saturday at Ft. Larned, Kas.,
BY THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS
OF THE UNITED STATES SERVICE,
STATIONED ON THE FRONTIER.

SELECT POETRY.

The Wives.

God bless the Wives,
They fill our lives
With little bees and honey;
They ease life's shocks,
They mend our socks,
But—don't they spend the money?

When we are sick,
They heal us quick—
That is, if they should love as:
If not, we die,
And yet they cry—
And place tombstones above us.

Of roguish girls,
With sunny curls,
We may in fancy dream:
But wives—true wives—
Throughout our lives,
Are everything they seem.

"Oh for a Home Beside the Hills."

"Oh for a home beside the hills—
Where gladly lay the founding rills—
Where sunlight dwells 'mid fairy flowers
Which bloom, and bud 'mid green-wood
bowers:
There I would look on green vales wide,
'Mid which the gay wild waters hide.
Oh for a home beside the hills,
Where ever glows the laughing rills—
A home that's bright with birds and
flowers—
'Tis there I'd live life's happy hours."

**RIGHT MARRIED PEOPLE TO SLEEP TO-
GETHER!**—Hall's Journal of Health,
which claims to be the highest authority in
medical science, has taken a stand against
married people sleeping together, but
thinks they had better sleep in adjoining
rooms. It says that kings and queens do
not sleep together, and why should other
people? Think of separating a newly
married pair on a cold winter's night, be-
cause Hall's Journal of Health says so.
You can go to graves, Mr. Hall.

Military.

**THE FORTY-NINTH WISCONSIN INFAN-
TRY.**—We learn that companies B, C and
D, of the 49th regiment, have been dis-
charged and paid. The Colonel of the
regiment, Col. SAMUEL FALLOWS, has had
the rank of Brigadier General, by brevet,
conferred upon him, for gallant and effi-
cient services. Who's next?

Personal.

Capt. M. V. B. HUTCHINSON, Co. E,
48th Wisconsin Infantry, Post command-
ant at Fort Zarah, and Lieut. WISCHILL,
A.A.Q. M., at that Post, came up to this
post on Monday last. They report the
boys all well and everything lovely.

2d Second Lieut. CHAS. A. JOHNSON,
Co. I, 48th Wisconsin Infantry, has been
ordered to appear before the Military Com-
mission at Washington, within fifteen days
from Nov. 6th, to answer to the charge of
"absence without leave," or stand dis-
missed the service. He has been com-
missioned and mustered as 2nd Lieutenant of
Co. I, 48th Wisconsin, but has never
joined the regiment.

Promotions in the 48th Wis. Infantry.

Capt. Peter Trudell has been promoted
from 1st Lieutenant of Co. H, vice O. F.
Waller resigned. Date of commission
Oct. 28th, 1865.

First Lieutenant J. S. Driggs from 2nd
Lieutenant. Co. H, vice Peter Trudell
promoted.

Second Lieutenant Chas. Fowler from
1st Serg't vice J. S. Dreiggs promoted 1st
Lieutenant.

Luman D. Olin, to Captain of Co. C,
vice E. A. Bottom resigned.

Second Lieutenant John S. Kendall 1st
Lieutenant Co. C, vice L. D. Olin pro-
moted.

First Serg't Theophilus Dames to be 2d
Lieutenant Co. C, vice John S. Herriek to
be 1st Lieutenant Co. K, vice Carver re-
signed.

First Sergeant Peter Mullinger, Co. K,
to be 2d Lieutenant vice Herriek promoted.

First Sergeant Chas. E. Pratt to be 2nd
Lieutenant, vice Christian Amman re-
signed.

How we Started.

The purchase and procurement of our
little paper was the result of a social con-
vention on the evening of 18th of October,
when a number of us were enjoying "our
smoke," soon after supper at the store of
our worthy sutler. A subscription paper
was immediately started, which, up to the
present time has fully realized our most
sanguine expectations.

The following is our subscription list:
Col. C. B. Peersall, \$20.00
Capt. Chas. W. Folker, 10.00
First Lieut. S. J. Conklin, R.Q.M. 10.00
C. P. Dodd, 10.00
John F. Dadds, 10.00
Henry Bradley, Interpreter, 10.00
Frank O. Crane, 10.00
Geo. W. Crane, 10.00
Jesse H. Crane, 10.00
Major J. F. Hazleton, 5.00
Capt. J. D. Butte, 5.00
Lieut. J. G. Ball, 10.00
Lieut. J. S. Driggs, 5.00
Capt. R. Baker, 10.00
Chas. H. McKeever, 10.00
James Brice, 10.00
Surgeon L. G. Armstrong, 10.00
1st Lieut. A. V. Anet, Post Adj't, 10.00
Capt. Cyrus Hutchinson, 10.00
1st Lieut. Peter Trudell, 10.00
1st Lieut. A. B. Cady, Adjutant, 10.00
W. A. Cook, Jr., 10.00
Capt. B. Lawrence, A. Q. M., 10.00
By't Maj. W. P. Martin, C. S., 10.00
T. R. Curtis, Interpreter, 10.00
Lieut. M. J. Briggs, 10.00
Capt. M. V. B. Hutchinson, 10.00
Lieut. Henry Felker, 10.00
1st Lieut. Don A. Winchell, 5.00
1st Lieut. W. W. Black, 10.00

Total, \$390.00
The cost of press, type, &c.,
at St. Louis, Mo., \$239.55
Express charges, 99.00

Total, \$338.55
By the above it will be seen THE PLAINS
is almost a solvent institution, and unlike
many Western enterprises, is founded on
real capital. Our thanks are due to Chas.
H. McKeever, Sutler, of the 48th Wis.
Inf'ty., for lending his efforts to secure
such a beautiful little Press. Also, to
Messrs. M. S. Mephram & Bro., of St. 2d
street, St. Louis, through whom the St.
Louis Type Foundry, located at No. 9,
Pine street, were engaged to furnish us a
model Press. The promptness with which
it was dispatched reflects credit on the
enterprise of that company.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER OF WESTERN KANSAS

The first page of *The Plains*, a three-page newspaper published at Fort Larned November 25, 1865. There was no fourth page, for it was intended that this space should be used by soldiers for letter writing. The size of the original page is approximately 8x10 inches.

Diarrhoea was a common malady in such places as Fort Larned, where the drinking water was not overly sanitary. The official treatment used by the medical officers in 1868 was described as follows, ". . . large doses of calomel, injections of starch, strong tea, brandy, acetate of lead, sinapisms, frictions and ice sucking."¹⁰⁶

In the late fall of 1865 a printing press was purchased by the officers, the purpose being to print a weekly newspaper. The press was ordered from St. Louis, at a price of \$239.55. First subscription sales brought in \$300, so the venture started on a sound financial basis. The first edition was published on November 25, 1865, and a short editorial stated the motive for printing *The Plains*, as the paper was called:

We are running a paper for our own amusement—for the fun of the thing. Thats all—and why not, pray tell? Why not run a paper for fun, as well as play cards or billiards, or go to a saloon or a horserace, or to hear Beecher preach, all for fun?¹⁰⁷

The paper was to be published every Saturday and the motto on the front page reflected the idea of manifest destiny, "Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way." The following are examples of want ads that appeared in the first edition:

WANTED—At this office, a half dozen young ladies to learn printing business. The foreman of this office will render all the assistance possible. None but *good looking* ones need apply.

JOB WORK—We are prepared to print visites, ball tickets, wedding cards, bills of fare, stage, railroad and toll tickets, programmes, posters and show bills; in short, everything in the line of letter press printing from a primer to a bible.

It is not known how long this paper was published, but since later literature concerning Fort Larned makes no mention of *The Plains*, it is reasonable to assume that it did not remain in publication for long. Considering the rapid turnover of troops at Fort Larned, the founding group of this paper may have left soon after the first publication, with the result that only one edition may have been published.

Two major freighting firms monopolized the supplying of the military posts on the Plains. They were Irwin, Jackman and Company and Russell, Majors and Waddell; in 1860 they loaded 863 wagons for Forts Larned, Garland, Wise, and Union. The distribution of annuities to the government posts was the job of Bent and Campbell, who, in one year, sent out 57 wagons.¹⁰⁸ In August, 1872,

106. *Ibid.*

107. *The Plains*, Fort Larned, November 25, 1865. A copy of this first edition is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

108. W. D. Wyman, "Kansas City, Mo., A Famous Freighter Capital," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 6 (1937), p. 11.

the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad was completed to Larned with the result that these freighting firms handled a much smaller volume of business.¹⁰⁹

During the 1860's very few of the frontier military posts were supplied with decent food. Dishonest contractors, distance from the main depots and the Civil War brought about this situation. One report in 1867 told of some bacon that was sent to the frontier after having been stored in dugouts for two years.¹¹⁰ An establishment such as Fort Larned could easily provide fresh meat for the troops, since large herds of buffalo roamed that vicinity. Lt. C. A. Campbell related how he and two other soldiers brought in, at one time, 52 buffalo hind quarters. They were hung to dry on the walls of the enlisted men's barracks.¹¹¹ Albert H. Boyd and Al and George Cox, pioneer ranchers near Fort Larned, supplied Forts Larned, Hays, and Dodge with fresh beef.¹¹²

Fresh vegetables were a luxury. *The Plains* stated that, "The arrival of a train loaded with antiscorbutics, is a subject of congratulations for everybody . . ." ¹¹³ Potatoes were reported to have sold for \$2.50 per bushel and tomatoes for \$1.00 per peck. Gardens were attempted by the soldiers on several occasions, but their efforts were futile, the causes of failure being, ". . . deficient rains, intense heat, poor soil, grasshoppers and hailstorms." ¹¹⁴

Frontier posts were poorly supplied in the quartermaster and commissary stores due to an intricate system of regulations badly adapted for posts many miles from the main source of supply. There seemed also to exist a good degree of corruption in these departments of supply.¹¹⁵

The supply of hay for Fort Larned was derived from native fields that existed along the bottomlands. Theodore Weichselbaum, who was the sutler at Fort Larned, arranged a contract for hay in 1860. Hauling from south of the Arkansas river in wagons, he reported profits of \$20.00 a day for a 30-day period.¹¹⁶

The sale of buffalo robes amounted to big profits for the traders. Bands of six different Indian tribes sold, during the season of 1863-1864, 15,000 robes worth nine dollars by the bale wholesale (the

109. Bradley, *loc. cit.*, p. 25.

110. Raymond Welty, "Supplying the Frontier Military Post," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 7 (1938), p. 163.

111. *The Tiller and Toller*, Larned, September 27, 1923.

112. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1947.

113. *The Plains*, November 25, 1865.

114. "Report on Barracks and Hospitals, 1870," *loc. cit.*, p. 300.

115. Welty, *op. cit.*, p. 169 (citing *House Ex. Doc. No. 20*, 39th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 5, 13, 14).

116. Weichselbaum, *loc. cit.*, p. 568.

average bale contained three 50-pound robes). The Indians, not able to realize the economic value of these goods, traded them for trinkets whose value amounted to 75 cents per robe.¹¹⁷

Society of the Plains centered around the fort. Capt. Henry, Booth, who was stationed at Fort Larned, described the full-dress dinner parties that were given when notables visited there. The Indians enjoyed harrassing the guests who were en route to these celebrations. On one occasion some prospective party goers were obliged to toss to the Indians a suitcase containing their best party clothes in order to divert their attention.¹¹⁸

In the spring of 1867, when General Hancock's force was at Fort Larned, the life of a soldier stationed there seemed to follow the military code to a strict degree. Henry M. Stanley, who visited the fort at that time, described it as follows:

Fort Larned . . . is a model of neatness. Everything is carried on according to the strict letter of the military code. Guard mounting, inspection, and dress parade are announced by the familiar sounds of the fife and drum, accompanied by all the pomp and circumstance of military form. The officers are affable with their equals and gracious toward their subordinates.¹¹⁹

This, it should be remembered, was the situation when notables visited at the fort, and was probably the exception, rather than the rule. At any rate, it is quite the opposite of a Fourth of July (1863) celebration, which was notable for the drinking of "rot" and running of foot races.¹²⁰

Many of the soldiers kept gamecocks and cockfighting became a very popular sport before the area came under local civil law.¹²¹ Dave Butterfield, of the express company, not only entertained soldiers with "comical pictures," but on one occasion, delighted Satanta, the Kiowa chief, with "parlour scenes."¹²²

Horse racing seemed to be one of the most popular forms of entertainment not only for the soldiers, but for the Indians as well. For the race track, they dug ditches about four feet apart; the ditches, which ran parallel to one another, were separated by a sod embankment. Betting was heavy: The Indians would put up ponies, buffalo robes, and deer skins against the silver dollars of the soldiers.¹²³

In 1863 some Comanches and Kiowas from Texas brought a black stallion to Fort Larned. This horse was considered by the Indians

117. Meline, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

118. *The Tiller and Toiler*, August 28, 1919 (Wheat edition).

119. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

120. Letter of Capt. A. W. Burton, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 7 (1938), p. 100.

121. *The Tiller and Toiler*, March 4, 1943.

122. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

123. Ryus, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58.

to be the best race horse on the Plains. People from as far as 300 miles came to witness a match race, which also included a barbecue for the several thousand spectators. The race was won by the Indians' horse, which obliged the soldiers to pay off a \$300 purse. The Indians, in the joy of their victory, spent the money buying candy, canned goods, etc., from the sutler, most of which was given away. Some soldiers from Fort Riley were greatly impressed with the performance of the black stallion and they purchased him from the Indians.¹²⁴

Among unusual incidents at the fort was a snowstorm in December, 1863, when nearly 15 inches of snow fell. A coach en route from Santa Fe became stranded and the lives of its passengers were saved when the soldiers at Larned from their watchtower spied a passenger attempting to get to the fort for help.¹²⁵ On January 3, 1869, a fire broke out in one of the barns. Thirty-nine horses, 30 tons of hay, 500 bushels of grain, 40 saddles, and 6,000 rounds of ammunition were destroyed. Company M of the 19th Kansas regiment, under the command of Capt. Sargent Moody, discovered the fire and was credited by the Manhattan newspaper for bringing this near disaster under control.¹²⁶

THE ABANDONMENT OF FORT LARNED

As early as 1870 it became apparent that it was only a matter of time before Fort Larned would be abandoned. It will be remembered that the Indian annuity distribution station had been moved from Fort Larned to Fort Cobb in the fall of 1868. In 1870 a report from Fort Larned stated that commercial traffic on the Santa Fe trail was practically nonexistent, due to the completion of the Kansas Pacific railroad, approximately 50 miles north.¹²⁷ The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad, which reached the area in August, 1872, further reduced the need for troops on the trail, although they were a definite asset during the construction of the road.

In 1872 General Sheridan stated that due to lack of reports of Indian engagements in the Fort Larned area, the fort should be abandoned. He went on to say that the buildings there were frail and temporary, a statement that was obviously in error, since the buildings today are considered quite substantial for their age.¹²⁸ In that same year General Pope reported that, "Forts Larned, Dodge

124. *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.

125. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, December 10, 1863.

126. *Manhattan Standard*, January 16, 1869.

127. "Report on Barracks and Hospitals," *loc. cit.*, p. 299.

128. Mrs. F. C. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17 (1926-1928), p. 250.

and Lyon are substantial, well built posts, and will last a long time." ¹²⁹

As a result of General Sheridan's statement, Governor Harvey of Kansas made an official appeal to keep troops at Fort Larned. The people, especially the workmen constructing the railroad, were still in need of protection from the sporadic raids of the Indians.¹³⁰ Consequently, the military garrisons remained there.

During the winter of 1873-1874 the main body of settlers came into the area to establish farms on land that had been granted to the Santa Fe railroad. Many of these people were destitute that first winter, which resulted in appeals for supplies stored at Fort Larned, which were refused.¹³¹

On October 3, 1878, General Pope's report to the War Department stated that Forts Larned, Hays, and Lyon were no longer needed. He explained that a large centralized force at Fort Wallace would be adequate to protect the settlements.¹³² The garrisons at Fort Larned were removed to Fort Dodge on October 28, 1878.¹³³ Since an act of congress was needed to dispose of this military property, the government left a small detail of men at the Fort, under the command of Lt. John A. Payne.¹³⁴

The military cemetery at Fort Larned was located about three eighths of a mile northwest of the fort buildings. On May 28, 1886, the cemetery was officially abandoned.¹³⁵ This cemetery contained 68 known graves. The man who removed these bodies to the Fort Leavenworth Military cemetery received ten dollars for each grave he opened. The grave pits were left open and were a spectacle for some years.¹³⁶

Upon the evacuation of the soldiers from Fort Larned, the people in that vicinity began to eye the bottom-land reservation as ideal farmland. As a result a bill to return this property to the public domain was introduced by Sen. Preston B. Plumb of Kansas. The bill was signed by President Arthur on August 4, 1882. It stated that no one individual should be allowed to purchase more than one quarter section, and provided for survey and appraisal. Also included was a clause stating that the section containing the improve-

129. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1872*, p. 48.

130. Marvin H. Garfield, "The Military Post as a Factor in The Frontier Defenses of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (1931-1932), p. 54.

131. James C. Malin, "J. A. Walker's Early History of Edwards County," *ibid.*, v. 9 (1940), pp. 266, 267.

132. Montgomery, *loc. cit.*, p. 277.

133. *Report of the Adjutant General, 1878*, p. 61.

134. *The Tiller and Toiler*, March 4, 1943.

135. *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (1952-1953), p. 171.

136. *The Tiller and Toiler*, February 1, 1951.

ments was to be sold at auction or at private sale as deemed best by the commissioner of the General Land Office.¹³⁷

Some of the land came under the federal land grant to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad. The section which contained the fort improvements was sold to Sage and Jackson representing the Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Association.¹³⁸ This sale took place on March 13, 1884, at a public auction, at the town of Larned. The final bid received was \$11,056, but the purchasers defaulted on their payment, after which the property was sold for \$4,000. An investigation was ordered by the General Land Office, which resulted in causing the purchasers to make an additional payment of \$7,056 dollars, thus making good the amount bid at the sale.¹³⁹

A portion of the remaining land was sold by direct transaction to the General Land Office. The rest was sold through H. M. Bickel and Henry Booth, who were appointed land receivers, with offices at Larned.¹⁴⁰ The sale of one of the tracts resulted in an official appeal to the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior. This case was known as Cook v. Wilbur. Cook's contention was that Wilbur was not entitled to his property, since he had not carried out the residence requirement of the pre-emption law. Wilbur's appeal was based on the phrase of the bill of August 4, 1882, which stated that ownership of Fort Larned land could be obtained by following a plan ". . . as nearly as may be in conformity to the provisions of the pre-emption laws of the United States. . . ." ¹⁴¹ Wilbur lost his claim to this piece of land when Commissioner Vilas upheld Cook's contention. Two laws were cited by the General Land Office to support the decision. They were the Osage act of May 9, 1872, which stated that pre-emption laws must be followed ". . . in every respect . . . ," ¹⁴² and Section 2283 of the *Revised Statutes*, which stated that any land settlement must accord ". . . with the general provisions of the pre-emption laws. . . ." ¹⁴³

In 1902 E. E. Frizell bought the Fort Larned ranch from a man by the name of Fohrer of Illinois. The purchase involved approximately 3,000 acres, 250 acres in cultivation, the rest in native grass.

137. For documents concerning the Fort Larned bill, see *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong. 1st Sess., v. 9, p. 63; *Congressional Record*, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., v. 13, pp. 55, 304, 1081, 6696, 6697, 6762, 6800, 6998.

138. "Records" of the register of deeds, Pawnee county, Kansas.

139. "Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1884, v. 1, p. 28.

140. "Records" of the register of deeds, Pawnee county, Kansas.

141. Letter of Secretary Vilas to Commissioner Stockslayer, March 31, 1888.—*Decisions of the Department of the Interior* . . . *Relating to the Public Lands*, v. 6, pp. 600, 601.

142. *Ibid.*

143. *Ibid.*

In 1956 there were only 200 acres in grass, the rest being devoted to irrigated alfalfa and row crop production. The ranch employed half a dozen families part of whom resided in the officer's quarters. The two enlisted men's barracks have been converted into a huge barn. The buildings on the east side (old blacksmith and bakery) are used as machine shops, and the commissary and quartermaster buildings serve as barns for storing grain, hay, etc. The quadrangular parade grounds have been fenced in and the native buffalo grass still grows there.

During the early 1900's the beautiful ranch along the Pawnee became a favorite picnic ground for the people in that vicinity. According to Charles Welch, early Pawnee county homesteader, a Pennsylvania picnic was an annual affair. Barn dances were frequent, and in one instance the local National Guard unit held a sham battle on the grounds.¹⁴⁴

As time went by, tourists in increasing numbers were attracted to this historic spot. The Frizell family erected signs to welcome visitors, and the Kansas Historical Society and the State Highway Commission erected a historical marker just north of the fort on United States Highway 56. In the early 1950's the late E. D. Frizell was approached by various organizations who discussed with him the possibility of selling the fort buildings and a small tract of land to make the establishment into a type of monument. Frizell stated that he would be glad to move over about a quarter of a mile if he were provided with improvements to match the existing ones.

On January 10, 1955, Sen. Frank Carlson introduced a bill in congress which provided for an investigation and report on making Fort Larned a national monument, similar to Fort Laramie on the Oregon trail.¹⁴⁵ Since the amount of money needed to buy and restore the fort is quite large, it will no doubt have to be derived from some government agency or philanthropic group.

On October 6, 1955, Merrill J. Mattes, regional historian of Region Two, National Park Service, Omaha, made an official tour of inspection at the Fort Larned ranch. He was impressed with the good condition of the original buildings. He stated that factors favorable to designation of the fort as a monument were that the government has established no national monuments along the Santa Fe trail and that the fort has a potential attraction for tourists because of the near-by federal highway.¹⁴⁶

144. *The Tiller and Toiler*, February 1, 1951.

145. *Congressional Record*, 84th Cong. 1st Sess., v. 101, pt. 1, p. 163.

146. *The Tiller and Toiler*, October 7, 1955.

On January 19, 1956, Rep. Clifford R. Hope received a memorandum from Conrad L. Wirth, director of the Department of Interior's National Park Service, stating that of the 11 original historic sites chosen in Kansas for further study, Fort Larned was one of the three given a favorable rating and that further examination by the federal government would follow.¹⁴⁷

At present the National Park Service has no funds for the purchase of sites as expensive as Fort Larned. In some instances congress has appropriated the necessary funds for such a project. State legislatures have been known to appropriate the necessary money, as for example, the state of Wyoming, which purchased 214 acres of land and the buildings at Fort Laramie in 1927.¹⁴⁸ It should be remembered, however, that Western state legislatures are generally conservative and reluctant to authorize the expenditure of state funds for the acquisition of historic sites. It would take several times as much money to purchase Fort Larned as it took to purchase Fort Laramie.

In February, 1957, due largely to the work of Ralph Wallace, Larned newspaperman, the Fort Larned Historical Society was organized. He and the society planned a formal opening of Fort Larned as a tourist attraction, which was held May 19, 1957. The United States Department of the Interior also announced another examination of the property soon. As a result of these movements, this interesting chapter in the history of the West may before long be suitably commemorated.

147. "Correspondence Number L58-H," Conrad L. Wirth to Rep. Clifford R. Hope, January 19, 1956.

148. David L. Hieb, *Fort Laramie* (National Park Service Series No. 20, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, p. 33.

Notes on Two Kansas Impeachments

CORTEZ A. M. EWING

I. JOSIAH HAYES, 1874

THE fourth Kansas impeachment was that of State Treasurer Josiah Hayes in 1874.¹ Hayes was elected in 1872, taking office in the January following. The financial and business depression was then reaching its climax, and bank failures were common throughout the country. State officials were concerned over the safety of state funds, especially as there existed a strong demand for state loans from bankers who sought to postpone public admission of the insolvency of their institutions. It was obvious that a temporary loan might be lost to the state if the borrowing banker was not able to stave off ruin.

At the time of his election, Hayes was president of the First National Bank of Olathe. He retained his connections with that institution after his induction into office. During the year and more that Hayes was state treasurer, he was continuously in poor health; and as a result, the care and management of the state finances devolved upon his chief clerk, John C. Collins. Before assuming these duties, Collins had been engaged in farming. His conduct of the treasury was not featured by any particular business acumen, nor even by a fairly faithful adherence to the statutory regulations relating to the reception, retention, investment, and disbursement of state funds.

In all fairness to Hayes and Collins, some of the unreasonable statutory provisions relating to the state treasury should be mentioned. In the first place, the state auditor, secretary of state, and governor constituted an *ex officio* board of examiners, and were required by law to make a monthly examination of the condition of the treasurer's office.² The statutory intent was a close scrutiny of public accounts, but no test of thoroughness was specified. The legislators were apparently convinced that frequent examinations would effectively thwart any evil or irregular designs that the custodian of the public funds might harbor. But, largely on account of the excessive frequency stipulated, the three members neglected

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1. The first three were of Gov. Charles Robinson, Secretary of State John W. Robinson, and State Auditor George S. Hillyer, in 1862. See my "Early Kansas Impeachments," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (1932), pp. 307-325.

2. *The General Statutes of the State of Kansas*, 1868, p. 982.

to perform their function. They even failed to act in a perfunctory capacity. Knowing that the provisions of the law had not been complied with in the past, Governor Osborn recommended its repeal in 1873, but the bill embodying his recommendations failed of adoption in the senate. This bill would have provided for semi-annual examinations.

Instead of the 12 examinations required by law, only two were made in 1873, and both were performed, not by the board, but by a Topeka grocer, employed for that purpose. His examinations were of a perfunctory nature. In fact, he was a most agreeable examiner. His reports were colorless documents, not intended to embarrass either the treasurer or the board. For instance, his only evidence of one ten-thousand-dollar item was a verbal statement by Collins that it was all right; whereupon, through courtesy, it was immediately listed as cash in hand.³

A second important factor that rendered administration of state finances difficult was the general instability of banking institutions. Large Eastern banks were dragged down, one after another, in an orgy of financial failure. The state of Kansas maintained a financial agency in New York for the payment of state bond coupons. That agency failed also. Moreover, the state treasurer could not, without grave risk, put the surplus state funds out on time or call loans. As a result, most tax moneys were retained in the vaults of the treasury.

A third embarrassing problem with which Hayes was confronted was the retirement of issues of state scrip. In 1872 Congress appropriated \$336,817.37 for the payment of state scrip issued to conduct the two campaigns of 1864, one against Gen. Sterling Price and the other against insurrectionary Indians. This scrip was issued to pay for services, supplies, and even damages resulting from these military episodes. In paying some 15,000 of these claims, many irregularities naturally occurred.⁴ Duplicates of scrip were retired; individual pieces of scrip were paid without indorsement either of the person to whom it had been originally issued or of the final payee; some payments were made without the signature of the treasurer.

In the early autumn of 1873 the state auditor, D. W. Wilder, was aware that the irregularities in the state treasurer's office had reached

3. *Proceedings of the Court of Impeachment Sitting for the Trial of Josiah E. Hayes, Treasurer* (Topeka, 1874), p. 39. Hereafter, this document will be cited as *Hayes Impeachment Proceedings*.

4. An itemized record of these payments is printed, as an appendix, in *Hayes Impeachment Proceedings*, pp. 140-352.

a status not conducive to public confidence. Wilder was told by Governor Osborn that Hayes would resign. However, it was not yet generally known that Hayes had been drawing on the New York funds of the state in favor of Kansas bankers. Wilder wanted to conduct an examination in December, 1873, without giving prior notice to Hayes or Collins, but the governor thought the examination should be deferred until January 1. When McFadden, the groceryman auditor, attempted to make the inspection, Hayes' "man Friday," Collins, begged for time, saying that he would have to do a little work on the records so as to bring them down to date. Wilder favored the institution of legal proceedings against Hayes, and the publication of McFadden's report. In the meantime a newspaper correspondent picked up a clue concerning the treasury troubles from another source. The silence was immediately broken and demands for the impeachment of Hayes became insistent. In his annual report of 1873, Wilder demanded a legislative investigation of Hayes' official conduct; and on January 19, 1874, a resolution was adopted in the lower house providing for such an investigation.

The committee on state affairs, which conducted the investigation, reported on March 2, after having examined 26 witnesses. The majority report, signed by four members, recommended the impeachment of Hayes and a revision of the laws relating to the administration of the treasury office. The minority report, signed by Eli Gilbert, stated that the condition of the treasurer's office was apparently as satisfactory as it had been since Kansas was admitted to statehood. Moreover, Gilbert charged that the legislative investigation had been conducted to the plain prejudice of Hayes and that it had failed "to bring out fully and completely all the facts and circumstances connected with the affairs of the Treasurer." The house immediately adopted the majority report by a vote of 74 to 20. The senate was notified on the day following and, on March 5, the articles of impeachment were formally adopted in the house. In brief, they alleged:

1. That Hayes, despite the duty to receive moneys due the treasury in either gold or silver, treasury notes of the United States, or national bank notes, did receive and accept evidences of indebtedness in lieu of the above legal tender; and specific allegations of his misconduct in this regard were set forth in four specifications;

2. That he, in violation of law, lent state moneys to certain parties, corporations, companies and individuals, and specific allegations of this misdemeanor were set forth in 14 specifications;

3. That he, in violation of law, and of his oath of office, deposited state moneys with certain companies, corporations, and individuals, and specific allegations of this misdemeanor were set forth in ten specifications;

4. That he did not, as stipulated by law, retain in the state treasury all of the state funds until proper orders came for their disbursement;

5. That he, wrongfully and illegally, contrived to conceal the true condition of the treasury from McFadden, who had been duly selected by the board of examiners to make a thorough and complete examination of the treasury;

6. That he, in deceiving the board of examiners, presented to McFadden a letter which falsely stated that \$50,000 was then in a New York bank subject to the call of the treasurer, when no portion of that amount was ever deposited in that New York bank;

7. That he appropriated the sum of \$10,000 to his own use, and that he refused to produce the same upon the demand of McFadden;

8. That he willfully neglected to perform his duties as state treasurer, and that he committed his duties to the charge of John C. Collins, under whose care there had been gross neglect in the discharge of those duties; and specific allegations of the same were set forth in five specifications;

9. That he had failed personally to examine and count the state funds in the treasury, and that he had failed to remove Collins or to give his personal attention to his official duties, thereby committing a misdemeanor;

10. That he had paid out of the funds appropriated by the United States Government to reimburse those who rendered service in the Indian wars of 1864, and that these payments were made without authority of law;

11. That scrip issued to suppress and repulse the Price invasion of 1864 was retired by him out of money appropriated by the United States Government, and that of all sums paid out, he specifically paid to one Alois Thoman and others the sum of \$4,000 without authority of law;

12. That under the above presumed duty, he paid out \$3,000 without having signed his name as treasurer;

13. That for the above, he paid out the sum of \$5,000 when the names of the payees were not appearing on the said pieces of scrip which were retired.⁵

5. For complete and official text of the articles, see *Hayes Impeachment Proceedings*, pp. 18-32.

The impeachment court was organized on March 5 and 6, and the managers of the house appeared and exhibited the articles of impeachment against Hayes. Formal answer to the charges was presented by the respondent. The managers made replication. Because of the necessity of taking depositions of banking officials in New York City, the impeachment court adjourned till May. When the court met on May 12, the resignation of Hayes was announced by the board of managers. The attorney general advised the abandonment of the impeachment. The board of managers deemed it inadvisable to proceed with the trial merely to effect Hayes' disqualification for future office holding. Besides, the two officers against whom impeachment articles had been sustained in 1862 were not disqualified by the court, so further prosecution might result in no alteration of the existing situation.⁶

The impeachment court adjourned *sine die* on May 13, after wrangling for a day over the matter of printing the depositions taken in New York and other such insignificant evidence. One enthusiastic member of the court introduced a resolution calling for a thorough investigation of the treasury office by a committee of the impeachment court. This would, incidentally, have represented an unusual usurpation of authority by an impeachment court, if it had been adopted. Such court is constitutionally mandated to try impeachments, and when that has been done, its duties end. If the court member had realized it, the investigation which he sought could, without violating the constitution, have been effected only by order of a legislative body. The action of the court in permitting the dismissal of the impeachment proceedings against Hayes was in conformity with the preponderance of American impeachment precedents that are at point. The court's duty is to try, and not prosecute, impeachments. Only a few examples of the refusal to dismiss impeachments after the resignation of the impeached officers are extant in American impeachment history. Most important of these were the trials of Secretary of War William W. Belknap and Judge Crum (Montana).

II. JUDGE THEODOSIUS BOTKIN, 1891

The fifth Kansas impeachment was that of Theodosius Botkin in 1891. Botkin was judge of the 32d judicial district, which comprised six counties in the extreme southwestern part of the state.

6. In the cases against J. W. Robinson and George S. Hillyer (1862), each was removed from office but, on the separate motions to disqualify them for future office holding, only one member of the court voted to disqualify.—See *Proceedings in the Cases of the Impeachment of Charles Robinson, Governor; John W. Robinson, Secretary of State; George S. Hillyer, Auditor of State, of Kansas*, (Lawrence, 1862) pp. 349, 397.

Frontier conditions of an intensely bold and mendacious nature dominated the life of that section when Botkin was appointed by the governor in 1889. In the following year he was duly elected for a four-year term. Botkin's appointment was purely political. He was a Republican, and had performed yeoman's service for his party during the period immediately preceding his selection.

The impeachment remedy is, at best, a complicated political method for the riddance of incompetent or corrupt public officers. If it had been employed merely for that purpose, it might well have remained an efficient and trustworthy remedy. That it did not is primarily due to the fact that it was dominated by partisan politics.

Like many other states, Kansas experienced particular tumult from 1865 to 1895. Agrarian revolts stirred the political waters into a maelstrom. The Greenback movement was more than a mere gesture. It represented a political attempt to solve agricultural economic ills. When it spent itself, the malcontents discarded the political weapon and returned to an economic organization that closely resembled the powerful Granger movement of the early 1870's. This new organization was known as the Farmers' Alliance.⁷ Embracing many of the features of a secret fraternal society, its membership increased to an astounding total. Contemporaneously, the Knights of Labor were enrolling urban workers into another great economic organization. Scheming politicians dreamed of realizing at last a Farmer-Labor party which would sweep the country and seize from the great corporate interests the destiny of the country. The age of Popocracy was at hand in 1890, and with it the determination among the farmers of the West "to raise less corn and more hell."

The counties comprising the 32d judicial district were agricultural counties, and the Alliance was well organized there. In the election of 1890, the Democrats practically merged with the Alliancemen, presaging the complete assimilation of six years later. There were, it should be noted, four important factions in the pre-impeachment situation in Botkin's district. In the middle 1880's a bitter fight had arisen over the location of the county seat of Seward county. Partisans of Springfield and Fargo Springs belabored one another with all manner of opprobrium. When Springfield finally emerged victor, the inhabitants of Fargo Springs removed to Arkalon, and there was every indication that Springfield's victory was regarded as merely temporary. Judge Botkin had be-

7. There existed both southern and northern branches of the Farmers' Alliance.

longed to the Fargo Springs forces during the fight and, as a result, Springfieldians never forgave him even though he established a permanent residence in their town. Added to this issue was a bank fight. Two banks sought the patronage of Springfield. The Adams bank supported Botkin; the Kennard bank opposed him. The whole community took sides in the controversy. A third factor was the aforementioned struggle between the Alliance and the Republicans. This was primarily local in its character, and was extremely personal. Col. Samuel Wood, an experienced Kansas politician, was the acknowledged leader of the Alliance. The Republican forces followed the leadership of Botkin, since he was the highest official of the district. The fourth issue centered about the personality of Judge Botkin.

From the testimony elicited from witnesses during the subsequent trial, it is easy to gather some of the salient features of Judge Botkin's character. He was domineering, vindictive, and the possessor of a tremendous capacity for indignation, and of a temper that was unpredictable. His knowledge of the law was certainly not particularly noteworthy, yet it could scarcely be expected that a John Marshall would have been riding the circuit on the Kansas frontier. Like many men of his district, he indulged an appetite for strong liquor. Yet no one, except his personal enemies, seemed to perceive any misbehavior in that fact. At one county seat, a communicating door of the courtroom opened into a liquor joint. It was, thus, no difficult matter for a judge to find himself swigging a social dram with attorneys, jurors, spectators, or even litigants. Both the law and the judicial ermine lost much of their traditional majesty in such surroundings, but the formal judicial process was only a recent innovation in that section.

Soon after Botkin's election in November, 1890, his enemies began to gather evidence preparatory to his removal by the legislature. The judge and his supporters collected depositions and signed statements that testified, favorably, to Botkin's character, ability, and record as a judicial officer. On February 6, 1891, a petition was presented to the Kansas house of representatives, praying that Botkin be removed from office "for unfitness, immorality, and corruption in office."⁸ The local political fight of Seward county was thereby projected into the larger arena of state politics. Such is the usual origin of state impeachments, and when they are viewed in the larger perspective they appear child-

8. *Daily Journal of the Senate, Trial of Theodostus Botkin . . . on Impeachment by the House* . . . 1891 (Topeka, 1891), p. 5. Hereafter this official transcript of proceedings shall be cited as *Botkin Proceedings*.

ish and insignificant. Moreover, Kansas politicians were by no means certain as to the ultimate outcome of the Alliance bid for political power. It represented a threat to Republican political hegemony. To oppose it unequivocally might mean political decapitation. For that reason, trembling before the torrent, the lower house, on February 27, impeached Botkin of high misdemeanors in office and specifically charged the same in ten formal articles of impeachment. In this case the impeachment was voted in the house through the adoption of the articles against Botkin.⁹

The house managers presented the ten articles before the senate on March 3. In brief, they alleged:

1. That Judge Theodosius Botkin, unmindful of the high duties of his office, had been repeatedly intoxicated in public places in his district, and specific indictments of such public intoxication were charged in ten specifications;

2. That he, unmindful of the dignity and proprieties of his office, had during terms of court been intoxicated, and this charge was set forth in ten specifications;

3. That he had, while sitting on the bench as judge, been intoxicated, and express indictment of the same was set forth in four specifications;

4. That on August 29, 1890, he was publicly intoxicated on the streets of Leoti, and while thusly intoxicated he engaged in a drunken and boisterous quarrel, thereby bringing his office into contempt, ridicule, and disgrace;

5. That despite the fact of the state prohibition law, Judge Botkin has frequently repaired to places where liquor was sold in violation of such law, to the great scandal of all good citizens, and specific indictment of the same was set forth in three specifications;

6. That, unmindful of the prohibitory law, he has frequently purchased liquor in violation of such law, and specific allegation of the same was set forth in three specifications;

7. That during his term, he has been an habitual user of intoxicating liquor to the extent of impairing and incapacitating him for a clear-minded discharge of his judicial functions and duties;

8. That he, on January 10, 1891, in a drug store which sold liquor in violation of law, cursed and swore in a blasphemous manner and said in the presence of others that "God Almighty was a God-

9. It is the usual procedure for an investigating committee to recommend the adoption of an impeachment resolution to the house; thereafter, if impeachment is voted, the committee presents specific articles for adoption by the house. However, in this case, the two steps were merged.

damned fool," whereby he brought his office to contempt, ridicule, and disgrace;

9. That he, on four specific occasions set forth in separate specifications, was guilty of "willfully, maliciously, oppressively, partially and illegally" exercising the duties of his office, by issuance of fraudulent warrants, illegal arrests, and failure to permit filing of exceptions;

10. That he, unlawfully and corruptly, aided and abetted officers and others to boodle the city of Springfield out of \$5,897, which illegal expenditures were made with the aid of Judge Botkin and his receivership order and his subsequent approval of such items of expenditure; and that when he had so defrauded the city out of this amount he dissolved the receivership and departed from the county.¹⁰

After the upper house had duly organized itself into a high court of impeachment and had adopted rules for the conduct of the trial, the respondent appeared and demurred to each and every article. In the discussion upon the demurrer, counsel for both sides presented able and interesting arguments either for or against the articles as charging impeachable offenses. The Kansas constitution specified that the governor and other named officers of the state, including judges of the district courts, "shall be impeached for misdemeanors in office." Counsel for respondent argued, therefore, that these enumerated officers could be lawfully impeached only for violation of the constitution and laws of the state: thus, impeachment would lie only against an indictable offense. Moreover, in relation to the constitutional provision "in office," respondent's counsel contended that officers could be impeached only for acts done under color of office. Under this interpretation, none of the specific charges against Botkin relating to his conduct off the bench constituted an impeachable offense.

The managers replied by stating that "misdemeanor" and "crimes" were synonymous terms within the meaning of the constitution, and that they were so defined by Blackstone. Moreover, impeachment being a civil process, the term "misdemeanor" also included misconduct and even incompetency. The English impeachment had been altered to fit the American political scene. It thereby became the instrument of the citizenry to protect itself against corrupt or incompetent officers. Wherein lies protection to the officer against irregular and unjustifiable removal; it lies where Chief Justice

10. *Botkin Proceedings*, pp. 31-42.

Marshall once said it lay as a protection to corporations against unreasonable regulation—in the consciences of the state legislators. The managers argued that impeachable offenses were not necessarily indictable offenses, for impeachment was a civil process. If it were not, then the demurrer was entirely illegal, and the respondent was here offering his demurrer in apparent good faith. Heretofore, Kansas impeachment trials had not included the use of the demurrer. In all four of them, the respondents had proceeded immediately to make answer to the articles, whereupon the managers submitted that the answers were insufficient, and, under joiners of that nature, the opening arguments were begun.

Both the prosecution and defense supported the condonation principle of impeachment, which denies that an officer may be impeached for acts committed prior to his election or re-election by popular vote. In the case of Judge Botkin, it implied that he could be impeached for no act committed by him during his term under the governor's appointment up to and including election day in November, 1890. The articles of impeachment were so phrased as not to include allegations of impeachable misdemeanors before that date, except in the charges of intoxication. In order to prove the habitual use of intoxicants, proof of inebriations prior to his election were admissible.

Sen. R. R. Hays, a member of the impeachment court, presented an interesting question as to the authority of the senate court to sustain a demurrer. Was not the house of representatives, the impeaching body, the sole judge of what constituted an impeachable offense? Was not the senate court constitutionally obligated to try all impeachments? On what authority could the senate court dismiss a single article when they were specifically charged with the duty of trying all impeachments? Under this interpretation, a demurrer was "an innovation and an anomaly in impeachment proceedings."¹¹ The attorney general, who, in Kansas, is empowered with the duty of aiding the board of managers, declared that the impeachment court could enter a plea of guilty for the respondent, in that he had admitted the allegations.¹²

The respondent withdrew the eighth article from the scope of his demurrer before the argument was finished. When the de-

11. *Botkin Proceedings*, p. 258.

12. Yet, on his demurrer, the respondent had reserved the right to submit further answers to the articles. Despite the logical strength of Senator Hays' argument, there are numerous examples of demurrers being interposed and, in certain cases, sustained by the impeachment court. The cases of Judge William Russell (Texas, 1871) and of Supreme Court Commissioner Chas. Ruth (Oklahoma, 1923) are examples of impeachments being terminated through demurrers.

murrer was put to a vote, it was sustained for the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles. TABLE I shows how the individual members voted on the separate articles. Seven articles remained for further disposition.

During the testimony-taking stage of the proceeding, the state called 49 witnesses to the stand. The respondent called 64. During the investigation in the house, Botkin had refused to call a single witness when the committee would not let him subpoena an unlimited number from his remote district. In the trial proper, he subpoenaed 98 persons, but the court, on several occasions, banned further testimony concerning certain specifications. At the outset, the court had limited each side to five witnesses per specification, but that dispensation was not strictly adhered to during the trial. For the most part, this feature of the case was uninteresting. The managers put witnesses on the stand who testified that the judge was a notorious drunkard; the defense produced an equal number who denied that they had ever seen him under the influence of intoxicants.

The final arguments were long and spirited. Most generally impeachment trials peter out in spirit before the final balloting. It was not so in this case. The lawyers flung the lie back and forth among them for 15 hours. The managers were fairer in their summary of the evidence. W. P. Hackney, for the respondent, introduced bold partisanship into the case; it was merely an attempt of the "contemptible" Alliance to dishonor a "faithful" Republican. Concerning the Alliance, he said:

It is a small outfit, from stem to stern. Why, the first thing we find is, they are sneaking around, looking through windows of a bank, in that town down there, to find if the Judge was taking a drink. Then they bring these witnesses on the stand who say that they smelled his breath. It is on the principle of the smelling committee appointed to investigate the Governor, and to investigate his appointments, and to investigate the Coffeyville dynamite matter; and they are smelling around, and are yet, in this case. Their infernal olfactories are ready to smell everything. That is the cardinal doctrine of the Alliance. It is a political organization of outcasts and characterless scoundrels, and no honest man can get in to deny it. That's your political party. . . . The time will come in this State when every man within the sound of my voice will know that this infamous political side-show is more damnable than the Jacobins of France.¹³

From the beginning of the trial, members of the court were far from regular in their attendance. At times the proceedings were postponed until a quorum was present. The attorney general

13. *Botkin Proceedings*, p. 1320.

VOTE ON DEMURRERS: BOTKIN IMPEACHMENT TRIAL—*Concluded*

MEMBER	Party	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	IX.	X.	Total	
											A.	N.
Moody.....	Rep.	N	N	N	A	A	A	N	N	N	3	6
Murdock.....	Rep.	N	N	N	A	A	A	N	N	N	3	6
Norton.....	Rep.	N	A	N	A	A	A	N	N	N	4	5
Osborn.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	9
Rankin.....	Rep.	N	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	N	1	8
Richter.....	Rep.	N	N	N	A	A	A	N	N	N	3	6
Roe.....	Rep.	A	A	N	A	A	A	N	N	N	5	4
Rush.....	Rep.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Schilling.....	Rep.	A	A	N	A	A	A	N	N	N	5	4
Senior.....	Rep.	N	N	N	A	A	A	N	N	N	3	6
Smith.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	9
Tucker.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	1	8
Wheeler.....	All'nce	N	N	N	N	A	A	N	N	N	2	7
Woodward.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	9
Wright.....	Rep.	A	A	N	A	A	A	N	N	N	5	4
Total "A"s.....	.....	9	10	.....	19	22	21	.....	.....	.....	81	.....
Total "N"s.....	.....	23	22	32	13	10	11	32	32	32	.....	207
Demurrers sustained.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	+	+	+	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Demurrers Overruled.....	.....	+	+	+	.....	.....	.....	+	+	+	.....	.....

14. Data compiled from *Botkin Proceedings*, v. 1, pp. 245-248. "A" means a vote to sustain the demurrer; and "N" means to overrule the demurrer. The record shows that Sen. Hill P. Wilson took the oath but failed to attend any of the sessions of the impeachment court. Sen. Sydney C. Wheeler was listed as a member of the Alliance party.

practically demanded that at least two thirds, 27 members, should be in constant attendance, arguing that that was the number required to sustain the articles. The court did not regard the dictation as valid, and there were motions presented to force regular attendance on the part of the attorney general.¹⁵

On May 5, sixteen days after the trial began, the court adopted a stringent rule requiring that 30 members, at least, be in attendance at all times. If that number were not present, warrants were to be issued for all members absent without leave of the court.¹⁶ Thereafter the attendance was perceptibly higher. On May 14 a resolution was adopted which called for each member to be present at the final balloting and declaring that no member would be excused except in case of sickness.¹⁷

At the close of the final arguments, the court engaged in a controversy as to whether the vote should be taken upon each of the 31 specifications or upon each of the seven articles. It was finally decided to vote only upon the separate articles, thereby avoiding the question that might have arisen as to whether votes on specifications within an article were to be counted cumulatively. Thirty-five members voted in the final balloting. Only on articles nine and ten were a majority of the votes cast in favor of sustaining the charges, and the 18 total that each of these articles received was nine votes short of the necessary two thirds majority. On the three articles charging intoxication, not a single vote was cast for conviction. TABLE II records how members voted on each article. Fifteen of the members voted unanimously for acquittal, which number, in itself, was sufficient to prevent a sustainment of any article.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the various factors that produced the final acquittal. The trial soon degenerated into a wrangling partisan scuffle. One court member was led to declare that it seemed that no one was on trial except the Republican party. Others were acid in their criticism of the personalities engaged in by counsel on both sides. The whole trial was extremely tedious, and there were constant interruptions and objections concerning the admissibility of testimony. Especially in regard to proving Botkin was an habitual drunkard, the burden of proof was upon the managers, and in the face of a mass of contradicting evidence the charges broke down.

15. After a few days, the attorney general ceased to attend and thereby repudiated the statutory mandate that he should aid the state in impeachment cases. Presumably, he discerned the rabid partisan character into which the trial degenerated and was desirous of evading partisan criticism.

16. *Botkin Proceedings*, p. 527.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 1142.

[illegible]

FINAL VOTE ON BOTKIN IMPEACHMENT—*Concluded*

MEMBER	Party	I.	II.	III.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	Total	
									A.	N.
Mohler.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	7
Moody.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	7
Murdock.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	7
Norton.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	7
Osborn.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	A	N	1	6
Rankin.....	Rep.	N	N	N	A	N	A	A	3	4
Richter.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	7
Roe.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	7
Rush.....	Rep.	N	N	N	A	A	A	A	4	3
Schilling.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	7
Senior.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	A	A	2	5
Smith.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	A	A	2	5
Tucker.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	A	A	2	5
Wheeler.....	All'nce	N	N	N	A	A	A	A	4	3
Woodward.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	A	A	2	5
Wright.....	Rep.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	.....	7
Total "A"s.....		0	0	0	8	4	18	18	47	.....
Total "N"s.....		35	35	35	26	30	16	17	.....	194

18. Data compiled from *Botkin Proceedings*, v. 2, pp. 1380-1400. "A" means a vote to sustain the article of impeachment and, is, therefore, a vote for conviction; "N" is a vote for acquittal; "E" represents excused from voting; and blank spaces signify that the members were absent and unexcused.

A curious bit of irony occurred during the trial. One of the witnesses who was summoned by the prosecution to prove Botkin's un-failing appetite for strong drink was twice arrested for drunkenness by the Topeka police during the trial. In regard to the tenth article, the state built up a good case against Botkin, and the evidence would seem to have justified a conviction. The managers even traced money to Botkin, but he did not take the stand, and his attorney, Hackney, who had given him the \$750, testified that it was only a loan and that it had been repaid. No documentary proof was offered to show that it had been.

Thirty-seven of the 39 court members were members of the Republican party. Botkin was a Republican. Moreover, he was an old soldier, and he was popular with the veterans, who, at this time, provided most of the leaders for that party. To sustain the impeachment of Botkin would have represented a substantial victory for the Populist crusade, and the Republican party could, in that threatening period, ill afford to admit corruption within its own ranks. To anyone reading carefully the proceedings and the contemporary comments on the trial, there comes the impression that the impeachment was unfortunately transplanted from its legitimate milieu—local government—and that it should have been decided in a regular court of law rather than in a political tribunal.

Traveling Theatre in Kansas: The James A. Lord Chicago Dramatic Company, 1869-1871

JAMES C. MALIN

I. INTRODUCTION: TRAVELING THEATRE

JAMES A. Lord and Louie Lord first appeared on the Kansas scene as traveling theatre during the season of 1869-1870. The conditions which marked their coming indicated a break in theatrical traditions which were crystallizing in the area during the late 1860's. The decade 1858-1868, dominated for the most part by the resident theatre combined with the traveling star system, has been given comparatively detailed historical treatment in an earlier essay. The basis is provided in this manner for differentiating this past mode of operation from the new one, the complete traveling theatrical company of which a typical case is the Lord Chicago Dramatic Company, the subject of this essay.

On their first tour of Kansas the Lord Dramatic Company arrived by rail from Chicago through Quincy, Ill., and St. Joseph, Mo., playing in towns along the road. In Kansas the company filled engagements in four towns: Atchison, December 13-18 (six days), Leavenworth, December 20-28 (seven days), Lawrence, December 30, 1869-January 5, 1870 (six days), Topeka, January 6-19 (11 days and 12 performances), and Lawrence a second time, January 20-22, 1870 (three days). The totals were 35 plays in 33 working days. These places were close together, the most populous towns, and were served by railroads, considerations that were critical in keeping expenses in line with receipts. The prices charged were 50 cents for admission, or 65 cents for reserved seats.

Information about these theatrical events and the Lord Company are dependent solely upon the newspaper files of the towns they visited. Atchison, unfortunately for the historian, has only one surviving file, the *Champion*, filling only one dramatic critic's seat, and he was not theatre-minded. Two of Leavenworth's three daily paper files survive for the first tour and all three for the second

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tour, the *Times and Conservative*, the *Commercial*, and the *Evening Bulletin*. Three, or even two commentators rounded out perspective. At Lawrence and Topeka, two papers each afforded some contrasts, and one of the editors in each case demonstrated a more active interest than his rival. At Lawrence they were the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, and the *Republican Daily Journal*, and at Topeka the *Kansas Daily State Record*, and the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*.

The nature of the traveling company as a self-contained organization had best be described with due regard to contrasts with the resident theatre. As guest stars were not used, the company was constructed in such a manner as to include, within the regular personnel, pairs of first and second leading players of tragedy and comedy. One pair might emphasize tragedy and the other comedy, but no discussions of the theoretical aspects of player composition of such companies have been encountered. In case of illness of either of the leading actors, that role devolved upon the second. Frequently man-and-wife teams were used, but so often the parties to these pairs were not of equal quality, and one of the team had to be content with minor roles. Always a company must have a comedian,—better, a pair, male and female. The Burts afforded a good example of a man-and-wife team in this category, but more frequently the man who was most successful in the Lord Company was not one of the team. If his quality justified, he might be cast in comedy leading roles. Lord assigned Simon to play "Rip" in "Rip Van Winkle" during the first Kansas tour. A child actor was desirable, although a small woman was used on occasion to play "Eva" or "Mary Morgan" or other child roles. Miss Mann did "Eva" in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in Leavenworth, in August, 1862. Addie Corey was with the Lords on their first tours. Plays employing child characters were peculiarly conspicuous during the 1850's and 1860's.

Other than the classical dramas, most of the plays emphasized youthful characters, and required actors accordingly. A complete company must have, however, members suitable for playing mature or elderly parts, but there was not much opportunity for older people. So strongly was the theatre's accent upon youth, that the historian must constantly ask the question: what became of older actors? Acting careers must have been quite short. Altogether, these specified types, plus a complement of minor players, made up a company of 12 to 15 persons. The fact that this kind of com-

pany traveled, meant that they met new audiences; a solution of the problem of variety which plagued resident companies.

The maintenance of family life in the traveling theatre was virtually impossible. Yet, there were examples of family units in the business. The George Burts changed from the earlier regime to the traveling troupe, and were still on the road during the 1870's. The Plunketts, likewise, were a persistent family, Charles and Carrie, with their three daughters, Annie, Blanche, and Clara.¹ Although a pursuit of the history of such family groups through the second generation would be important historically, such an enterprise is beyond the scope of the present essay.

The earliest examples of the traveling theatre in Kansas were the Gabay Company of 1856 about which little information has been found, and Mr. and Mrs. Langrishe, whose trail has been crossed for some two decades. During the winter of 1859 the Langrishes showed at Atchison, Leavenworth, Junction City, and Topeka, when the only transportation available was the stagecoach.² Their demonstration that it could be done only emphasized how unusual it was. During the mid-1860's, the occasional traveling show became more frequent, but not prevalent.

II. LOUIE LORD: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

The personal story of James A. and Louie Lord has been told elsewhere, except for some additional data on Mrs. Lord's early life. The Topeka *Commonwealth*, December 9, 1870, published a biographical sketch, and the only one found thus far. Part of the data given was corroborated by other sources, a fact that tends to encourage confidence in the unverified portions. According to this source she was born November 12, 1847, at LaPorte, Ind., her parents moving to Chicago when she was five:

Her ultimate intention was to become a teacher, and, having prepared herself for that profession, she was about entering on her duties, when fate threw in her path a young soldier, in the shape of J. A. Lord, who had just been sent home from Vicksburg, wounded and dying. Cupid (mischievous boy) thought that there was a fine chance for more game. He took aim, and sent his arrow through two devoted hearts. A marriage was the consequence; it took place on the 18th day of October, 1864, Dr. Patterson, of the Second Presbyterian church of Chicago, officiating. The soldier returned to his profession [theatre] and the girlish wife followed her husband, another candidate for histrionic fame. Her first appearance on the stage was in the part of "Minnie," in the play of *Rip Van Winkle*, in 1865, at the Metropolitan Theater, Indianapolis, Indiana, under the management of W. H. Riley.

1. Wamego *Tribune*, February 18, 1879.

2. *Daily Times*, Leavenworth, December 13, 1859; *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, December 17, 1859.

If the date 1847 was correct, Louie was married at 17 and made her theatrical debut at 18. Nothing in that chronology appears particularly unusual. This account would have her entering upon a teaching career at 17, and according to another account she was already a school teacher prior to her marriage. As the dates of Lord's discharge from the Union army and the marriage were confirmed by the probate court papers filed in connection with the settlement of his estate, any questioning of her chronology would focus upon the birth date. A 17-year-old school teacher was not impossible, but relatively unusual. But accepting that date tentatively, Mrs. Lord was one month past 22 when she first appeared in Kansas; two months past 37 when Mr. Lord died, and 42 when she made her last recorded tour in Kansas. If she was actually present at Oberlin, Kan., in 1897, she was 50 years of age. This chronology would fix the difference in age between Mr. and Mrs. Lord at 18 years.

But returning to the opening of her theatrical career, 1865-1869, the *Commonwealth* sketch continued:

Mrs. Lord became a general favorite with the public and her friends; and, possessing the sacred "fire," obstacles melted like ice before the sun's rays. Many of the first "stars" of this country and England admitted that they had never met so young a person endowed with such superior talents in comedy and tragedy, possessing such pleasing vocal abilities. She seems peculiarly fitted by nature to adorn and brighten the profession she has chosen. She is a lady of great accomplishments. Her manners are easy, graceful and engaging, and she makes a fine appearance on the stage. Having appeared in the principal cities with success, she is pronounced by all to be worthy of the plaudits of the most intelligent. One of the most flattering engagements was tendered her, being no less than three hundred nights, to support "Vestvali," in London, England; but previous engagements prevented the acceptance of the offer.

In 1869, upon arriving in Kansas in November, James A. Lord was probably 40 years of age and had behind him 14 years of theatrical experience, less the term of his military service. Louie Lord had four years on the stage to her credit, a young woman just turned 22, and 18 years her husband's junior.

III. THE FIRST TOUR OF KANSAS, 1869-1870

ATCHISON, DECEMBER 13-18, 1869

In Atchison the troupe was advertised merely as the J. A. Lord Dramatic Company. No background was provided although this was their first appearance in the area. The only introductions to the theatre-going public were the commendations of the St. Joseph, Mo., press, the *Gazette*, and the *Herald*, both of which were en-

thusiastic. Possibly the recommendations of a neighbor were the best of endorsements.

The plays presented at Atchison, in Price's Hall, were "The Hidden Hand," "She Stoops to Conquer," "The Ticket-of-Leave Man," "The Sea of Ice," "Rip Van Winkle," and "Under the Gaslight." Louie Lord took the feminine lead in each: "Capitola," "Kate Hardcastle," "May Edwards," the double role of "Louise De Lascours" and "Ogarita, the Wild Flower of Mexico," "Gretchen," and "Laura Courtland." The male lead was not featured, but was played by Mr. Lord, except in "Rip Van Winkle," when the young comedian, J. A. Simon, was billed to play the name character. Kansas theatre patrons were to hear more of him later as head of his own company for some two decades. The *Champion* pronounced him "the best comedian who has ever visited our place. . . ." After Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer," the *Champion* indicated that: "Miss Louie Lord, Mr. Simon, and Mrs. J. A. Lord are especially deserving of praise. . . ." The company is rapidly growing in public favor. It is undoubtedly the best troupe that has visited our city for a long time. . . ." In view of the theatre record at Atchison, as already reviewed, that superlative praise might not mean much, but at any rate, it is probably the best the *Champion* could do under the circumstances. After "The Ticket-of-Leave Man" the verdict was that the company was "growing more and more popular." The *Champion* was John A. Martin's paper, but no clue is available about who wrote the dramatic criticism, which was perfunctory. Clearly, the man responsible for it was not a drama enthusiast. If all reporters were as noncommittal comparatively little of historical reality could be recovered.³

LEAVENWORTH, DECEMBER 20-28, 1869

In the Kansas metropolis, Leavenworth, the *Times and Conservative* exhibited little more enthusiasm for theatre than the Atchison *Champion*, but the *Commercial* dramatic critic was in an exuberant, uninhibited mood and possessed a flamboyant vocabulary. Different also from the *Champion* was the fact that both papers recognized the coming of the Lord Chicago Dramatic Company as a resumption of theatre in Leavenworth after a long absence. The *Times and Conservative* comment was a sober statement of fact: "We are glad that our citizens again have the opportunity of seeing a good dramatic troupe." But the *Commercial* knew not such re-

3. Atchison *Daily Champion and Press*, December 12, 14-19, 1869.

strait, and opened a long Sunday editorial on "The Resurrection of the Drama":

For weary and monotonous months the Opera House has been closed, with all its former life, bustle and animation suspended. To the vitalized portion of Leavenworth, this has been a grievous deprivation, and one which they have loudly lamented. With the advent of Lord's Dramatic Troupe of Chicago, who to-morrow throw open the portals of the long deserted halls of Thession, the revival of the drama will be effected.⁴

Two other aspects of the advent of the Lords were newsworthy; they were completely unknown to the Missouri river elbow region, and they came from Chicago (not St. Louis, New Orleans, or Cincinnati), and by rail. The *Atchison Champion* had commented that the Lords "appeared for the first time before an Atchison audience. . . ." and quoted plaudits from the *St. Joseph Gazette* about their reception at that place. The *Times and Conservative* was no more explicit in saying: "Lord's Dramatic Troupe comes here with high recommendations from all the places they have visited. The proprietor is a gentleman of wealth and education, and his troupe is composed of artists who will give our people a pleasant surprise." But the *Commercial* was more informing. George Chaplin was with a traveling theatrical troupe at this time as a star, having made the transition in part from the resident theatre to the new mode of operation, and was supposed to have played in Leavenworth. Although operating with the newer type of organization, had Chaplin resurrected theatre in Leavenworth, the event would have represented something of a carry-over from the old regime. Under the heading "Dramatic Sensation," the *Commercial* handled the situation this wise:

The *habitués* of the theatre in Leavenworth, although disappointed in the non-fulfillment of Mr. Chaplin's engagement are nevertheless to be favored with choice dramatic entertainments throughout the coming week. On next Monday night [December 20] a company from McVicker's theatre, in Chicago, will open at the Opera House. Both in Quincy [Illinois], St. Joseph and other cities, the troupe have been favored with splendid audiences, and we hope they will be equally favored while here. A lady of fashion and wealth from Chicago, under the stage name of Louise Lord, is the star.

In the editorial "The Resurrection of the Drama" from which the opening paragraph has been quoted, the *Commercial* continued:

Hailing from McVicker's, Chicago, and playing at the intermediate cities, where they have invariably been well received with patronage of the people, and the plaudits of the press, we bespeak for them and their merits a fair reception. We commend them to the attention of our play-goers—not because

4. *Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, December 18, 1869; *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, December 19, 1869.

we can "speak by the card," but for the simple reason of their apparent popularity in other places, as on their route hitherward. Mr. Lord, is a gentleman of standing in Chicago, possessed of wealth, and only induced to venture in the uncertain enterprises at present attendant upon the legitimate drama, because of his wife's (Louisa Lord) passion for the same.

Parenthetically, this is not the first time a wife was held responsible for her husband's actions, and in that matter the record of the Lords would indicate that the editor was mistaken. But he should be commended upon another point inasmuch as this was the only instance found in which Louie's first name was spelled correctly—Louisa, not Louise. More important, however, is that in all the public relations of this first tour of the Lords in Kansas, the name of the city of Chicago was conspicuous. No one was permitted to forget that windy city. As early as 1857 Chicago's rise in a decade from a village of 5,000 to a city of almost 100,000 was explained as the result of her citizens' continual talk about Chicago, and railroads. They were still "blowing."

Except that "Rip Van Winkle" was omitted, and "Under the Gaslight" was given twice, the same program of plays was given in Leavenworth as in Atchison. The company was induced to stay on for a benefit to Mrs. Lord on Tuesday, December 28, when "Lady Audley's Secret" and "Rip Van Winkle" were presented as a double bill.

The *Times and Conservative* report on "The Hidden Hand" performance was perfunctory and colorless: "This company made their debut to a good house last evening, and the lively sensation of the Hidden Hand was brought out creditably." In contrast, the *Commercial* was extravagant:

The Lord Dramatic Troupe gave an initial performance at the Opera House last evening, and were received with great *eclat* by a large and stylish audience. As they came unheralded their unmistakable success can only be regarded as a testimonial to their merits. The "Hidden Hand," dramatized from Mrs. Southworth, constituted the bill of the evening, prefaced by "Captain Jinks" in character, by little Addie Corey, who was most enthusiastically received and encored. The little lady's songs will certainly render themselves popular with all ages. The Star, Miss Louie Lord, may safely felicitate herself on her triumphant *debut*. She is a beautiful blonde, possessing fine stage presence, a melodious and effective voice and unmistakable dramatic abilities of high order. To the sparkling and dashing role of "Capitola" she imparted all of the abandon and *espièglerie* that pertains to it, and was deservedly the recipient of much applause and call before the curtain. As she is certain to prove a favorite while she remains with us, we counsel the public to be in attendance to-night to see her in a congenial character—that of "Kate Hardcastle," in "She Stoops to Conquer."

Mr. Simon, as "Wool," divided the honors fairly, and created much mirthfulness. He introduced several hits at the times, which were readily recognized and applauded by the audience. Mr. Lord was a successful "Old Hurricane."

While the *Times* and *Conservative*, December 22 and 23, gave one sentence each to the plays of the preceding night and used the identical phrase "in fine style" for each, the *Commercial* man cumulated his estimates of three nights in superlatives, if not rhapsody:

Those of our citizens who have been in attendance at the Opera House during the past week, have no cause to regret the patronage they have thus extended to a very talented and meritorious dramatic company. Strangers to this community, and our theatre goers, they won much regard on their first appearance, which has steadily increased on each subsequent performance. The "fair one" with the golden locks, Louie Lord, on her *debut* fairly established herself as a favorite in her successful assumption of "Capitola," which she surpassed as "Kate Hardcastle;" and still farther perfected in the "Ticket-of-Leave Man," last evening, as "Mag Edwards."

As acceptable as the previous performances had proven, the accomplishment arrived at in the "Ticket-of-Leave-Man" far transcended the precedent plays, and fully demonstrated the talent and capacity of the company, all of whom are worthy of unqualified commendation. Louie Lord as "May Edwards," was subdued, affectionate, and natural, playing the character feelingly and effectively, and with entire satisfaction to the numerous auditory. By and by, 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 rivaled Godiva's "rippled ringlets to her knee," or the description of Miles O'Reilley:

"It was brown with a golden gloss, Jeanette,
It was finer than the silk of the floss, my pet;
'Twas a beautiful mist falling down to your waist,
'Twas a thing to be braided, and jeweled, and kissed;
'Twas the loveliest thing in the world, my pet."

Mr. Lord, as "Bob Brierly rendered the Yorkshire lad, with peculiar force and effect, and, together with his wife, were honored with a call before the curtain. Mr. Simon, as "Melter Moss" the jeer, surpassed all of his previous assumptions. The other ladies and gentlemen of the company are entitled to their need of praise for the painstaking evinced.

The *Commercial* was so deeply impressed by "The Sea of Ice" that the writer regretted that "they did not produce it on their opening night." Again Louie Lord received a curtain call: "She realized all of the tender, truthful and affectionate, that pertains to the character" of "Ogarita." Again: "Last night the wealth of her golden hair was exhibited to the delighted audience. Like the fair 'Rosamond' she surpasses her mates, and deserves the strongest support from her sisterhood."

On Christmas Eve the play was "Under the Gaslight":

It was finely executed by the Chicago Company last evening, Louie Lord surpassing herself in her quiet, natural effectiveness, a distinguishing qualification, immeasurably superior to the demonstrative style so much in vogue. As in "Ogarita," she as "Laura Courtland," charmed each and every one in the audience. It is in *roles* of this description that she accomplishes her finest effects, and as they are precisely those calculated to minister to the educated taste of Leavenworth, we counsel her persistence in them to the neglect of all "Lotta" imitations.

The littlest star of that Christmas Eve was the child actress of the company, Addie Corey:

Little "Peach blossom" created a sensation, carrying a great part of the applause in her favor. "Addie Coren" is a little wee thing, but immense in her assumption of the character. We know nothing that will so interest the children, as to let them see her in her antics tonight. [The play was being repeated.] Her singing of the "Merriest Girl that's Out," was loudly applauded and encored. She is really a prodigy. . . . Go and see them to-night—take the children.

That would have been, as the article was headed, "Gala Christmas Night," and closed the regular engagement of the company at Leavenworth, but "the *fuore*" created by "this versatile and fascinating *artiste* [Louie Lord]" brought a proposal to the manager to stay over "and allow our citizens to testify to their appreciation of his Company's excellencies in a testimonial to his wife." A double-bill for Tuesday night, after two days of rest, was the result, and next day the report ran:

All the town was out last evening to testify of their appreciation of the stage gifts and graces of the accomplished *artiste* Miss Louie Lord. . . . The house was literally packed, surpassing any audience in number since Lotta entranced the town. As Lady Audley, the bewildering *blonde*, unscrupulous as lovely—she surpassed herself, and added one more laurel to her Leavenworth renown. She was equally successful in her assumption of "Gretchen," in Rip Van Winkle. . . .

Thus did theatre return to Leavenworth, though only for a memorable Christmas week, to be followed by a fairly long void.⁵

LAWRENCE, DECEMBER 30-JANUARY 5, 1870

At Lawrence the formal advertisements again announced "Lord's Chicago Dramatic Company" to the public. The list of plays presented December 30, 1869, to January 4, 1870, six nights, included the first four on the Atchison and Leavenworth lists, but introduced two others: "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." The first play came Thursday night, and the *Tribune* noted that it was the company's first appearance in Lawrence, quoting Leaven-

5. *Daily Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, December 17-19, 21-25, 29, 1869; *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, December 17-19, 21-25, 28, 29, 1869.

worth's appreciation. Of the first performance, the *Tribune* reported: ". . . Frazer's Hall was filled with a large and appreciative audience—much larger, in fact, than we had anticipated, for the company are almost entire strangers to us."

The editor admitted that they compared favorably with older companies in Eastern cities: "We cannot but admire Miss Louie Lord. She is perfectly natural, and combines ease with a pleasant vivacity. Her singing was not what it might have been, for she was suffering from a severe cold." The editor then proceeded to put the Leavenworth papers in their places: "Miss Lord has been on the stage for six or seven years, and is not as the Leavenworth papers made her out, a *debutante*." The New Year's Eve audience suffered from social competition. The third night, the *Tribune* concluded, was the best performance to date. Mr. Simon, the comedian, was given more space than the star. After commending generally the performance of "The-Ticket-of-Leave Man" the *Tribune* turned to "Uncle Tom's Cabin":

Last night the comedy entitled Uncle Tom's Cabin was given with equal success. After having seen Miss Louie Lord as Capitola in *The Hidden Hand*, and as May Edwards in the *Ticket-of-Leave-Man*, we are not a little surprised to see with what perfection she effected so total a transformation from one character to another. The role of Topsy is a difficult one to take, but was perfectly rendered last night. Little Addie Corey as Eva, performed her part well. The death scene was very affecting, and we saw more than one handkerchief raised to wipe away a tear.

Likewise the *Journal* pronounced "Uncle Tom's Cabin" rendered "in a very happy manner. Topsy kept the house in an uproar, and little Eva (Addie Corey) drew tears from many eyes as she affectingly played her part. This is a play which requires much of the ridiculous, and contains much that is affecting, and last evening it was well rendered. . . ."

The fifth play was "the great spectacular drama, 'The Sea of Ice.' . . . This piece is one of the specialties of the troupe, and every effort has been made to have it a success. Scenery for this play, in particular, has been brought here, and we can assure our readers that it will be put upon the stage in better shape than anything ever played here before." Afterwards, the same paper related that: "The play . . . was one requiring special and costly scenery, and we heard predictions during the day, that it would be impossible to present it in an acceptable manner, on that account. But . . . when the magnificent scene in which appears the rugged ocean of ice, opened to view, all doubts were

dispelled, and the audience, with one accord, pronounced it perfect."

The *Journal* elaborated, emphasizing first that "universal sentiment" pronounced the troupe "good actors." Second, it admitted that "Heretofore, theatrical performances have been but poorly patronized here. . . ." Having made that confession, however, the writer turned it into a compliment to the Lord company: "the people of Lawrence have no lack of appreciation of the dramatic art, as has been seen by the full houses which have greeted this troupe. The fact is, this is the first time we have ever had a company of true artists in the city." The *Tribune* confirmed the *Journal's* enthusiasm for the scenic success: It "was produced with a precision, exactness and effect which we had hardly hoped to realize. There was nothing wanting. The scene of the breaking up of the ice, the most touching and at the same time the most important part of the play, was perfect. . . ."

In announcing "Ten Nights in a Bar Room" the *Tribune* explained that: "In this piece the horrid and baleful effects of the vice of intemperance are fully pictured and brought out. It will serve as a temperance lecture, but the lessons in morals it teaches will create a deeper impression than the most talented lecturer could hope to achieve." Afterwards the only comment was to the effect that the performance was a success: "The play was brought out in the force which it requires. . . ."

The *Journal's* advance notice of the play asserted: "It has been said that this play is one of the most effective temperance arguments ever presented to the public." Afterwards—"to say that it was good, would be rendering faint praise for acting so nearly perfect. Mr. Lord as 'Joe Morgan,' drew tears from many eyes, by his life pictures of the miseries of drunkenness; and J. A. Simon, as 'Sample Switchell,' kept the house convulsed with merriment while upon the stage."

If the press reports were an accurate guide, Simon and his laughter producing qualities were really the major features of the week's theatre. Of course, the whole company was praised, but more even than the star, Simon was given personal attention. The *Journal* expressed what it deemed the general wish: "that they favor us with another visit this winter." Singular also was another Lawrence reaction; a stir among the young gentlemen to organize a Lawrence Dramatic Association. All interest were invited to address a note in care of the *Tribune* office.⁶ Could it be possible that the young

6. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, December 29-31, 1869, January 1, 1870; *Republican Daily Journal*, Lawrence, December 30, 31, 1869, January 1, 3-6, 1870.

gentlemen of Lawrence did not recognize the existence and necessity of young women? If so, then Lawrence was indeed the strangest place in Kansas. The form of the announcement was significant nevertheless of the extent to which 1870 was, according to the male mind most everywhere, a man's world, and all therein belonged to the male of the species. At any rate he would have the world think so and take him at his own evaluation.

TOPEKA, JANUARY 6-19, 1870

The westernmost stop by the Lord company was Topeka. Chicago was again advertised to Kansas people, the advertisements in the *Record* reading "Lord's Dramatic Co. of Chicago," and in the *Commonwealth*, "Lord's Chicago Dramatic Company,"—"with the young and versatile actress, Louie Lord. . . ."

In Topeka an 11-day season brought 12 performances. All the plays used at Atchison, Leavenworth, and Lawrence were represented, plus "Don Caesar de Bezan" and "The Lady of Lyons." Furthermore, "Ten Nights in a Bar Room" was offered twice, once at a matinee for women and children. The appearance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" only once, while "Ten Nights" was demanded a second time for the matinee, may provide food for thought.

When "Rip Van Winkle" was performed, with Simon in the name part, the *Commonwealth's* verdict was that this is "undoubtedly his character." The writer emphasized his own qualifications for dramatic criticism in this case: he had seen Joseph Jefferson in the role, and Simon's "Rip . . . could not have been better portrayed." One concession was made: "the only disadvantage the troupe labors under is the lack of scenery, which cannot be remedied here at the present time." Also the *Record* reported favorably on Simon and paid its compliments to the "Gretchen" of the piece: "We have never seen Mrs. Lord to better advantage than as the sorely-tried and loud-voiced wife of poor, foolish 'Rip.'"

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" came fourth in the series and without special fan fare, the *Record* merely closing its comment on the performance of "The-Ticket-of-Leave Man" to a "fair" audience, with the bare announcement: "The company promise a rare treat next Monday night, when they will bring out 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'" Afterwards the same paper reported:

The "popular drama," as it is generally called, . . . proved very popular last night. Union Hall was packed, every seat was filled, and many persons

stood up during the performance. Among the audience was a large number of children, who enjoyed the entertainment hugely. . . . Miss Louie Lord was a very amusing "Topsy," throwing a world of "nigger" into the delineation. Mr. Simon's "Marks," with his everlasting "Shake!" was well done, as is customary with Mr. Simon.

The *Commonwealth's* short comment awarded special praise to Addie Corey's "Eva" and as for the company—"Seldom have we seen acting better appreciated. . . ."

The sixth play on the list was "The excellent play of 'Ten Nights in a Bar Room'" when "little Addie sang the well known ballad, 'Father, come home,' with a pathetic tenderness and sweetness we have never heard equalled. She was loudly applauded at the close of each verse. The play from first to last gave unalloyed satisfaction." The *Commonwealth* was more restrained: "This very popular play was well rendered. . . . The house was, as usual since Lord came, full. Again Addie Corey is deserving of praise. The other characters all did well." Nothing in these comments would seem to prepare the reader for what came three days later when a matinee performance was arranged. That story belongs here to round out the theme, and to call attention by contrast with the neglect of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

In announcing the Saturday afternoon matinee, the *Record* stated that it was done by the Lord troupe "to accommodate ladies and children who cannot always conveniently attend night performances. . . . To accommodate the little folks, the admission fee will be fixed at twenty cents, and it is worth many times that to any human being, big or little, to hear Addie Corey sing 'Father Come Home.'" The *Commonwealth* was brief and to the point: "It is for the benefit of the children especially, though 'children of larger growth' will find it worth while to be present." This performance of Saturday afternoon, January 15, 1870, was noteworthy on another account. The village of Topeka was showing signs of "growing up," or emerging as a city—supposedly, this was the first matinee ever given there, and that unique fact was duly noted, by the *Commonwealth*:

The first matinee ever given in Topeka, was *very* fully attended yesterday. "Ten Nights in a Barroom" was even better delivered than a few evenings since. Before the last act, Mr. Lord came before the audience. His remarks were chiefly to the children. He said that he had presented the piece to thousands of people, but never to a better behaved, more appreciative audience than the one then before him. He warned the children that just as sure as they followed the practice of using intoxicating liquor, just so sure would such scenes as they had seen portrayed, be the result.

The *Record's* report likewise emphasized that:

The audience which filled Union Hall . . . was composed of the youngest lot of play-goers and theatrical critics we ever remember to have seen assembled.

The request "down in front," was quite unnecessary, for the front seats were filled with little chaps not over three feet high to begin with. The play, "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," interested the children immensely. The house was deathly still during the solemn scenes, and perfectly uproarious when anything comical was on the stage. Before the curtain rose for the last scene, Mr. Lord made a neat little speech, thanking the children for their appreciation of the play, and explaining its moral. Mr. L., as a temperance lecturer to children, was an unqualified success.

Another play in the series at Topeka warrants a short notice. "The Sea of Ice," according to the *Record* was "a decided hit." It required scenery that could not be expected to be found in the conventional assortment of stage equipment. Shipment of much of such properties was prohibitive, in spite of the recorded three railroad cars required by "The Black Crook." When Burt had launched the Union Theatre in Leavenworth, in 1858, he doubled or rather tripled as manager, actor, and scene painter. In the Addis regime in 1862, after Burt was dismissed by Templeton, O'Neil doubled as scene painter. When "The Sea of Ice" was presented for the first time in Leavenworth in October, 1866, no mention was made of how the special scenery and mechanical devices were produced. The Lord Company had been presenting "The Sea of Ice" on this tour, but only at Lawrence had the practical question of scenery been mentioned—"Scenery for the play, in particular, has been brought here. . . ."

At Topeka the newspapers presented a different story. According to the *Record*: "The scenic effects introduced were far beyond our expectations, and what makes the matter more wonderful, the scenes were painted, and the whole stage machinery gotten up here. The first scene representing the deck of the good ship Urania, was excellent. The great scene of the play, the breaking up of the ice, was infinitely better than we supposed it could possibly be made in Topeka."⁷ The *Commonwealth* agreed in part, but limited the extent of the local production: "The scenery was excellent—the scene in the last act of the chamber was painted in this city by Harry Gray and was magnificently done."

The *Commonwealth* admitted that: "We feared that the company . . . would not sustain its reputation . . . but after

7. There was no explanation whether in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" the escape of Eliza over the breaking ice utilized the same or similar devices.

visiting the play, we must say we never saw it better performed. J. A. Simon played his part well. We admired the splendid posing of Louie Lord. That is everything in the presentation of pieces of this cast. She fil[l]ed the ear with her words, while she charmed the eye by her actions." The *Record* emphasized that: "She played throughout with great spirit and force. Her final exposure of and triumph over the villain, Del Monte, was a fine piece of acting. It is in characters like these requiring great physical and mental force; in portraying the stormier passions of the heart, that Mrs. Lord has appeared while here, to the best advantage."

The benefit for Louie Lord was set for Saturday night, January 15, and the play—"that old, yet always new and interesting play, the 'Lady of Lyons.' . . . She has appeared in almost every variety of character, and in none of them has she slighted her part. . . ." On account of an Editorial Association Ball Monday night, January 17, there was no show, but the season was to close Tuesday night with "Under the Gaslight." The public was assured that: "The celebrated 'Railroad Scene' will be produced, also the 'Pier Scene.'"

After the event the *Record* said the hall "was crammed" and that: "The audience was the largest which has attended any of the performances." The *Commonwealth* insisted that the company had kept this play back and had "presented their best, as the closing play, in this city. It is a piece most difficult to faithfully enact; yet each character was, (we might almost say), perfectly represented. We were very anxious about their success in running the engine upon the stage, but they succeeded admirably. Other troupes whom we have seen in this play have made a fizzle with the engine. . . ."

But this proved not to be their closing show. As in Lawrence they stayed over another day and revealed "Lady Audley's Secret."—"Louie Lord was a perfect success . . . as she is in all her parts." Mr. Lord made a curtain speech complimenting the town and expressing the hope of visiting Topeka again the next season. His generosity in yielding the hall to the Editorial Association Ball paid off well in public relations as the press made amply clear. After commending Lord, the *Commonwealth* entered into the record a moral verdict: "in no play that he has presented here, has there been the least thing that could offend the taste of the most fastidious of hearers." The *Record* volunteered that: "no company has ever been in Topeka that gave such universal satisfaction. The

whole company are gentlemanly and ladylike, and they try their best to instruct and amuse, and do so.⁸

LAWRENCE, SECOND VISIT, JANUARY 20-22, 1870

When the Lord Company returned to Lawrence January 20-22, 1870, for a second visit the same winter, both papers greeted them cordially; this time on the basis of the favorable impressions in December. The three plays featured were "Lady Audley's Secret," "Under the Gaslight," and "The Lady of Lyons." The *Tribune* had asked for "Rip Van Winkle," but that request was not honored. Notwithstanding the fact that on their opening night Lawrence was celebrating the dedication and naming of "Liberty Hall" in the Poole building, a good audience turned out.

On account of an instance of mistaken identity, the Lord Company very nearly suffered a depletion of its ranks that would have stopped their Lawrence appearances:

It seems that a house on Pennsylvania street kept as a mansion of pleasure . . . , was entered in broad daylight . . . by two men and robbed. . . . A colored woman who has been doing duty as a servant in the house, saw the parties making off with the plunder, and at once sent for her husband, who was at work near by. They overtook the burglars, and recovered the property. . . . A few minutes afterwards two members of the dramatic company, who had just arrived on the Topeka train, came out of the hotel, and were at once pointed out by the colored man as the thieves. They were accordingly arrested and brought before Judge Banks for examination. . . . Meanwhile the whole troupe, and the janitor at Frazer's Hall, united in testifying that they had been constantly on duty since their arrival, at the hall, in preparing for the [evening] play. Of course they were at once discharged but not until so late an hour as almost to prevent the performance. . . .

The play "Under the Gaslight" was staged "with a force and skill which we were not prepared to see," because the effect depended so largely upon the scenery. Besides this verdict, the *Tribune* said Louie Lord "was splendid," and Mr. Simon "could hardly be surpassed." In fact, "He was decidedly the favorite of the evening." The next night the critic agreed that the presentation "placed a crown on the already brilliant achievements of the troupe. . . ."⁹

So far as Kansas showings were concerned, the Lord Company's excursion into Kansas appears to have been a success. Evidently the troupe was carrying the minimum number of players, if not

8. *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, January 4, 7-9, 11, 16, 19, 20, 1870; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, January 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 16, 19, 20, 1870.

9. *Lawrence Daily Tribune*, January 20-23, 1870; *Republican Daily Journal*, Lawrence, January 18, 20, 22, 1870.

actually shorthanded. If the newspaper commentary meant anything in the way of independent audience judgment upon the merits of particular members, Mrs. Lord was easily the favorite, but Simon would seem to have rated a close rival for Mr. Lord for second place, and possibly he should be granted that distinction. Jennie Woltz was unquestionably the next in line, although her singing rather than her acting was the basis of the praise accorded her. The commentary upon other members of the troupe was too vague to indicate who could have substituted for Mrs. Lord had an emergency occurred. Depending upon the role required, the chance might have fallen to Miss Woltz, or to Mrs. Graham. The important point, however, was the fact that Mrs. Lord did not miss a night, and no performance was cancelled or even a different play substituted at the last minute on account of illness of a key member of the cast.

IV. INTERIM REPORT ON THEATRE, 1870; BETWEEN SEASONS

Too narrow a focus upon the Lord Dramatic Company would rob the story of perspective that could only distort the representative character of that organization, and thereby do a disservice alike to the Lords and to theatrical history in general. As Leavenworth was the only Kansas town possessing a substantial theatrical history, it must serve again as a sample of what was being done in the older river cities of the Missouri river elbow region. Following the visit of the Lords there during Christmas week, 1869, the next newspaper-advertised entertainment in the Opera House was the Skiff and Gaylord Minstrels, January 25-27, 1870. On January 29 there was an expose of the Davenport Brothers' Spiritualist frauds, followed by the Fakir of Ava in Laing Hall—legerdemain and necromancy.

The first theatre in the new year was Felix Rogers and Jenny Willmore, February 11, 12, followed by a return visit of the Skiff and Gaylor Minstrels. A vocal quartet, The Original Bakers, came February 22, and The Alleghanians, Swiss Bell Ringers, March 10, The Peep O'Day Boys, songs and dances, March 25, and Blind Tom, April 14-16. The only series of real theatre performance came between April 25 and July 2, or late spring and early summer. The Emerson Minstrels appeared August 5 and 6, the Duprey and Benedict Minstrels, September 26-28, Leavenworth's local amateur minstrels, October 4, the burnt-cork monotony being broken only by the Peak Family, Swiss Bell Ringers, October 6 and 7. But the town was not long spared another burnt-cork invasion, Johnny

Allen's Sensation Minstrels, October 17 and 18. For more than a month the Opera House was closed, then the Lord company arrived in Leavenworth, November 21, for a prolonged tour of Kansas.

The late spring and early summer interval within this miscellany had a significance all its own. The season of the year ran against the current of the new dispensation when traveling theatre returned to home bases. The heat of summer, the seasonal occupation of a predominantly agricultural area, and the preferences for outdoor recreation were not favorable for theatre. Even Leavenworth, Kansas City, and St. Joseph were not yet large enough to support year round theatre. The summer theatre was in some respects a carryover from the transition of river transportation when navigation was closed during the winter months. But the railroads made summer vacation time for the more pretentious forms of commercial entertainment. If any was offered, it was of the lighter sort.

The National Theatre was a relatively new organization which had been put together, if not for the first time, certainly in its 1870 version, at Fort Scott where it operated at McDonald Hall, January 17 to March 3, as a resident theatre without benefit of traveling stars.

The girl who emerged there as its star was May Preston who was still present when the Nationals opened in Leavenworth, April 25. She played during the first four nights. The replacement of May Preston, Friday, April 29, by Nellie Johnson, and the arrival of another new girl, Imogin Kent, both from Cincinnati theatres, just about completed an entire change of personnel after the Fort Scott run. A two-week engagement was completed at Leavenworth May 7. On the occasion of its last day but one in the city, the *Commercial* pronounced the Nationals "the best dramatic entertainment . . . for a long time past. . . . As a travelling company, the Nationals are not to be excelled. We are given to understand that Mr. Bancroft will shortly return here, he having engaged the services of Mr. G. D. Chaplin, an old time favorite of Leavenworth and one who as a Tragedian is almost unequalled."

Next, Kate Denin, a familiar name to Leavenworth theatre goers, came for two weeks, May 9-21, "with a carefully selected, full, complete and powerful DRAMATIC COMPANY." This was the Mills Dramatic Company, traveling theatre, and Kate Denin traveling star, associated only for a short engagement. The Collins Dramatic Company followed for five days, May 23-27; Satsuma's Royal Japanese Troupe came Saturday May 28, remaining through June 2, the Mills Dramatic Company filling in the last two days of the week, June 3 and 4. This time the Mills Company was without Kate

Denin or other traveling star. It was advertised as a "full" company: "The best in the West." The local critic indulged in superlatives: "[the] Troupe is the best which has ever performed in Leavenworth." Its Annie Ward was pronounced the next day as "bewitching as usual." On Saturday night a benefit was tendered her, but "that charming little actress" was taken ill during the afternoon and could not perform. Nevertheless, the public was assured the company would be back soon. Legitimate theatre was interrupted at that point for three days of Arlington's Minstrels of Chicago.

The next theatre was Leavenworth's old friends, C. W. Couldock and his daughter Eliza, supported by none other than the Mills Dramatic Company, June 20-25. The plays were the old Couldock bill of fare—"Willow Copse," "Chimney Corner," "Louis XI," "The Jew of Frankfort," "The Porter's Knot," and a second showing of "Chimney Corner." The climax of the summer season, however, was the last: Post and Rogers' Dramatic "Star" Combination, with G. D. Chaplin and Louise Sylvester, supported by "a full and efficient Company from De Bar's Opera House, St. Louis." The coming of Leavenworth's theatrical hero whom many had come to appreciate fully only after he was gone, had been announced by the *Commercial*, June 3:

George D. Chaplin, a man who has done more for the legitimate drama in Leavenworth than any other man who ever honored us with a long or short stay, is positively to appear at the Opera House, on the 27th inst., remaining one week. He will receive an ovation that will convince the people who allowed the drama to leave us, that they in so doing lost more than they appreciated. Chaplin will have a warm welcome from his host of friends.

This was the third announcement found which assured the public that Chaplin would visit Leavenworth. On April 29, the *Times and Conservative* had reported his movements:

George Chaplin is about closing his engagement with DeBar, at St. Louis, and is going to Boston to take the management of Selwyn's Theatre. He is now playing a star engagement at Chicago. He will be at liberty, the last of May, to come here. He has hosts of friends here who are more the less true because he had bad luck here. We should be greatly pleased to see George Chaplin once more on the Leavenworth boards.

The above story is not easy to follow or unravel except that Chaplin would be at liberty to come to Leavenworth the last of May. It was about a week later that Bancroft, manager of the Nationals had given assurance that Chaplin would appear as star with his organization. Now on June 3 he was announced again, without the sup-

porting company being named, but when the time came, June 27, he was with the Post & Rogers Company.

Again, on the day before Chaplin would open, the *Commercial* paid tribute:

As an artist of the first class, he is well known to the society and the public of this place who have been delighted before by his dramatic talent. Leavenworth owes much to Chaplin, who has given his time in by gone years to feeding the taste for the higher order of true art. Let Chaplin on this occasion, call forth the fashion and sensibility of the city.

After the first performance the *Commercial* reported upon the "old time favorite" in "Enoch Arden"—"he achieved the success which his talent always commands . . .," supported by Louise Sylvester, "one of the most charming of actresses." In spite of Monday's heat maximum of 96°, "a fashionable audience . . . gave these artists a worthy greeting. . . ." Again the writer acknowledged Leavenworth's debt to Chaplin and for a reversal of audience response insisted that: "Owing to the continued warm weather and the presence of Mr. Chaplin at the Opera House," La Rue's Minstrels at Laing's Hall had a smaller attendance than on the preceding Saturday.

As was so frequently the case, the *Bulletin* provided a variant in response:

We shall never forgive Tennyson for his concluding plot in the great epic of "Enoch Arden." The idea of Enoch returning . . . only to find his beautiful wife and his children gobbled by Philip Ray, and to go dead over the sight, is too sad. The whole-souled reality which G. E. [D.] Chaplin threw into the character of "Enoch Arden" last evening will not soon be forgotten. . . . The applause was so great at the conclusion, that he was called back to the stage, where he made an impromptu address, which was cheered like that of [Patrick] Henry before the Virginia delegates.

This was Louise Sylvester's first appearance before a Leavenworth audience, but she did so well the *Bulletin* critic concluded her success was assured. Also, in the afterpiece, she played the title role: "Nan, the Good-for-Nothing," which did something to the dramatic critic: "Miss Sylvester . . . leaves nothing more to be imagined or desired."

On Tuesday night, in the "Lorelie," the *Commercial* reported the audience of "a very fashionable description," which was evidently a euphemism for a disappointingly small house: "George Chaplin seldom appeared to a better advantage. . . . Miss Sylvester is also a charming performer, who wins the hearts of her audience by her natural grace and cultivated talent." Wednesday night Chaplin played his favorite role "Elliott Gray" in "Rosedale," and in spite

of the heat "pleased" his friends, while Miss Sylvester, "acquitted herself admirably . . . but they should have had a larger audience." The *Bulletin* was more outspoken: Chaplin's "broad nobility of conduct instructs everyone, because he goes right to every heart. His imposing stature, with head thrown back, is the envy of such as have an eye for form." And no one could justly argue that the *Bulletin's* critic was lacking in "an eye for form," but the form was feminine:

She is not only about the comeliest daughter of Eve whom we have ever clapped eyes upon, but is likewise one of the most gifted.—Young, brilliant and ambitious, may her star rise very high. Her features are finely cut, showing a swift thinker and a piercing observer. Like Absalom in the king's gate, she steals the hearts of all who approach. Rarely does nature endow one with such a union of physical and mental qualities. Every feature is full, and the head is moulded with queenly beauty—hinting a possible foundation for that "cube of human faculty" of which Hugo has written! The stage can nowhere show a finer ornament. May the hemlock never spring in the furrows of her life. Such a queenly one has a mission which, if cut off, leaves all dark.

Right—the *Bulletin* boy was in a bad way, and Louise Sylvester had appeared only three nights, halfway through the week. Thursday night the play was "Michael Erle, or the Maniac's Oath," which was greeted by "a good audience, . . ." Some scenes were said to have been enacted with good effect: "Let every one see Chaplin before he goes. They may not see such another actor for a long time." The thermometers in the city had varied from 102° to 106° during the day. On Friday, the play was "Our American Cousin," and the burlesque "Pocahontas." In the title role of the latter Louise Sylvester was the focus of the *Bulletin's* attention: Her fine, original sense of love's ludicrous phases was well given. Her singing, dancing, and loving were polished with the choicest burlesque. She drew enough applause to keep her heart beating for a month. Admiration followed the actress everywhere, like the eyes of a servant upon his master.

On Saturday night came Louise Sylvester's benefit, with the largest audience of the week. But prior to the event, the *Bulletin* rhapsodized again (and Webster's *Dictionary* defines rhapsody as: "A disconnected series of sentences or statements composed under excitement," "confused," or "an estatic or highly emotional utterance. . . ."):

It is courtesy which people owe the fairest of their kind; for what is life, if it is not sometimes cheered with similies which fulfill the ideality of every mind? The stage may not, indeed, be the best sphere for such youthful endowments as Louise's. Yet it throws some ray on every life-path: while many of the daughters of fashion, who live in endless plenty, give no blessing on life's reality and paint no model for its fulfillment.

The critic of the *Bulletin* had an eye only for Louise: "The smartest, prettiest, and most 'killing' gal of the west is Lousie [*sic*]." According to him, her benefit drew the largest audience of the season. The *Times* had been most forthright in recording small audiences. The ovation predicted for Chaplin did not materialize. If anything, the response was the reverse. No doubt there were still many people in Leavenworth who had known and admired him when he had been playing at the old Union Theatre. But he had left Leavenworth three years before, the turnover of population had been extensive, and Chaplin was history. As of the summer of 1870, more were absorbed in the living present, especially such as the *Bulletin's* dramatic critic when the live present was embodied in the form of Louise Sylvester. He continued to follow her through press reports to Topeka and elsewhere: "Louise Sylvester is receiving the most flattering comments ever before given to any woman by the Kansas press."

Who was this woman? The Topeka *Commonwealth* secured the material for a biographical sketch, according to which she was born in Albany, N. Y., March 29, 1851, her professional career beginning in Pittsburgh in 1864 as a child actress in such roles as "Eva" in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "Mary Morgan" in "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." From these roles she found a place in the ballet and finally her chance came on two occasions to take leading roles in emergencies. From Pittsburgh, her path led to Albany, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and then during the summer of 1869, Topeka, followed by a winter in Chicago until Christmas and then De Bar's Theatre in St. Louis from which she came to Kansas again.

Notably, she had never played in New York, and she entered the Mississippi Valley by way of New Orleans, her season at Chicago being only a brief side trip in the otherwise familiar pattern which led from New Orleans along the river towns to Kansas through the St. Louis gateway. Thus, if the birth date assigned her was real, not a publicity date, she was 19 years of age with a professional career since she was "knee high to a trundle bed."¹⁰ This is the Louise Sylvester whom Frank Montgomery had remembered along with Louie Lord, so vividly in 1903.

Several important conclusions are evident from this interim report on Leavenworth theatre during 1870. The prevailing form of commercial entertainment in Leavenworth's principal playhouse

10. The Chaplin-Sylvester episode is covered by the Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, June 3, 17, 26, 28, 30, July 1, 3, 1870; *Daily Bulletin*, June 16, 28, 30, July 2, 5, 13 1870; *Times and Conservative* April 29, June 26, 28-30, July 1, 2, 1870. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, July 9, 1870.

was Negro (burnt-cork) Minstrels; and similar shows occupied Laing's Hall, the second place of amusement. The miscellany of other entertainment was not impressive in quality. The legitimate theatre was still closely allied with the forms and traditions of the past era of resident theatre and river navigation with its river and Southern connections.

The transition to traveling theatre was slow indeed in being completed, although railroads had already displaced steamboats for most passenger travel. Summer theatre was only one evidence of this fact. The replacements in the National Theatre were from Cincinnati. Kate Denin, Couldock, Chaplin, were all of the resident theatre—star tradition associated with Leavenworth history in that old form.

These traveling stars were dependent no longer upon resident theatres of the several cities visited for support, but associated themselves with traveling companies. In each of these cases just cited, the stars were evidently not integral members of the companies with whom they were playing, but appeared essentially as guest stars of traveling companies. The advertisements read: "supported by a full and complete company," or a variant of such wording. That significant separateness was emphasized in the cases of Kate Denin, Couldock, and Chaplin. The Mills Company had visited Leavenworth May 9-14 with Kate Denin as star, June 3 and 4 as a full traveling company, without a star, but returned June 20 in association with Couldock and daughter as stars. Chaplin had been referred to in April as having been engaged by the National Theatre, but came with the Post & Rogers "Star" combination supported by "a full and efficient Company from De Bar's Opera House, St. Louis."

The traveling company was still referred to slightly by the *Commercial*: "As a traveling company, the Nationals are not to be excelled." The full acceptance of the traveling company, a self-contained organization, as possessing status and complete professional respectability had not yet been achieved in 1870. Possibly, in a sense, it might be said that such a condition was never realized because the velocity of change introduced too soon successive innovations that perpetuated its doubtful position. But in the course of transitions, the resident theatre and the star systems were eliminated altogether in favor of something different; not a single new form but several innovations.

V. THE SECOND TOUR OF KANSAS, 1870-1871

INTRODUCTION: ITINERARY, PLAYS PRESENTED AND FREQUENCY

The Lord Dramatic Company made its second excursion into Kansas during the winter of 1870-1871, beginning at Leavenworth, November 21, and ending at Atchison, February 25, a few days in excess of three months of continuous performances, or 80 show days with 81 shows performed. This was much longer than the preceding season of 33 show days, and included six towns instead of four, Emporia and Junction City being added to the circuit. A route sheet for the season would appear thus:

Leavenworth, November 21-26, 1870.....	6 days
Lawrence, November 28-December 3.....	6 days
Topeka, December 5-7, 9, 10.....	5 days
Atchison, December 12-17, 19, 20, 22-24....	11 days
Leavenworth, December 26-January 7, 1871	12 days
Topeka, January 9-21.....	12 days
Emporia, January 23-28.....	6 days
Junction City, January 31-February 4.....	5 days
Topeka, February 6-11.....	6 days
Lawrence, February 13-16, 18.....	5 days
Leavenworth, February 20-22.....	3 days
Atchison, February 23-25.....	3 days

Leavenworth and Topeka, the largest cities, were visited three times each, Atchison and Lawrence, twice each, and Emporia and Junction City, once each. Ranked in the number of shows performed, the order was: Topeka 24, Leavenworth 21, Atchison 14, Lawrence 11, Emporia 6, and Junction City 5.

In the 1870-1871 season, 21 different plays were presented not counting the after pieces, while in the preceding season only 11 were used. Of the plays on the second season's schedule, 15 were new to their Kansas production, six having been given the preceding year. For the two seasons together, a total of 26 different major plays were staged.

The plays produced for the two seasons appear in alphabetical order in the following tables, followed by their frequency numbers. Emporia and Junction City are omitted from the enumerations because of incompleteness of data. Thus frequency numbers represent the same four large towns for both seasons.

PLAYS PRESENTED 1869-70

Frequency

Don Caesar de Bezan.....	1
The Hidden Hand.....	4
Lady Audley's Secret.....	3
The Lady of Lyons.....	2
Rip Van Winkle.....	3

PLAYS PRESENTED 1869-70—Continued	<i>Frequency</i>
The Sea of Ice.....	4
She Stoops to Conquer.....	4
Ten Nights in a Bar Room.....	3
The Ticket-of-Leave Man.....	4
Uncle Tom's Cabin.....	2
Under the Gaslight.....	5
35 performances in 33 days	

PLAYS PRESENTED 1870-1871 (OMITTING EMPORIA AND JUNCTION CITY),
EXCLUDING THOSE REPEATED FROM PRECEDING SEASON

	<i>Frequency</i>
The Child Stealer.....	2
Dora	6
Fanchion, the Cricket.....	3
Frou Frou	5
The Hunchback	4
Ingomar	4
Ireland as It Is.....	4
Marco, the Marble Heart.....	3
The Mormons	5
The Octoroon	4
Oliver Twist	4
Othello	1
Our American Cousin.....	4
Richard III	4
The Serious Family.....	3

PLAYS PRESENTED 1870-1871 (OMITTING EMPORIA AND JUNCTION CITY),
REPEATED FROM THE PRECEDING SEASON

	<i>Frequency</i>
Don Caesar de Bezan.....	1
The Sea of Ice.....	2
Ten Nights in a Bar Room.....	3
The Ticket-of-Leave Man.....	1
Uncle Tom's Cabin.....	3
Under the Gaslight.....	4

For the first season, the plays, "Under the Gaslight," and for the second season, "Dora," "Frou Frou," and "The Mormons" were leaders in frequency of production. That this criterion is not necessarily an accurate index of the impact of a play upon the public would seem evident from the review already presented of the first season. The press reactions to the several plays during the second season would seem to confirm that conclusion. For the first season, the impression given by the press reports would indicate "Ten Nights in a Bar Room" was at least an equal to, if not entitled to priority over, "Under the Gaslight." As will be seen later, opinion on the second season was more widely divided. The score of four for so many plays both seasons reflected little more than the fact that these were the company's choice of the fare for each season and these plays were staged unless there were

special local factors that suggested a variation. The *Leavenworth Bulletin*, November 21, 1870, noted particularly the change the second season and made the introduction of new plays a point of special commendation.

During the first time around the circuit of four major Kansas towns, the four plays presented in all places were "Dora," "Richard III," "Frou Frou," and "The Mormons." "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and "Our American Cousin" made up the remainder of the week's bill of six plays which inaugurated the Kansas tour. At Lawrence, "Ireland as It Is" was substituted for "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Why in Lawrence, with its antislavery-abolition tradition, an Irish piece was substituted for the old Negro classic was not explained, nor commented upon, but Mr. Lord usually had sound reasons for his planning. At Topeka the Lawrence bill was continued except "Our American Cousin" was dropped out because of a five-night week. The Atchison engagement was a two-week run, the first week using the Topeka five and "The Serious Family." "Uncle Tom's Cabin" found its place in the second week's bill.

Topeka saw "Uncle Tom's Cabin" on the second round of the circuit. "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," which had been quite popular apparently the previous year, was not introduced until the third round (second for Lawrence and Atchison) when the basic bill had been "Ingomar," "The Hunchback," and "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." Because Topeka and Lawrence had six-day runs, three other pieces were added to this solid core of three. Thus it was the second round, or second week, in the case of Atchison, where the greatest variability of offerings occurred. Lord was wary of repeat performances, even on different rounds of the circuit, usually declining even when urged by his patrons. The few times he relented, the house was small. The theatre-going public was apparently not large enough to draw a second full house of new listeners, and two few second-nighters actually attended. A new play would draw good houses.

Upon first appearance in Kansas, during the season 1869-1870, the press had recognized the untried character of the company—they must be taken upon recommendation until they had proved themselves. This second the Lord company of some 15 persons, some old and some new, was greeted in the four towns of their previous visit as old friends.¹¹

11. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, November 20, *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, November 20, *Leavenworth Bulletin*, November 21, 1870; *Lawrence Republican Daily Journal*, November 26, *Kansas Daily Tribune*, November 26, 1870; *Topeka Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, December 6, *Daily Kansas State Record*, December 6, 1870; *Atchison Daily Champion & Press*, December 10, 1870.

(Part Two, the Final Installment of This Article, Will Appear in the Winter, 1957, Issue.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

TO YOUR DICTIONARIES!

From the *Western Kansas Express*, Manhattan, July 6, 1861.

FOUND, on the third inst., in the City Hall over our office, a ladies silk reticule with green ribbon strings, which the owner can have by calling at our office and kissing the Editor and Printers.

LO, THE BRAVE INDIANS

From the *Junction City Weekly Union*, May 16, 1868.

A few days after the recent attack by Indians on the construction train [in present Gove county] west of Coyote, our Railroad friends tell us that the Indians attempted to capture the locomotive alive. They took a large quantity of telegraph wire, and doubling it several times, stretched it across the track, an Indian or two holding each end. They didn't want to shoot the thing lest they might injure it, and hence this strategy. Of course the locomotive, under full head of steam, was captured in this way. The noble red man is an imitative cuss—if he wasn't he wouldn't be as mean as he is. They can now enjoy their special train about the country, meeting peace commissioners, and sling on as much style as a one-horse lieutenant of militia. About two days after they burned the cars, we understand an officer at Hays telegraphed the Superintendent to send him a locomotive and a special car, that he might go out and see what the Indians had done. Considering the number of horses and ambulances Uncle Sam furnishes, this may be considered a superb specimen of cheek.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

From *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, October 25, 1872.

THEATRICAL TROUPE.—Mrs. Millie Willard, "a star actress," tore Lucretia Borgia to tatters at Bluemont Hall, last Friday evening. The next night she "went for Leah," in some other play. She has voice enough for a whole troupe. Five minutes sufficiently filled the editorial ear.

FREEDOM OF THE BAR

From the *Ellis County Star*, Hays City, June 22, 1876.

The following scene in a Dodge court room, as described by the *Times*, in which our boys figure conspicuously, we consider too rich to withhold from our readers.

"State vs. Charley Beeson, shooting with intent to kill N. R. Gilbert, prosecuting witness; W. N. Morphy and E. F. Colborn, attorneys for defendant. Prosecuting witness failed to appear, and defendant was released, on payment of costs. In discussing the case Mr. Colborn made a remark reflecting upon

the dignity of the Court, which His Honor rebuked by leaning over the bench and remarking with great severity of manner: "I will permit no puppy to run this Court!" The attorney retorted by vaguely alluding to His Honor as being himself a relative of a certain variety of canine. The Judge, with his characteristic dignity, ruled that his position as Justice of the Peace in Ford county entitled him to the common courtesy due from one gentleman to another. Mr. Colborn inquired if common courtesy permitted a Judge on the bench to call an attorney a pup. His Honor explained that he did not refer to him in particular, but to all puppies in general. Mr. C then stated that he was an authorized attorney, and appeared before the Court in behalf of his client. The Court suggested that he would do well to go back to his old business. The lawyer inquired what his old business was. His Honor commenced to state that he had grave suspicions that he was an ex-bull-whacker, when Mrs. McIntosh, the Squire's estimable lady, who did not seem to take a proper pride in the able and masterly manner in which the Judge was getting away with the young attorney, peremptorily ordered him to "shut up!" In the temporary lull that followed Mr. C. fervently thanked God that there was another Justice of the Peace in the county who would give a lawyer the same rights accorded a "yaller dog" in Court. The Court very appropriately remarked: "You and your d_____d Justice may go to h_____l for all I care. I don't want the d_____d officel!"

"At this juncture County Attorney Sell and W. N. Morphy interfered, and the argument closed."

AN EDITOR MUST LIVE

From *The Times*, Clay Center, November 7, 1889.

If there are any who desire to take the *Clipper* have not the money to pay we will send the paper one year for four bushels of potatoes, or twenty-four head of cabbage, or one bushel of sweet potatoes, or fourteen pounds of fresh pork, or eight chickens, or five bushels of corn, or six bushels of oats, or three bushels of onions, or two bushels of apples, or ten pounds of butter, or eight dozen eggs.—Haddam *Clipper*.

The editor of the Minneapolis *Messenger*—\$2 per year in advance—authorizes us to make the following additions: One cord moist elm wood; two pairs of jeans pants, not much worn; six straw hats, for May delivery; one overcoat, sleeves intact, tails bifurcated; six dozen *good* eggs; two undershirts, heavy, immediate delivery, any color, red preferred (if red, well read); three pairs one-legged drawers, or two pairs two-legged drawers, men's; six pairs winter socks, delivered in installments, one pair the first of each month; one extension-ribbed umbrella, delivered each time it rains; two snow-shoes, one male and one female.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

With the issue of March 14, 1957, the *Alma Signal-Enterprise* began publishing a history of Wabaunsee county. The series is generously illustrated with pictures of people, buildings, and other things connected with the county's early history. Organization of the county was in 1859.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* in recent months included: "Beauty of the Kansas Prairie in Spring Gave Olathe Its Name," by Stan Chapman, March 28, 1957; some history of the Strawberry Hill section of Kansas City, Kan., where homes are being removed to make way for new roads, by Joseph A. Lastelic, June 9; and "The Fourth Was Celebrated Eagerly by Territorial Towns of Kansas," by Lelia Munsell, July 4. Among articles in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* were: "Joys of the Pawpaw Season Won Praise From a Famous Kansan [William Allen White]," by Jennie Small Owen, November 21, 1956; "William Allen White Sang of Spring and Redbud Trees in Kansas," by Jennie Small Owen, April 6, 1957; "A Doctor [George Lisle] With Varied Talents Led Ohioans in Founding Kansas Town [Chetopa]," by Sallie Shaffer, April 18; "A Wife, Children and Governess [Frank Houts Family] Rode the Rugged Chisholm Trail," by Bev Bunce, May 31; "There's Much in a Name for a Kansas County [Montgomery] and a General [Richard M. Montgomery]," June 23; "At 90, Survivor [Mrs. Julia Brooks] Returns to Scene of Kansas Massacre and Capture," by Ruth Jackson, July 2; "With Rifles and Bibles, Lovers of Freedom Founded Wabaunsee," by Mary S. Koch, August 21; "A Literary Gem Resulted From Trip of 'Henry [Allen] and Me [William Allen White],' " by John Edward Hicks, August 22; and "New Study of Bat Masterson Cuts Down Number of His Gun Notches," a review of Richard O'Connor's *Bat Masterson*, by John Edward Hicks, September 6.

"Trolley Through the Countryside," the story of the Strang Line, the interurban which operated for many years between Olathe and Kansas City, by Allison Chandler, was published in *The Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe, May 2-August 22, 1957.

On May 16, 1957, the *Atchison Daily Globe* printed a history of the Atchison First Christian church by the Rev. Harold Roberts. The church was organized in December, 1869. A short history of

Muscotah under the title "Muscotah Given Name by Indian Trader," appeared in the *Globe*, June 9.

"Some of the History of Old Irving" appeared in the May 16, 1957, issue of the *Blue Rapids Times*. The town, named for Washington Irving, was established in 1860.

Historical material from *Through the Years*, Greeley's centennial booklet, by Mrs. Cecil Moore and Joy Fox, was published in the *Osawatomie Graphic-News*, May 16, 1957.

Histories of Jetmore, other settlements in the area, and Hodgeman county institutions and businesses were included in the 18-page 75th anniversary edition of the *Jetmore Republican* published May 16, 1957. The plat of Jetmore was filed March 25, 1882, by Elizabeth and T. S. Haun. Historical articles in other recent numbers of the *Republican* included: "Pioneer Account of Old Hodgeman," by Abbie Ruff Sidebottom, and "History of the [Edgar] Frusher Family," by Louisa Stairrett and Grace Strachan, May 23; "A History of the [John] Glunt Family," June 6; "History of the A. E. Myers Family," by A. J. Myers, June 27; and "History of the J. A. Baldrey Family," by Zella Baldrey Hubbell, July 25.

The *Hartford Times* published a 24-page centennial edition May 17, 1957. Hartford's history started early in 1857 when Harvey D. Rice, A. K. Hawkes, and others chose the townsite. The following year the town was laid out and in 1859 building began.

Historical articles in the *Clay Center Dispatch* in recent months included: a history of Immanuel Lutheran church of Washington county, May 20, 1957; "First School District in County Organized on March 8, 1864," by L. F. Valentine, May 25; and "In 1870's Deweyville [Clay county] Looked as if It Might Become Town," by L. F. Valentine, June 22.

Americus' early history was the subject of a three-column article in the *Emporia Gazette*, May 28, 1957. The town's beginning dates from the autumn of 1857 when a town company was formed and the townsite located and surveyed. Settlers had been in the area as early as 1855.

The "Haymeadow Massacre," an incident in the Stevens county county-seat fight, was reviewed in the *Hutchinson News*, May 29, 1957. On June 16 the *News* printed an article by Ruby Basye giving some Dodge City history and describing the Boot Hill and Beeson museums at Dodge City.

Muscotah's history was the subject of an article in the *Horton Headlight*, May 30, 1957. On July 18 the *Headlight* printed a history of Hiawatha. An article on Brown county's first school, the Presbyterian Kickapoo Indian Mission, established in 1856, appeared August 5.

In the early 1880's P. B. Lewis established the *Randolph Echo*, the town's first newspaper, according to a history of newspapers and printing in Randolph published in the *Blue Valley News*, Randolph, May 30, 1957. The *News* which was discontinued with this issue, was a casualty to the Tuttle Creek dam now under construction.

Stories by C. H. Tade about the early days in the Collier Flats area, Comanche county, appeared in the *Protection Post*, May 31, June 21, 28, and July 19, 1957.

James C. Malin, associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is author of an article entitled "On the Nature of Local History," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Madison, Summer, 1957. Dr. Malin concludes "Local history . . . is vital to sound history at any level. . . . The best way to raise the public estimate of it is to produce good local history and to give it the tangible support it deserves by publishing, buying, and reading it. . . ."

Minutes of Nebraska Presbytery, 1849-1851, and Presbytery of Highland, 1857-1858, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., were printed in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, Lancaster, Pa., June, 1957. The minutes show that Nebraska Presbytery was organized December 1, 1849, and discontinued in 1851. Highland was established May 21, 1857, within Kansas territory.

Emporia's centennial has been the occasion for the publication of historical articles and editions by the town's newspapers. The June 6, 1957, issue of the *Emporia Gazette* included two pages of *The Kansas News*, June 6, 1857, the first issue of Emporia's first newspaper. Also in the *Gazette*, June 6, were an article on the *News* and its publisher, Preston B. Plumb, and a history of Emporia's First Methodist church, which has reached its 100th year. Other *Gazette* articles included: a biographical sketch of Mrs. Lilly Forman, a Kansas pioneer, June 16; "Welsh Have Left Impact on County," June 27; and "As Resident of Area for 99 Years, She [Mrs. Ruffin Fowler] Recalls Most of Town's Historic Events," June 29. On June 13 the *Emporia Times* published a history of Emporia High School, which had its beginning in 1876 with 13 students. A special edition, featuring Emporia history, was published June 27 by the *Times*.

A brief history of the Chisholm trail, by Will Brown, was published in the *Cedar Vale Messenger*, June 6, 1957. Included are directions to portions of the trail that are still visible. On June 20 the *Messenger* printed a story by Brown on the sod house.

Included in the *Winfield Courier*, June 8, 1957, was a history of the First Christian church of Winfield. The church was organized in 1872 and A. F. Womack was the first pastor.

Will Hixon's life and reminiscences are the subjects of an article by Faith McConnell in the *Independence Reporter*, June 9, 1957. Hixon has lived near present Altoona since 1867 when he was six years of age.

Montgomery county was named for Gen. Richard Montgomery, Revolutionary War hero. A biographical sketch of Montgomery, by Wilma Schweitzer, appeared in the *Independence Daily Reporter*, June 9, 1957. A plaque bearing his name was recently placed in the Montgomery county courthouse.

Articles of historical interest have continued to appear in the *Hays Daily News* the past several months: "No Brides Who Braved Rugged Life at Fort Hays Were More Fascinating Than Lovely Wife of [General] Custer," June 16, 1957; "Custer's Island Really Buzzard's, Story in Old Hays Paper Shows," June 26; "Fourth of July Celebrations Last for Whole Day With Dancing, Speaking and Cannons Back in 1870's," June 30; "Life on Kansas Plains Was Lonely, Austere During Pioneer Days of 1870's," by S. F. Miller, June 30; "Mrs. Buffalo Bill [Cody] Writes Hilarious Story of Husband and His Red Flannel Jockey Suit," July 7; "County Took Staggering Loss in Blaze That Destroyed 3-Story Courthouse in '95," July 14; "Sad Tale of Buffalo Jo [Joseph H. North] Is Highlighted by Example of Western Justice," July 21; "Ignorance Concerning Indian Traits Made Hancock's War in Western Kansas Futile," by Howard Raynesford, August 4; and a second article by Raynesford entitled "Custer's Concern for Fort Wallace Troops Brought Court Martial in Hancock's War," August 11.

St. Paul's Lutheran church, Valley Falls, was established in June, 1857, it is reported in a history of the church in the *Valley Falls Vindicator*, June 19, 1957. The Rev. J. B. McAfee organized the congregation and erected the first building.

Some of Spring Hill's history is told in articles by Mrs. Nina Dalzell and Margaret Ann Westhoff in the *Spring Hill New Era*, June

20, 27, 1957. Also on the 27th the *New Era* printed a biographical sketch of Frank R. Morrison who settled near Spring Hill in 1864.

Biographical material on John Larrick and some of his reminiscences of Kansas in the 1870's and 1880's appeared in the *Concordia Blade-Empire*, June 21, 1957. Larrick, now 87, grew up near Logan.

The Sherman County Herald, Goodland, published special editions June 27 and July 4, 1957, in observance of Goodland's 70th anniversary. The Goodland *Daily News* also honored the occasion by publishing a number of historical articles, including: "Accounts of County Seat Battle Between Eustis, Goodland Vary," June 30, 1957; and "Papers Preceding Daily News Have Long History in Sherman Co.," July 1.

On September 11, 1874, four daughters of the John German family were taken captive and the parents, two other daughters, and a son were slain near present Russell Springs by Cheyenne Indians. The story of this incident is told in the *Oakley Graphic*, June 27, 1957, and the *Gove County Republican Gazette*, Gove, July 4. Mrs. Sophia German Feldman, one of the captives, has told of the experience in *The Westerner's Brand Book*, New York, 1957. A monument marking the graves of those who lost their lives was dedicated July 4 in the Fort Wallace cemetery.

Cleardale's history, prepared by Mrs. D. G. Heeney, was published in the South Haven *New Era*, June 27 and July 4, 1957. The Cleardale post office was opened in 1872 and discontinued in 1887.

On July 4, 1957, a history of the Altamont Baptist church appeared in the Altamont *Journal*, the Edna *Sun*, and the *Times-Journal*, Mound Valley. The congregation was organized in 1882. C. T. Daniel was the first pastor.

"Early Ellsworth County History" is the title of a series which began appearing in the Ellsworth *Reporter*, July 11, 1957. The county was organized in 1867. On August 8 and 15 the *Reporter* published part of the diary of the late Ira E. Lloyd relating to life in Ellsworth in 1873.

St. Paul's Lutheran church at Fairview was organized in July, 1882, it is reported in articles on the history of the church in the *Fairview Enterprise*, June 11, 18, 1957, and the *Daily World*, July 12. The Rev. C. H. Becker was the first pastor.

The Coffeyville *Daily Journal* published a history of the Bethel African Methodist church of Coffeyville, July 12, 1957. It was founded in 1879.

Biographical information on Daniel Stine, one of Augusta's earliest pioneers, by Stella B. Haines and Mrs. Hazel Robinson, a granddaughter of Stine, appeared in the Augusta *Daily Gazette*, July 17 and August 7, 1957.

Beginning July 18, 1957, a history of Madison by Lura Pettyjohn and Christine Jardinier, has appeared in the Madison *News*.

A five-column history of Blue Mound, written by L. R. Simpson and read at the Blue Mound July 4 celebration, was published in the Mound City *Republic*, July 18, 1957. While there was a Blue Mound post office as early as 1854, building of the town did not begin until 1882.

Bartley Yost's reminiscences of the early days in the Downs area appeared in the Downs *News & Times*, July 25, 1957.

A 28-page centennial supplement was published by the Eudora *News*, July 25, 1957. In 1856 a group of Germans organized an association at Chicago for the purpose of making a settlement in the West. The site of present Eudora was chosen and the first group arrived to settle in April, 1857. A history of the Eudora Methodist church, compiled by Mrs. Ray Long, Mrs. Phoebe Westheffer, and Mrs. Bonnie Davis, was printed in the *News*, August 8.

Pittsburg's First Baptist church was founded August 3, 1872, as the Eden church, according to a history of the institution in the Pittsburg *Headlight*, July 31, 1957. It was the first chartered religious body in Pittsburg.

Buffalo: Lord of the Plains was the general title of the August, 1957, number of *Heritage of Kansas*, Emporia. Articles included: "Buffalo: Lord of the Plains," by Neil Byer; "Buffalo Served Pioneers," by S. H. Jones; "The Buffalo," from *The Overland Stage to California* by Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley; and "General Sheridan Hunts the Buffalo," from *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border* by De B. R. Keim.

The first in a series of articles on the history of Robinson, by Mrs. Myrta Martindale, was printed in the Robinson *Index*, August 1, 1957.

Biographical material on Mrs. Lena Greene, Arkansas City, and her brother, the late Maj. Gordon William ["Pawnee Bill"] Lille, appeared in an article by Dorothy Shirley published in the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*, August 5, 1957.

Wallace county history, including a story on Fort Wallace, was featured in the 44-page growth-and-progress edition published by *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, August 8, 1957. The edition commemorated the arrival of railroad surveyors in the area in 1867, which marked the beginning of the development of the county.

A 22-page St. Benedict's centennial section was published by the Atchison *Daily Globe*, August 11, 1957. Among the historical articles were: "The Saddle Padre—a Father to Five States," "Ministry to 'Bleeding Kansas' Begun in 1857," and "Monks of 1857—Steamboat to Doniphan."

Early history of Kansas and Norton county, compiled by Mrs. Amy Lathrop, appeared in the Norton *Daily Telegram*, August 21, 1957. The county was organized in 1872.

Kansas Historical Notes

Wichita's "Cowtown" project is growing. Improvements now include a church, jail, the Munger house, drugstore, Santa Fe depot, railroad handcar and boxcar, and schoolhouse. The church, jail, and Munger house are original buildings; the others replicas.

Mrs. E. G. Peterson was re-elected president of the Edwards County Historical Society at a meeting in Kinsley, May 13, 1957. Other officers chosen were: Lavina Trotter, first vice-president; Harry Offerle, second vice-president; Mrs. Leonard Miller, third vice-president; Mrs. Elsie Jenkins, secretary; Cecil Mathews, treasurer; and Mrs. Mary Vang and Mrs. Myrtle H. Richardson, historians.

Hartford celebrated its centennial May 17-19, 1957, with a talent show and a parade high-lighting the program. Mrs. A. S. Bernheisel was crowned queen of the centennial.

An organization to re-create early-day Abilene as a tourist attraction and business promotion, called Old Abilene Town Co., was formed May 20, 1957. Directors and officers were chosen. The officers are: Henry B. Jameson, president; William Guilfoyle, R. R. Biggs, Charles Krenger, C. A. Case, O. B. Landes, and G. E. Duckwall, vice-presidents; Don Steffes, secretary; and Charles Stapf, treasurer. Guilfoyle was named legal counsel for the corporation.

Jetmore celebrated its 75th anniversary May 30, 31, June 1, 1957, with picnics, square dances, a parade, a horse show, and a historical pageant portraying the history of the area. The pageant was written and directed by Judge Lorin T. Peters of Ness City.

On June 1, 1957, Americus observed its centennial with a program which included a parade, a dance, and the re-enactment of one of the important events in the town's history, the stealing of the county records from Americus by a group of Emporia men in 1860.

All officers of the Hodgeman County Historical Society were re-elected at a meeting in Jetmore, June 15, 1957. They included: L. W. Hubbell, president; Mrs. Leigh Newport, vice-president; Earl Harlan, secretary; and Mrs. C. W. Teed, treasurer.

Muscotah observed its 100th birthday June 21, 22, 1957, with a two-day celebration high-lighted by a parade and the honoring of the community's oldest citizens.

Hanover's annual "Days of '49" celebration was held July 22-24, 1957, commemorating, this year, the 100th anniversary of the building of the Hollenberg pony express station. The three-day program featured two parades.

Emporia's centennial celebration, featuring a parade and "The Emporia Centurama," a pageant telling the area's history, was held June 29-July 6, 1957.

Ellsworth's 90th-year celebration began August 13, 1957, with an old settlers' day, and extended through August 18 with parades, dances, a 4-H fair, rodeos, and other events.

All officers of the Chase County Historical Society were re-elected at the annual meeting of the society in Cottonwood Falls, September 7, 1957. They include: Paul B. Wood, president; Henry Rogler, vice-president; Clint A. Baldwin, secretary; George T. Dawson, treasurer; and Mrs. Ruth Conner, chief historian.

J. Wallace Higgins, III, is author of a recently issued, 43-page booklet entitled *The Orient Road—A History of the Kansas City, Mexico and Orient Railroad*. The booklet is a reprint from *Bulletin 95, Railway and Locomotive Historical Society*, Boston, October, 1956.

Biographical sketches of Abner Yates, Swan Johnson, John George Hilbert, Peter Knott, and other Woodson county men, and some of the history of Yates Center, are included in a recently published 59-page booklet by Fannie Johnson Landes entitled *Silent Men*.

Campbell Brothers Great Consolidated Shows—The Story of the Second Largest Circus in the World, a 24-page booklet by Levi Bloyd was published in 1957. The Campbell brothers were Kansas pioneers, the family settling at Haddam in 1878.

The First One Hundred Years—a History of the City of Hartford, Kansas, 1857-1957 is the title of a 26-page pamphlet published as a part of Hartford's centennial celebration, May 17-19, 1957. A centennial edition of the Hartford High School alumni directory was also published which included histories of the town and high school.

Americus' history is summarized in a 32-page pamphlet entitled *Americus Centennial—Yesterday and Today*, issued as a part of the town's centennial observance, June 1, 1957.

Muscotah published a 41-page souvenir booklet in connection with its centennial celebration, June 21, 22, 1957. The booklet is largely made up of biographical sketches of residents and former residents of the Muscotah area.

Olathe published a 55-page historical album entitled *Olathe, "The City Beautiful,"* as a souvenir of the town's centennial observance, September 1-7, 1957.

De Soto, Kansas Is 100 Years Old, 1857-1957 was the title of a 64-page recently published history of De Soto by Dot Ashlock-Longstreth, commemorating the completion of the town's first century.

Topeka—Guide to the Capital City of Kansas is the title of a 32-page pamphlet giving historical facts and other information about Topeka. It was published recently by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

A new one-volume 417-page, general history of Kansas, bearing the title *Kansas—A History of the Jayhawk State*, by William E. Zornow, was published in August, 1957, by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. The author states that the book "is intended merely as a general survey which traces some of the pertinent developments in the political, economic, social, and intellectual life of Kansas."

Kansas Monks is the title of a 362-page book by Peter Beckman, O. S. B., published in 1957 by the Abbey Student Press, Atchison. The work is a history of St. Benedict's Abbey which was founded in 1857.

The American Heritage Book of Great Historic Places is a 376-page, highly-illustrated volume published recently by the American Heritage Publishing Co. The book tells the stories behind many of the most significant of America's historic places. A 28-page section is devoted to the Great Plains, including Kansas.

In 1905 Thomas Henry Tibbles wrote the story of his life, including his experiences many years before while living, hunting, fighting with the Indians of the Plains. Recently this manuscript has been edited and published by Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N. Y., in a 336-page volume entitled *Buckskin and Blanket Days*.

In connection with cases before the Indian Claims Commission, appraisals of certain Indian lands in Kansas have been made in the

last few years by William G. Murray. His detailed reports contain much historical information, particularly relating to physical features of the tracts, land markets, and population movements. The appraisals include: Pottawatomie tracts in Iowa and Kansas, 1846; Miami tract in Kansas, 1854; and Shawnee tract in Kansas, 1854. Copies of the reports, in booklet form, were recently presented to the State Historical Society.



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
AN ARMY HOSPITAL: From Dragoons to Rough Riders— Fort Riley, 1853-1903.....	George E. Omer, Jr., 337
With photographs of the hospitals of Fort Riley in 1854, 1865 and 1889; main post dispensary, 1889; hospital ambulance, 1900; the medical de- tachments of 1870 and 1900, and portraits of Medical Officers Joseph K. Barnes, James Simons, William A. Hammond and Bernard J. D. Irwin, <i>between</i> pp. 352, 353.	
A KANSAS REVIVAL OF 1872.....	Willam E. Berger, 368
THE KIOWA AND COMANCHE CAMPAIGN OF 1860 AS RECORDED IN THE PERSONAL DIARY OF LT. J. E. B. STUART. Edited by W. Stitt Robinson,	382
TRAVELING THEATRE IN KANSAS: The James A. Lord Chicago Dramatic Company, 1869-1871—Concluded.....	James C. Malin, 401
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	439
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	441
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	445
ERRATA AND ADDENDA, VOLUME XXIII.....	448
INDEX TO VOLUME XXIII.....	449

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THE COVER

A hospital ward at Fort Riley, 1900. From
J. J. Pennell and C. S. McGirr, *Picturesque
Fort Riley* (Junction City, 1900).

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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An Army Hospital: From Dragoons to Rough Riders —Fort Riley, 1853-1903

GEORGE E. OMER, JR.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Although this article deals with the medical history of Fort Riley, Kansas, it is a vivid picture of army life on the frontier. Cholera, surgery without anesthesia, alcoholics on a whisky ration of three quarts a day—these were some of the problems faced by the army physician. Of the medical officers who served at Riley, seven became surgeons general of the army. The first Congressional Medal of Honor went to a doctor who served there. The first president of the association of military surgeons of the United States was a Fort Riley post surgeon, who later became president of the American Medical Association. Of special interest—and value—are the biographical sketches, many of men who became famous in the annals of army medicine.

I. THE TEMPORARY HOSPITAL

THE Westward expansion of the youthful United States burst into the territory of Missouri following the War of 1812. The early explorers into the Indian country (which included present Kansas) followed the prehistoric river routes both southwest and northwest to establish trade. The first successful commercial trip to Santa Fe was made along the Arkansas river in 1821 by Capt. William Becknell from Franklin, Mo. In 1822 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was organized at St. Louis and extended its business into the valleys of the Missouri and Platte rivers. John C. Fremont's Oregon expedition camped at the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers in 1843. He reported great numbers of elk, antelope, buffalo, and Indians in the vicinity where Fort Riley would be established in one short decade.

MAJ. GEORGE E. OMER, JR., MC, is chief of surgery, U. S. Army Hospital, Fort Riley.

(337)

The Indians resented the invasion of their lands. Their resistance was so successful that in the spring of 1829, Maj. Bennet Riley was ordered to take four companies of the Sixth infantry from Fort Leavenworth and accompany a trading caravan to Santa Fe. This was the first military escort of a wagon train. The traders were protected by the soldiers until the train crossed the Arkansas river, since the territory south of the river was Mexico. The Mormon migration in 1847 and the gold rush of 1849 greatly increased the travel over all the trails. The first overland mail and stage route was established in 1849 as a monthly service across present Kansas from Independence, Mo., to Santa Fe, with Council Grove as the only town down the 775-mile trail. This westward migration was patrolled and protected by the army, which was so thin-spread that in 1859 there were only three regiments of cavalry, and these horse units were still being called dragoons or mounted riflemen.

Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy, commanding the First dragoons at Fort Leavenworth, urged the establishment of a military station at the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers as an outpost for more efficient defense of the Oregon and Santa Fe trails. A board of four officers, including Brev. Maj. Edmund A. Ogden, who was quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, was appointed to locate the new post near the fork of the Pawnee (Kansas) river. The board and a detachment of First dragoons established a camp at the present site of Fort Riley. The new station was first called Camp Center because it was believed that its location was close to the geographical center of the United States.

In May, 1853, Capt. Charles S. Lovell commanded a second expedition and established the first post of temporary buildings with Companies B, F, and H of the Sixth infantry, in accordance with Order No. 9, Headquarters Sixth Military District, Jefferson Barracks, Mo.

The only muster and pay roll of the medical department issued from Camp Center listed Joseph K. Barnes as surgeon and Ann McCarrol as the hospital matron. This first surgeon in charge of the Fort Riley hospital became Surgeon General of the Army in 1864 and held the position until 1882. He was born in Philadelphia in 1817 and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1838. He joined the army as an assistant surgeon in 1840 and was a brilliant brigade medical officer in the Mexican war. After his tour at Fort Riley, he was assigned to duty in Washington

and was promoted to medical inspector, with the rank of colonel in 1863.

Barnes received the first major general rank (brevet) awarded to the senior medical officer of the army when he became surgeon general in 1864. While he was surgeon general he succeeded in removing hospital food from the jurisdiction of the commissary department; he placed the medical department in charge of ambulances instead of the quartermaster corps; and generally succeeded in bringing the military hospitals, as well as the transportation of the wounded, under the control of medical officers. Barnes' friendly relation with Secretary of War Stanton fostered the establishment of the army medical museum and library, better known today as the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology and The National Library of Medicine. He had prepared and published the *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* an important contribution that is still used for reference work. Doctor Barnes dressed Secretary of State Seward's wounds on the night of April 14, 1865, and was in attendance at President Lincoln's deathbed. He also attended President Garfield after he had been shot by an assassin. He died in 1883, only one year after retirement from office.

To return to the fort. War Department General Order No. 17, dated June 27, 1853, permanently changed the name of Camp Center to Fort Riley in honor of Maj. Gen. Bennet Riley. Riley, who commanded the first wagon train escort over the Santa Fe trail, was born in Alexandria, Va., in 1787. He entered the army as an ensign of rifles when he was 16 years of age. He succeeded Col. Henry Leavenworth in command of Fort Leavenworth, and became a colonel in the First infantry on January 31, 1850. He was promoted to major general for his gallant conduct in the Mexican war under Gen. Winfield Scott. In 1847 Bennet Riley acted as the last territorial governor of California. He died in Buffalo, N. Y., on June 9, 1853. Thus Fort Riley was named for an infantry officer who never saw the post.

The army appropriated \$65,000 for the erection of temporary buildings at the new post. Supplies were moved to the station by steamboat and overland freight wagons. The *Excel*, a small steamer, made several supply trips up the Kansas river from Weston, Mo. River navigation was extremely difficult and finally one steamboat was so firmly grounded that she was abandoned. Mule teams from Fort Leavenworth were substituted as the primary

method of transportation. This military road had started as an Indian trail and extended west from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley. The firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell established an extensive outfitting base at Leavenworth for this freighting trade and later inaugurated the Pony Express. Much of the food for the men and animals at Fort Riley was purchased from the nearest settlement, Saint Mary's mission, 42 miles east along the military road.

When the temporary post was being built the construction crews selected a parade-size field on a flat ledge of rimrock north of the Kansas river and above the marshy flat of Whiskey Lake. One of the buildings was the hospital, located on the present-day lower parade ground between Patton Hall and the Administration building. The locks, hinges, and hasps on the one-story hospital were hand-forged at the building site from scrap metal, wheel rims, old sabers, and plow shares. Pine and oak were used for lumber and the building boasted the luxury of a veranda along its front or north wall.

In December, 1853, Asst. Surg. Aquila Talbot Ridgely was the doctor in charge of the temporary hospital and T. W. Simson was the acting hospital steward. The hospital staff included three male soldier attendants, one soldier cook, and the hospital matron, Ann McCarrol. Surgeon Ridgely was born in Maryland and resigned June 23, 1861, to join the Confederate forces as a surgeon.

In May, 1854, Kansas was organized as a territory. There were no white settlements in the new territory except at Forts Leavenworth, Scott, and Riley, in addition to the Indian missions and agencies. On October 4, Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, arrived as territorial governor. He set up his office at Fort Leavenworth. On April 16, 1855, Reeder issued a proclamation requesting that the first territorial legislature meet at the new town of Pawnee, which was located at the present site of Camp Whiteside and the cantonment hospital on the Fort Riley reservation.

The Pawnee Town Site Association had been organized September 27, 1854. The association consisted of Major Montgomery, Second infantry, commanding officer of Fort Riley, 13 other army officers, five civil territorial officers, and five civilians. The army officers included Surg. Madison Mills, Asst. Surg. William A. Hammond, and Asst. Surg. James Simons. In July, 1855, after Reeder's proclamation, a resurvey of the boundaries of the Fort Riley military reservation was ordered by Jefferson Davis, the Secretary of War.

The new survey found that the reservation included the new town of Pawnee and the settlement was removed from the reservation. Major Montgomery, for granting the land to the Pawnee Town Association, was court-martialed and dismissed from the army on December 8, 1855. The trial was held at Fort Leavenworth with Robert E. Lee among the members of the court-martial board.

II. CHOLERA EPIDEMIC

In the summer of 1855 all troops at Fort Riley had left for campaigns against the Indians, so that of the military there was left only Asst. Surg. James Simons, John A. Charters, a private of Sixth infantry acting as hospital steward, and Chaplain Clarkson. The hospital steward combined the duties of druggist, medical clerk, and storekeeper as well as assistant to the surgeon. Asst. Surg. James Simons had been the physician in charge of the hospital since April, 1854. The hospital stewards had been Cpl. Jacob Hommes and Private Charters of the Sixth infantry. Margaret O. D. Donnell was the hospital matron.

Maj. Edmund A. Ogden returned from Fort Leavenworth to command the station and supervise the permanent construction of Fort Riley. The actual construction crews were civilians under the supervision of a Mr. Sawyer, the architect and general superintendent. Ogden was appointed to the United States Military Academy in 1827 and served in many posts throughout his brief career. He participated in the Seminole war, the occupation of Texas from 1845 to 1846 and in the Mexican war from 1846 to 1847. He began construction at Riley during the first week of July, 1855.

Tragedy struck during the night of August 1 when cholera rapidly developed into an epidemic. Without the healing aid of 20th century intravenous therapy, the bacillus of cholera produces a usually fatal diarrhea. Patients soon filled the temporary hospital and created a mountainous problem of nursing, washing bedding, and cleaning the patients. The camp was filled with panic when it was discovered that Major Ogden was ill. A rider was sent to Fort Leavenworth with a letter requesting medical help. Sawyer appointed men to act as nurses and promised extra pay, but only a few wanted to work at the hospital where the dead were being confined and carried out by burial parties while new patients took their places. The heroic effort required to attend the men in the agonies of the fatal disease proved too much for Asst. Surg. James Simons, and his mental breakdown was complete after Major

Ogden died on the third. In desperation he deserted the hospital and his patients, collected his family and fled east to Saint Mary's mission during the night.

On August 4, hope came on horseback from Dyer's bridge, 19 miles east on the military road near present-day Manhattan. Dr. Samuel Whitehorn, recently from Michigan, had heard of the epidemic while at Dyer's bridge and came to offer his services to the hospital steward. He was youthful in appearance and manner, and for fear of doubts of his being really a doctor, he showed the steward his diploma and other testimonials from his patients at Dyer's bridge. Doctor Whitehorn's presence renewed confidence, and a spoonful of brandy or port wine by the physician's order gave relief from anxiety if not death. In addition, Whitehorn ordered barrels of pine tar to be burned at the open windows of the hospital. If this served no other purpose, it counteracted the offensive odors.

Relief came on August 6, 1855, when a four-mule government ambulance arrived from Fort Leavenworth with Lt. Eugene Carr and Dr. Samuel Phillips, a contract physician. While Carr received an account of the situation from Sawyer, Phillips proceeded at once to the hospital for consultation with Doctor Whitehorn. With good nursing and encouragement, each day brought fewer cases and the epidemic was broken. Dr. Samuel Phillips volunteered for his relief duty to Gen. E. V. Sumner, then commanding Fort Leavenworth. General Sumner had asked each of the many physicians practicing in the city of Leavenworth but all had declined the service except Phillips. Doctor Phillips was paid less than \$40 for his hazardous tour of duty.

Maj. John Sedgwick, artillery, came to Fort Riley in October, 1855, to investigate the cholera epidemic and especially Asst. Surg. James Simon's conduct. The doctor was court-martialed and dismissed from army service on January 15, 1856, for his failure. However, he was reinstated on October 24 of the same year and was breveted a colonel on March 13, 1865, for faithful and meritorious service during the Civil War.

Somewhere between 75 and 100 persons died in the cholera epidemic of 1855 and were buried in the present cemetery. Lead linings from tea caddies were procured from the commissary to make an airtight coffin for Major Ogden. However, wooden headboards were used to mark the graves and the headboards were subse-

quently destroyed in a prairie fire set by Indians. Today, a grassy area is set aside in the post cemetery with a few stones set at random to indicate the resting place of the victims.

III. THE FIRST PERMANENT HOSPITAL

Asst. Surg. William A. Hammond was recalled from the troops in the field and took charge of the hospital on August 31, 1855. His staff included Mary Miller, who was paid \$6.00 a month as the hospital matron. Hammond was born in Annapolis, Md., in 1828 and received his degree in medicine from New York University in 1848. He had been on active army duty for five years when he first came to Fort Riley in 1854. His controversial personality often brought him personal problems. He owned slaves at Fort Riley but quickly joined the Union forces when war came. He witnessed the marriage ceremony of one of his subordinates, Cpl. Robert Allender, after the post commander, Major Montgomery, had refused permission for the wedding. For this escapade Surgeon Hammond was promptly placed in arrest but was afterward released. In spite of these idiosyncrasies, Hammond brought to his frontier medical duties the unbounded energy and practical foresight that characterized his future achievements. In the summer of 1855 he served as medical director of a large force operating against the Sioux Indians and was medical officer with an expedition which located a road to Bridger's pass in the Rocky Mountains.

After this field trip he remained the chief surgeon at the Fort Riley hospital until December, 1856. Perhaps his experiences in Kansas were the basis for his future sweeping improvement of the army medical service when he achieved high position. After completing his Fort Riley tour and ten years at frontier stations, he resigned from the army to teach anatomy and physiology at the University of Maryland, but re-entered the service within two years because of the outbreak of war. When the United States Sanitary Commission was formed in 1861 as an advisory body to the army medical bureau, the members sponsored a new surgeon general. Hammond was chosen, and he received the first general officer rank ever awarded to the senior medical officer in the army. He worked to produce great improvements in battlefield evacuation of the wounded, hospital administration, and medical supplies. One little known contribution was his action in removing calomel and tartar emetic from the medical supply table, thus removing items

having as long and as worthless a medical history as venesection. Other practical improvements included such minor items as the provision of hospital clothing for patients.

As a result of quarrels with Secretary of War Stanton, Hammond was suspended as surgeon general in 1863 and charged with irregularities in contracts. He appealed to President Lincoln to be restored to his position or be tried by court-martial. After a session prolonged for many months, a military court found him guilty and sentenced him to dismissal. Hammond soon established himself as a leading physician in New York City, and was a pioneer in the practice and teaching of neurology, holding the professorship of nervous and mental diseases at Bellevue Hospital Medical College and subsequently at New York University. He wrote numerous medical articles, and co-operated in the founding and editing of the *New York Medical Journal* and the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*. In 1878 his military dismissal case was reviewed and the verdict of the court-martial was reversed, with Hammond being honorably retired from the army. He died in 1900.

As stated, Hammond left Riley in December, 1856. The first permanent post hospital had been finished in the fall of 1855. Slightly southeast of the new building was the old temporary hospital which had been used during the cholera epidemic. The old temporary hospital was converted into quarters for the hospital steward. The new permanent hospital was constructed of native limestone with a wooden veranda on two sides and surrounded by a wooden picket fence. The north hospital section contained the surgeon's offices and was two stories high, with a long one-story wing extending to the south. The first permanent hospital in 1855 was later remodeled and is now the Administration building. (30) on the lower parade ground.

In October, 1855, six companies of the Second dragoons arrived at Fort Riley from Texas under the command of Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke. The Second dragoons later were called the Second cavalry and the history of the regiment is closely connected with the post of Fort Riley and the cavalry school. Asst. Surg. Robert Southgate arrived with the Second dragoons and assisted Surgeon Hammond at the post hospital. Pvt. Charles Harling, Second dragoons, was also added to the hospital staff as an acting hospital steward.

In December, 1856, Asst. Surg. Richard H. Coolidge became the post surgeon at Fort Riley. His sanitary report in June, 1857, in-

cluded a discussion of the topography of the post, a record of the weather, and the chief causes of sickness:

Intemperance has been the fruitful cause of both diseases and injuries. The extent to which this vice prevailed may in part be inferred from the number of cases of delirium tremens reported. During the year previous to my joining this station, say from October 1, 1855, to September 30, 1856, six cases of delirium tremens are reported, the average strength of the command being 392. From October 1, 1856, to June 30, 1857, nine months, there occurred sixteen cases in a command averaging 335. From the statements of convalescents and from other sources, I am satisfied that three quarts of whisky was the customary daily allowance of quite a number of men; one quart, as they expressed it, being required "to set them up before breakfast." It appeared to me that larger quantities of opium were necessary in the treatment of these excessive drinkers than in ordinary cases of delirium tremens.

Four cases of scorbutus are reported in March, and others occurred among the hired men of the quartermaster's department. Scarlatina and variola, which have prevailed to a very considerable extent in some of the eastern cities, have also appeared here. The vaccine virus for which I applied on the 18th of February did not arrive until the 8th of May. I had fortunately obtained from Surgeon Abadie, at St. Louis, through Surgeon Cuyler, at Fort Leavenworth, part of a crust of vaccine virus, with which and its proceeds all the command who required protection were vaccinated. The first case of scarlatina occurred on the 23rd of May in the person of a Dragoon. So far as I could learn, no case had previously occurred in this vicinity. The disease was severe from the beginning, attended with much cerebral disturbance, and an extremely sore mouth and throat. He had passed the febrile stage, and the period of desquamation was nearly complete, when he escaped from his ward one cool morning soon after daylight, and ran unclothed to the company gardens. Dropsy of the abdomen and anasarca supervened—the left thigh being the first to swell—which finally terminated in death. Hospital Steward Drennan, who had been exposed to the first case, was the next person attacked, and though for a time dangerously ill, he now has recovered. Several children at the post have sickened with this disease, and it is still occurring among them.

The surgical cases occurring up to the date of my special report of February 16, 1857, are sufficiently noted therein, and I have only to add in regard to one of those cases, that of gangrene of the feet requiring amputation of both legs, that it terminated favorable. A small party of emigrants were attacked on the 7th of June, about eighty miles from this post, by a band of Cheyennes. Four men were killed, two wounded, and one young woman severely wounded in the back and side. They made their way on foot to the nearest settlements, having been six days without food. The wounded were conveyed from their first place of refuge to this post, and have since been attended by myself.

Surgeon Coolidge also reported on the long-continued drought, the condition of the crops, the mean difference between the thermometer and hygrometer, and rainfall compared with previous years. Coolidge was born in New York state. He was appointed

as assistant surgeon on August 16, 1841, and became a major surgeon June 26, 1860. He was breveted a lieutenant colonel on March 13, 1865, and died January 23, 1866.

Maj. Surg. Thomas C. Madison became post surgeon of Fort Riley in April, 1858. He was assisted by Hospital Steward Henry Lamp, who was the first actual hospital steward assigned to Fort Riley, since all previous stewards were enlisted men from line units acting in the capacity of steward. The hospital staff was completed by two male enlisted cooks, four male enlisted nurses, and two matrons—Mary Nash and Hannah Frame. Madison was born in Virginia and was appointed an assistant surgeon February 27, 1840. He was promoted to major surgeon August 29, 1856. He resigned from federal service August 17, 1861, and was a surgeon for the Confederacy from 1861 to 1865. He died November 7, 1866.

In August, 1860, Maj. Surg. Madison Mills was in charge of the fort hospital. He had previously been associated with Fort Riley as a member of the Pawnee Town Site Association. He joined the army as an assistant surgeon April 1, 1834, and was promoted to major surgeon February 16, 1847. He was breveted lieutenant colonel and colonel on November 29, 1864, for meritorious service at the siege of Vicksburg. He was promoted to brigadier general on March 13, 1865. Mills died April 28, 1873.

Surgeon Mills made the periodic weather summaries, considered so important at that time as an influencing factor on disease. A system of observations and reports of weather was made by the surgeons at all military stations, and was the only weather service of the United States for more than half a century. This medical service resulted finally in the creation of a signal corps in the army in 1863, with Surg. Albert J. Meyer as the first chief of corps. Meteorological work was given to the weather bureau in 1890.

IV. THE CIVIL WAR

Fort Riley was a child of the frontier and the post was neglected by Washington from the time the permanent buildings were constructed until the end of the Civil War. To protect the communication-transportation routes and the Western settlements from Indian attack, the garrison was composed of varied volunteer cavalry units that included the 11th and 15th Kansas, the 7th Iowa, and the 2d Colorado.

Asst. Surg. Fred P. Drew was the post surgeon from August,

1861, until his death at Fort Riley on March 20, 1864. He was born in Waterbury, Vt., 1829, and retained an interest in collecting fauna all his life. The Smithsonian Institution in Washington probably owes its collection of early Kansas fauna to Doctor Drew. Among his papers was a bill for three lizards, one frog, one tortoise, one beaver, and two nests of eggs which he collected, boxed, and shipped to the Smithsonian Institution in December, 1862. His hospital staff included Essex Camp as hospital steward, Elford E. Lee as ward-master, and Mary Lee as hospital matron.

The military physicians had a rural practice which extended beyond Fort Riley for a radius of 50 miles. The doctor used fitted saddle bags to carry his drugs or a medical chest was placed in his mule-drawn ambulance wagon. Some items indicative of the pharmacopodia of the mid-19th century would include: alum, as a gargle for sore throat; balsam copaiva, used for gonorrhea; blister plaster, for application to stop pains about the lungs; spirit of camphor, used in typhus fever; flax seed, made into a tea useful in lung fever; quinine, for intermittent fevers; opium, for pain; tartaric acid, used as a beverage in scurvy. Among the instruments and utensils were included lancets, penis syringes, cylster syringes (enema), gum elastic catheter, bougies, tooth pliers, curved needles and waxed thread. Some physicians had a cylinder stethoscope. Leeches were still carried and blood letting was often practiced. To practice medicine with this medical armament the Fort Riley surgeon was paid \$80.00 a month.

In June, 1864, Jeremiah Sabin signed the report of sick and wounded as "Citizen (Contract) Surgeon." Doctor Sabin had been recruited from the Fort Riley region and continued as a contract physician for a year. He was a note of continuity during that time along with Hospital Stewards Essex Camp and E. Norris Stearns. Military physicians came and left, including: Acting Asst. Surg. Irving J. Pollock in October, 1864, Asst. Surg. George S. Akin in December, 1864, Asst. Surg. Thomas B. Harbison in February, 1865, and Acting Asst. Surg. W. C. Finlaw in August, 1865.

In the midst and in spite of this confusion, the hospital continued to function, as announced in a newspaper story of February 4, 1865:

E. Norris Stearns, Hospital Steward, arrived on the 20th from Leavenworth, with a bountiful supply of Sanitary stores, consisting of Canned-fruits, Dried-apples; Pickles; Codfish; Cordials; Clothing; and other good things for our sick—Received through the hands of Mr. Brown, Agent for the Western Sanitary Commission.

V. THE INDIAN-FIGHTING MEDICS

During the days of Indian uprisings on the frontier, Fort Riley grew in stature from a supply base for summer campaigns to the formal status of the cavalry and light artillery school.

The Second cavalry was the first regular army unit to return to Fort Riley from the Civil War. The army was again thinly spread and overworked, as indicated by the stations occupied by the Second cavalry: regimental headquarters, band, and Company E at Fort Riley; Companies A and B at Fort Kearny, Neb.; Company C at Fort Hays; Company D at Fort Lyon, Colo.; Company F at Fort Ellsworth (Harker); Companies G and I at Fort Leavenworth; Company H at Pond Creek (Fort Wallace); Company K at Fort Dodge; Company L at Fort Larned; and Company M at Fort Aubrey.

The Seventh cavalry was organized at Fort Riley in September, 1866, under an act of congress of July 28, 1866. Andrew J. Smith, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars, was colonel, and George A. Custer was its lieutenant-colonel. (It was this year that the Union Pacific railroad reached the fort.)

The post surgeon and probably the first regimental surgeon for the Seventh cavalry was Brev. Lt. Col. and Surg. Bernard John Dowling Irwin. Irwin had been post surgeon since April, 1866, and for the fighting "Garry Owens" a more distinguished fighting medical officer could not have been selected than the first winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Irwin was born in Ireland June 24, 1830. He was educated by private tutors, at the University of New York, the Castleton Vermont Medical College, and received his doctor of medicine in 1852 from the New York Medical College. His military interest led him to be a private in the Seventh regiment of the New York National Guard from 1848 to 1851 and he was commissioned as first lieutenant assistant surgeon on August 28, 1856. He was promptly ordered to frontier service in New Mexico and Arizona. At this point the following account written by Irwin will give a vivid description of this individual, his skill, endurance, and bravery:

On the 16th of September, 1858, I was requested to visit one of the stations of the Southern Overland Mail Company, where a number of men were reported to have been dangerously wounded. I set out at once, and arrived at the place early the next morning, after a smart ride of one hundred and fifteen miles, but found that three of the four wounded men had already died. The history of the survivor, Silas St. John, a strong robust, healthy young man of twenty-four, a native of New York City, was as follows: He, with three

Americans and three Mexican boys, was engaged in keeping the mail station.

On the evening of the eighth, one of the latter was placed on guard, and the remainder of the party retired to rest for the night; about midnight the Mexicans arose, and with axes and a large hammer attempted to murder their sleeping companions. St. John awoke, and hearing blows given, was in the act of springing from his bed when he received a terrible blow from an axe, which almost severed his left arm from his body, followed quickly by another that cut the fleshy part of the same arm in a shocking manner; this was succeeded by another stroke that cut through the anterior external portion of the right thigh, a short distance below the joint. By this time he succeeded in grasping his pistol, and having fired at the desperate assassins, they fled and were seen no more.

One of the unfortunate victims who slept outside of the door of the rude shed never awoke; another, with his face and head frightfully chopped and mangled, lived in great agony until the evening of the next day; while a third, whose head was almost cloven in two, the brain continually oozing from the shattered skull, lingered until the sixth day, during which time his frenzied craving for water to quench his burning thirst was of the most heart-rending character. On the evening of the next day the mail stage came by and found St. John, the only survivor of his party, alone in a rude hovel in the wilderness, without food or water, unable to move; his wounds undressed, stiffened, and full of loathsome magots; his companions had died one by one a horrible death, and lastly, to add to the horrors of his suffering, the hungry wolves and ravens came and banquetted upon the putrefying corpse of one of his dead companions which lay but a few feet from his desolate bed. The mental and physical sufferings which he endured are marvelous to think of. Yet he never complained nor flinched for a moment. Calm and resigned, he bore his torments with the fortitude of a martyr.

After administering to his immediate wants, one of the mail party was left with him, and remained until my arrival on the seventeenth, at which time his condition was as follows; he was weak and pallid from loss of blood, [lack of] sleep and constant mental and physical suffering; his disposition was cheerful, and he evinced much pleasure at the prospect of having his wounds attended to. A deep, incised wound, about eight inches in length, extending from the point of the acromion process, passing inwards, downwards, and backwards, laid open the shoulder-joint, passed through the external portion of the head of the humerus, and thence downward, splintering the bone through about four inches of its course. The wound in the thigh proved to be only a severe lesion of the soft parts, about eight inches long and three deep.

After a careful examination, I saw it would be impossible to make any effort to save the arm; I therefore determined to remove it at once. The patient was informed of the necessity for the operation, and his permission was accorded almost cheerfully. The only assistance that I could command was from three of the men forming my escort. Having made a kind of bed of some bags of corn, the patient was placed on it. One of the men having been instructed how to compress the axillary artery, and the other assistants properly disposed of, I removed the limb as follows: the patient lying on his back, with the shoulder elevated, I placed myself on the outside, and grasping the arm, I passed the catling through the original wound, thence inwards behind the

fractured point of the humerus, and downwards, forming a large flap from the anterior and inner aspect of the arm, which made up for the deficiency caused by the character of the wound, which left the superior-posterior aspect of the joint entirely devoid of muscular tissue. With the aid of a scalpel, the remaining portion of the head and neck of the humerus was removed from the glenoid cavity, the granulated surface of the old wound revived, and the arteries tied as quickly as possible, after which the edges of the wound were brought together and retained by interrupted sutures and some bands of adhesive plaster. Cold-water dressing was applied, with a light bandage suitable to the part.

The wound in the lower limb was dressed by inverting the large fleshy flap, and retaining it in its normal position by several interrupted sutures. Cold-water dressing and the maintenance of the thigh in a semi-flexed position were the only requisites here. Forty drops of tincture of opium were administered, and the patient placed in as comfortable a bed as the meagre circumstances of the place would permit. Chloroform was not at hand to be given, and the only stimulus obtainable was a few drachms of essence of ginger. The celerity with which the operation was performed, and the fortitude and excellent disposition of the patient, saved him from everything like protracted suffering. In the evening, the tincture of opium was repeated, and proper directions having been given for the dressing of his wounds, I left him, having previously sent for some wine, brandy, and other nourishment. Of the former, 8 ounces, and the latter, 6 ounces, were allowed him daily.

During the night of the twenty-third he arrived at the fort, having travelled in a common wagon sixty miles over a rough road during the two preceding days; and, as he was weak and fatigued, half a grain of sulphate of morphia was given him, and he was placed in a comfortable bed. Next morning I examined his wounds, and found that the lesion at the shoulder had united by first intention, save at a point where the ligatures protruded. The wound in the thigh had partly opened. Proper dressings were applied, generous diet given, and the patient continued to convalesce without an untoward symptom. Most of the ligatures came away between the ninth and twelfth days, and on the fifteenth the last, that from the axillary artery. Occasionally he suffered from frightful dreams, and imaginary pain in the lost arm. Whilst recovering, he had two attacks of quotidian intermittent fever, which readily yielded to quinine. On the twenty-fourth day after the operation he was walking about, and in less than six weeks he started for the Eastern States, restored to perfect health.

On February 13 and 14, 1861, Irwin commanded detachments from Companies C and H, Seventh infantry, in engagement with the Chiricahua Indians near Apache Pass, Ariz., and was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for "Distinguished gallantry in action." He was promoted to captain and assistant surgeon on August 28, 1861, and was advanced to major and surgeon on September 16, 1862. During the Civil War he served as medical inspector of the Army of the Ohio and the Army of the Cumberland

and was medical director of the Army of the Southwest. In addition, he was superintendent of the Army General Hospital at Memphis, Tenn. After his extended tour in Kansas, Surgeon Irwin was chief medical officer of the U. S. Military Academy from 1873 to 1878 and medical director of the Department of Arizona from 1882 to 1886. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel and assistant medical purveyor on September 16, 1885, and to colonel on August 28, 1890. He was vice-president of the founding group of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States in 1891. In 1894 he was a delegate to represent the Medical Department, U. S. army, at the 11th International Medical Congress, Rome, Italy, March-April, 1894. On June 28, 1894, he was retired and advanced to the rank of brigadier general. He died December 15, 1917. The new 250-bed permanent army hospital at Fort Riley is to be dedicated in honor of this "Fighting Doctor."

Hospital Steward Louis O. Faringhy began a long tour at Fort Riley that extended from 1866 to 1873. His son, George Faringhy, is quoted in Pride's book on hospital episodes:

Quinine was given for colds and was always prescribed. A shot of good whiskey was always given to follow the dose, as capsules were unknown. Whiskey was cheap. You could buy it in the Commissary and an enlisted man could get it if he had the wherewithal. But he could easily get a cold and the steward would give him a dose of quinine and a good chaser for nothing, so who would want to suffer? J[unction] C[ity] was a tough burg and Abilene worse, with horsethieves were all over the land. [Mr. Faringhy] once took up a man in J[unction] C[ity] who had received a bullet in his hip. He extracted the bullet, kept the man in the hospital until he was entirely recovered, then one night this man repaid the kindness . . . by stealing his mare and colt and also two black horses from Chaplain Reynolds.

George Faringhy is also authority for the fact that the ground just north of the hospital (Administration building 30) was the burial ground for arms and legs amputated in surgery. "The limb was simply wrapped in a towel or sheet, a spade made a hole and without ceremony the interment was made."

In addition to Hospital Steward Faringhy, the hospital staff included Ellen Faringhy as matron. This pattern of husband and wife was often repeated at frontier hospitals as a means of maintaining a higher caliber of medical attendants. In 1866 the hospital steward was paid \$33 a month, while the matron drew \$14 each pay day.

During the summer of 1867 cholera again broke out in Kansas and visited many of the frontier posts. George Faringhy states:

This epidemic caused a stampede and everyone left the buildings and went into tents beyond the limits of the Post. My father [Hospital Steward Louis O. Faringhy] took care of the soldiers who were brought to the hospital. There were many cases out of which 79 died and are buried in rows near the north wall of the cemetery. A detail of prisoners under a sentry dug the graves. In those days prisoners wore shackles and some carried a ball and chain. Father put the dead in their coffins, which were made at the Quartermaster's carpenter shop, mostly of black walnut, and drove the mules, hooked to an ambulance, to the cemetery where prisoners lowered the coffin and covered it up. Chaplain Reynolds, who came to Fort Riley in 1865, . . . conducted the services.

The news of the epidemic caused General Custer to desert his command at Fort Wallace and hurry to his wife who was still in quarters at Fort Riley.

Another medical officer at the hospital in 1866 was Brev. Maj. and Asst. Surg. William Henry Forwood, who signed the report of sick and wounded for the Seventh cavalry in November, 1866, and reported 12 cases of cholera during the past sixty days. W. H. Forwood was a brilliant surgeon and was the third surgeon general of the army that served at Fort Riley. He was born at Brandywine Hundred, Del., on September 5, 1838. He was educated at Crozier Academy, Chester, Pa., and received his M. D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1861. Forwood was appointed an assistant surgeon on August 5, 1861. He was severely wounded in battle in October, 1863, and removed from field duty.

During 1864 and 1865 Forwood commanded Whitehall General Hospital of two thousand beds. He was breveted captain and major on March 13, 1865, for faithful and meritorious services during the Civil War. He then had several years of frontier duty and was the surgeon and naturalist for Sheridan's exploring expeditions from 1880 to 1882. He became lieutenant colonel and deputy surgeon general on June 15, 1891, and colonel and assistant surgeon general on May 3, 1897. Meanwhile, he had served on various army boards and in teaching positions. Forwood built Montauk Hospital in 1898. He was the second president of the army medical school from 1901 to 1902. He was promoted to brigadier general and the position of surgeon general on June 8, 1902. He retired September 7, 1902, and became professor of surgical pathology at Georgetown Medical College. He died May 11, 1915.

The medical staff in 1866 included Acting Asst. Surg. B. E. Dodson in addition to Brev. Lt. Col. and Surg. B. J. D. Irwin and Brev. Maj. and Asst. Surg. W. H. Forwood. In spite of the fact



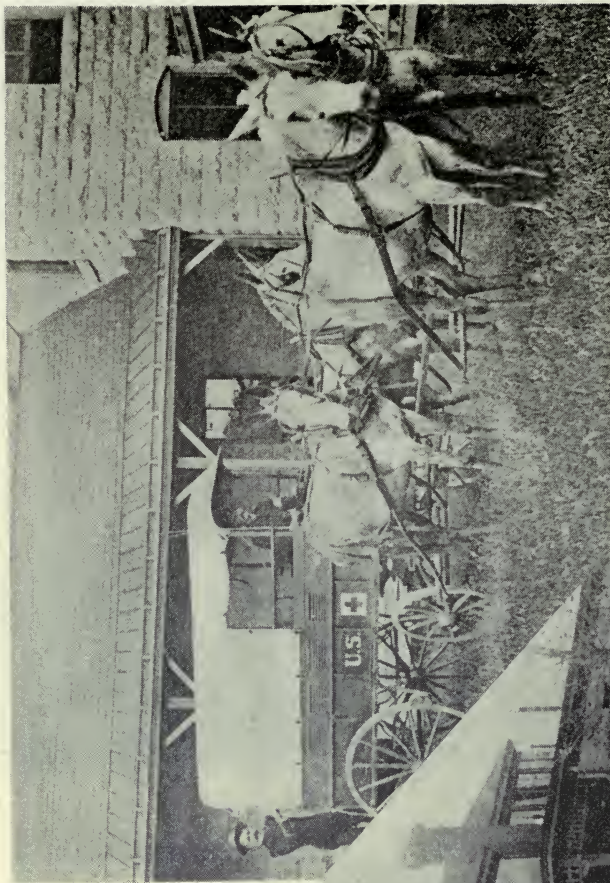
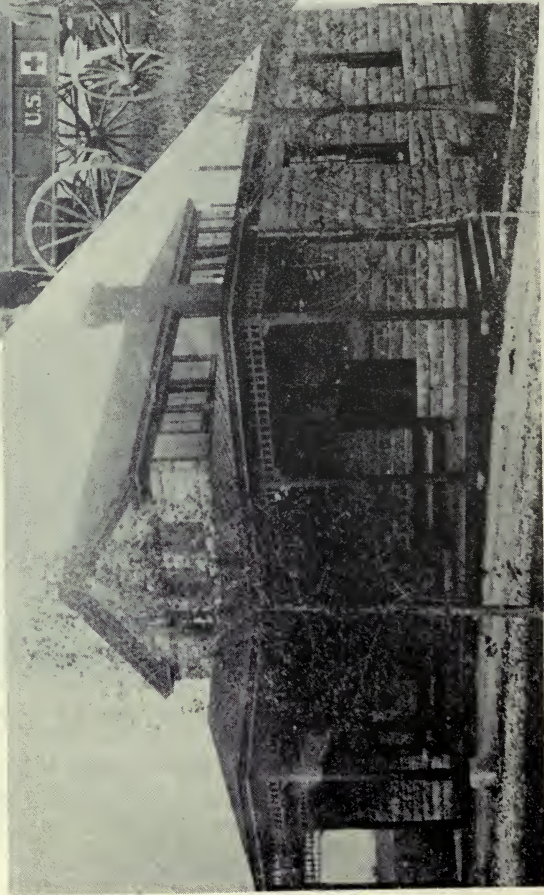
EARLY HOSPITALS AT FORT RILEY

Upper: Original temporary hospital, about 1854.

Center: First permanent hospital, about 1865. Now the Fort Riley museum.

Lower: Second permanent hospital, 1889. Now part of post headquarters.

Main post dispensary, 1889. Now
officers' quarters.



A hospital ambulance, 1900. Photos from
J. J. Pennell and C. S. McGirr, *Picturesque
Fort Riley* (Junction City, 1900).



Part of the medical detachment at the Fort Riley hospital about 1870.



The Fort Riley medical detachment in 1900.

FORT RILEY MEDICAL OFFICERS



Joseph K. Barnes
(1817-1883)

The first post surgeon, who also was the first senior medical officer to become a major general.



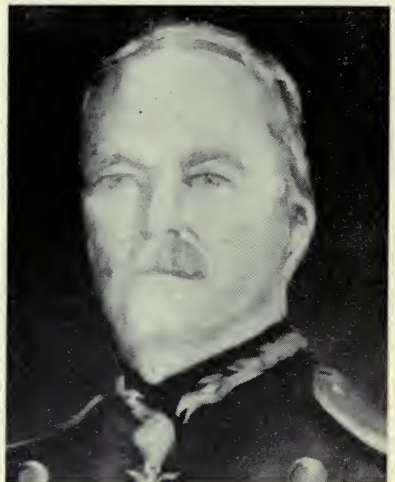
James Simons

The physician who deserted his medical post during the disastrous cholera epidemic of August, 1855.



William A. Hammond
(1828-1900)

A controversial figure who made sweeping improvements in the army medical service while serving as U. S. surgeon general.



Bernard J. D. Irwin
(1830-1917)

The first recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor, for whom the new hospital at Fort Riley has been named.

(The above photos courtesy the National Archives and the Armed Forces Medical Library.)

that physicians had been awarded military rank since 1847, they retained their older method of medical rating as well, and were usually addressed by their professional title. The medical rating was given only after examination and demonstrated efficiency and included: assistant surgeon (first lieutenant and captain) surgeon (major and lieutenant colonel), and then more specific titles such as assistant surgeon general, medical inspector or medical purveyor (colonel and brigadier general). The military rank did not always correspond with the medical rating; as demonstrated by Major, but Assistant Surgeon, Forwood and Lieutenant Dodson who was only "acting" as an assistant surgeon. Of course, the military title determined the pay grade and a brevet military rank was more desirable than an acting medical rating. Other titles, such as post surgeon and surgeon general, were due to the military position held by the physician and still survive in present day army vocabulary.

Brev. Maj. and Asst. Surg. George Miller Sternberg, a brilliant bacteriologist, epidemiologist, and surgeon general of the army, was post surgeon at Fort Riley from August, 1867, until October, 1870. Doctor Sternberg was born on June 8, 1838, at Hartwick Seminary, Otsego county, N. Y., the son of a Lutheran clergyman. He was educated at Hartwick Seminary, Buffalo University and the College of Physicians and Surgeons (Columbia University) where he received his M. D. in 1860. With the outbreak of the Civil War, he was appointed assistant surgeon. Joining his command, he was captured at the battle of Bull Run, but escaped to participate in the battles of Gaines's Mill, Malvern Hill, and Harrison's Landing. He contracted typhoid fever at Harrison's Landing and the remainder of his war-time duty was spent in military hospitals at Portsmouth Grove, R. I., and Cleveland, Ohio. He received brevet commissions of captain and major during the war and commanded the hospital in Cleveland at the end of hostilities.

Just before his appointment as post surgeon at Fort Riley, Sternberg's first wife, Louisa Russell, died from cholera at Fort Harker (Ellsworth). On August 28, 1869, a Junction City newspaper account suggested that the bachelor would begin married life again:

Surgeon George M. Sternberg and Assistant Surgeon Leonard Y. Loring have charge of the Sanitary Department and no better commendation can be extended these gentlemen than the simple statement that they have nothing to do. By the way, we are informed that Doctor Sternberg is shortly to receive a leave of 30 days for the purpose of taking a trip east. We hope soon to see him back at Riley in possession of the prize he so richly deserves.

The result was marriage to Martha L. Pattison, who wrote a delightful biography of Sternberg that included a masterful description of frontier life in Kansas. The varied and unhurried life of an army physician as described by Martha Sternberg is beyond the experience of the modern, scientific, efficient, and overworked military surgeon.

Doctor Sternberg indulged himself in developing inventions while at Fort Riley. Impressed with the desirability of maintaining an even temperature in hospital wards, he patented an automatic heat regulator based on a thermometer that made and broke an electric circuit. The regulator won a prize at the American Institute and had wide use. He also perfected an anemometer and a fruit drier while serving as post surgeon. In April, 1870, Doctor Sternberg prepared a report on the climate at Fort Riley, which was published in the local paper. However, all was not luxury, since in 1868 and 1869, Surgeon Sternberg took part in several expeditions against hostile Cheyennes along the upper Arkansas river in Indian territory and western Kansas.

After leaving Fort Riley and during service at Fort Barrancas, Fla., Sternberg was stricken with yellow fever. Later he published two medical articles that gave him a definite status as an authority on yellow fever. In 1879 he was ordered to Washington and detailed for duty with the Havana Yellow Fever Commission. In 1881 simultaneously with Louis Pasteur, he announced his discovery of the pneumococcus. In the United States he was the first to demonstrate the plasmodium of malaria (1885), and the bacilli of tuberculosis and typhoid fever (1886). His interest in bacteriology naturally led to an interest in disinfection, and with Sternberg and Koch scientific disinfection had its beginning. His essay: "Disinfection and Individual Prophylaxis Against Infectious Diseases" (1886), received the Lomb prize and was translated into several foreign languages. Major Sternberg was breveted a lieutenant colonel on February 27, 1890, for gallant service in performance of professional duty under fire in action against Indians at Clearwater, Idaho, on July 12, 1877. On May 30, 1893, he was made surgeon general of the army with the rank of brigadier general. He was surgeon general nine years and during that time the army nurse corps and the army dental corps were organized.

The army medical school was founded in 1893 by Sternberg for indoctrinating newly appointed medical officers in military medical practice. He created the Tuberculosis Hospital at Fort Bayard,

N. Mex. Sternberg supervised the expansion of the army and the establishment of several general hospitals during the Spanish-American war. His own early difficulties in acquiring knowledge led to a liberal-minded policy in the establishment of laboratories in the larger military hospitals where medical officers could engage in scientific research. In 1898 he established the Typhoid Fever Board and in 1900, the Yellow Fever Commission headed by Maj. and Surg. Walter Reed. Doctor Sternberg published several books including: *Malaria and Malarial Diseases* (1889), *Manual of Bacteriology* (1892), *Immunity and Serum Therapy* (1895), and *Infection and Immunity* (1904). He died in Washington on November 3, 1915.

From October, 1870, until August, 1871, Capt. and Asst. Surg. Leonard Young Loring served at Fort Riley as post surgeon. Loring was born in St. Louis, Mo., on February 1, 1844. He was appointed first lieutenant and assistant surgeon on May 14, 1867, and promoted to captain and assistant surgeon on May 14, 1870. His first assignment was Downer's Station (in present Trego county), where he was post surgeon from June, 1867, until June, 1868. He became assistant to Sternberg until 1870 and then served as post surgeon. After duty at Fort Riley, Loring was in the field in western Kansas with the Sixth cavalry until February, 1872. He returned to serve at Fort Hays, Camp Supply, Indian territory, and Fort Dodge, from 1878 until 1882. Doctor Loring was promoted to major and surgeon October 9, 1888, and was retired in 1908.

From August, 1871, until October, 1873, Brev. Col. and Surg. Bernard J. D. Irwin returned as Post Surgeon. He was assisted by First Lt. and Acting Asst. Surg. W. O. Taylor, who came to Fort Riley when the Third infantry replaced the Sixth cavalry in 1873.

In 1872 the hospital was remodeled to some extent by making a single dormitory, or hospital ward, of the main part of the building. The dining room and kitchen were in the south wing. Water for the hospital was obtained from a cistern which was just east of the center of the main building, in the center of the rectangle between the two wings. This cistern and pump remained there until the drive was paved after the turn of the century. The hospital staff included Hospital Steward Louis O. Faringhy and hospital matrons Ellen Faringhy and Kathryn Burns. There were two enlisted men who were rated as nurses and one enlisted cook.

From October, 1873, until April, 1877, Brev. Maj. and Asst. Surg. William Elkanah Waters was post surgeon. He was assisted by

Acting Asst. Surgs. M. M. Shearer, L. Hall, A. L. Fitch, and W. S. Tremaine. Surg. B. J. D. Irwin had left for duty at West Point and had taken Hospital Steward L. O. Faringhy with him. Hospital Steward John M. McKenzie came to Fort Riley from West Point and Clara McKenzie became hospital matron. In December, 1877, the muster and pay roll of the medical department had a new and first entry of "Hospital Steward per Warrant" when Thomas Hills reported for duty. Surgeon Waters retired in November, 1897.

In April, 1877, Lt. Col. and Surg. Charles Carroll Gray became post surgeon as the 19th infantry was relieved at Fort Riley by the 23d infantry. Doctor Gray was born in New York and retired in January, 1879, at the completion of his tour of duty at Fort Riley. Asst. Surg. H. S. Kilbourne was also at the hospital and signed the report of sick and wounded in June, 1878.

From February, 1879, until March, 1883, Maj. and Surg. Henry Remsen Tilton was post surgeon. Doctor Tilton had just returned from frontier duty and had demonstrated fearless gallantry in action against Indians at Bear Paw Mountain on September 30, 1877. He was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor on March 22, 1895, for this action. Tilton was born in New Jersey and was appointed as assistant surgeon on August 26, 1861, and promoted to major and surgeon in June, 1876. After his tour of duty at Fort Riley, he went to Detroit and was promoted to lieutenant colonel and deputy surgeon general in August, 1893.

Hospital Steward Louis O. Faringhy transferred from West Point to Fort Riley on April 23, 1879, to replace Hospital Steward Joseph Meredith. Faringhy was discharged from the army on September 8, 1881. In 1883 Charles Hoffmeier was the hospital steward, with his wife, Mary Hoffmeier, serving as hospital matron.

Fort Riley was linked by telephone with the outside world for the first time in the spring of 1883.

From March, 1883, until June, 1885, Maj. and Surg. Albert Hartsuff was the post surgeon. Doctor Hartsuff was born in New York on February 4, 1837, and received his M.D. from the Castleton Medical College of Vermont. He was appointed an assistant surgeon on August 5, 1861, and was breveted captain and major for services during the war and for services during the cholera epidemic in New Orleans in 1866. Hartsuff became a lieutenant colonel and deputy surgeon general on December 4, 1892, and was promoted to colonel and assistant surgeon general on April 28, 1900. He

retired in 1901, but was advanced to the rank of brigadier general on April 23, 1904. He died in 1908.

First Lt. and Asst. Surg. C. C. Goddard was assistant to Surgeon Hartsuff. In addition, First Lt. and Asst. Surg. A. C. Van Doryn was assigned to Fort Riley in June, 1884.

An effort was made by Congress in 1884 to sell the reservation of Fort Riley, since the post was garrisoned by very few troops and the frontier had moved on. However, Gen. Philip H. Sheridan stated in his annual report that it was his intention to enlarge the post and make it the headquarters of the cavalry.

From June, 1885, until March, 1887, Maj. and Surg. Samuel Miller Horton was hospital commander and post surgeon. Doctor Horton was born in Pennsylvania and was appointed an assistant surgeon on August 26, 1861. He received a brevet major rank in 1865 and was promoted to lieutenant colonel and deputy surgeon general in December, 1893. He retired in June, 1894.

In addition to First Lt. and Asst. Surg. C. C. Goddard, the medical staff included First Lt. and Asst. Surg. R. R. Ball, who was assigned in 1886.

Through the efforts of General Sheridan and others, congress passed a law in 1887 providing the sum of \$200,000 for construction at Fort Riley, to provide facilities for a school of instruction for cavalry and light artillery. The school was established by Gen. Order No. 9, Headquarters of the Army, February 9, 1887.

VI. THE SECOND PERMANENT HOSPITAL

In March, 1887, a board of officers headed by Lt. Col. and Surg. A. A. Woodhull was appointed to investigate and report upon the sanitary conditions of the post, upon the water supply and sewerage, and to make such recommendations as might be deemed necessary for a considerable increase of the garrison.

Surgeon Woodhull had been detailed for the board from his position of instructor in military hygiene at the infantry and cavalry school at Fort Leavenworth. He was born at Princeton, N. J., on April 13, 1837, the son of a physician, and prepared at Lawrenceville School for the College of New Jersey, where he received the degree of A. B. in 1856 and that of M. A. in 1859. In 1859 he was also graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. During the two years following his graduation, he practiced medicine, first in Leavenworth, and later at Eudora.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, he was active in recruiting a troop of mounted rifles for the Kansas militia, in which he was commissioned a lieutenant. Before the unit was mustered into the federal service, Woodhull received an appointment to the medical corps of the regular army, on September 19, 1861. At the close of the war, he was breveted a lieutenant colonel. He had duty tours in the Army Medical Museum, the office of the surgeon general, command of the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark., and in 1899 he was chief surgeon of the Department of the Pacific at Manila. He was retired in 1901 but in 1904 was advanced to the grade of brigadier general on the retired list. After his retirement he was a lecturer at Princeton University. He died October 18, 1921.

From March, 1887, until July, 1889, Maj. and Surg. Dallas Bache was the post surgeon. Doctor Bache was born in Pennsylvania and was appointed an assistant surgeon on May 28, 1861. He was breveted captain and major in 1865, rated surgeon in 1867, promoted to lieutenant colonel and surgeon in 1890, and became colonel and assistant surgeon general in 1895. He died in 1902.

Early in February, 1888, a board of officers consisting of Col. James W. Forsyth, Maj. and Surg. Dallas Bache, two cavalry officers and one quartermaster officer met to determine a site for a new hospital. The location selected was north of the main post, on a level shelf with rimrock behind and the Kaw valley spread in front. In April, 1888, the contract was let after Gen. Philip Sheridan recommended an appropriation of \$300,000. The north wing of the hospital was completed in 1888. The building was built of native limestone, as were the rest of the post buildings.

The new hospital was far from the center of the post, so a dispensary was built north of the old hospital in 1889 and continued to function as a medical building until 1924, when it was occupied as officers' quarters. In 1890 a dead house was built behind the new hospital. A laundry for the hospital was constructed beside the dead house in 1891, and quarters for the hospital steward were built on the west side of the new hospital in 1891.

The old hospital had been in use since 1855. The structure was extensively modified and a clock tower added in 1890, whereupon the building became the cavalry administration building and post headquarters.

Serving on the same board with the post commander was fruitful for Surgeon Bache, for in 1891 he was married to Bessie Forsyth, daughter of Col. James W. Forsyth.

First Lt. and Asst. Surg. R. R. Ball and Capt. and Asst. Surg. Richardo Barnett completed the medical staff of the hospital. Barnett left for duty at Fort Lewis, Colorado, in August, 1888.

From July, 1889, until October, 1892, John Van Rennselaer Hoff was post surgeon. Hoff was born at Mt. Morris, N. Y., on April 11, 1848, the son of Col. Alexander H. Hoff. He received his A. B. degree in 1871 and the M. A. degree in 1874 from Union University, and his M. D. from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1874. From 1874 until 1879 he served at posts on the Western frontier in Nebraska and Wyoming. In 1882 he was post surgeon at Alcatraz Island, and then relieved Surg. George M. Sternberg at Fort Mason in 1884. In 1886 Hoff took a year's leave abroad and studied at the University of Vienna. On return to the United States, he organized the first detachment of the newly-authorized hospital corps at Fort Reno, Indian territory, and then became post surgeon at Fort Riley. He organized the first company of instruction for the hospital corps and wrote the first drill regulations for those units while at Fort Riley.

In November, 1890, Hoff took the field with eight troops of the Seventh cavalry and participated in the last battle of the Indian wars. His gallantry was noted in Gen. Order No. 100: "Major John Van R. Hoff, Surgeon, U. S. Army, for conspicuous bravery and coolness under fire in caring for the wounded in action against hostile Sioux Indians, at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota." As evidence that service on the frontier at that time was not a sinecure, it should be noted that immediately on his return to Fort Riley from this battle he was ordered to proceed to Florence, Kan., to care for troopers of the Seventh cavalry who had been injured in a railroad accident at that point. On June 15, 1891, Hoff was promoted to major and surgeon. In 1892 the cavalry and light artillery school was officially established by War Department Gen. Order No. 17, although academic work did not begin until 1893. In that year Hoff was transferred, and subsequent tours included the position of chief surgeon in Third Army Corps, Department of Puerto Rico, U. S. Forces in China, Department of The Lakes, Department of the Missouri, Department of the Philippines, and Department of the East. In addition, Hoff found opportunity to be an instructor in ophthalmology at the University of California, a professor at the Army Medical School, Instructor at the General Staff College, and professor of military sanitation at the University of Nebraska.

Hoff was an observer in the Russo-Japanese war. For several years he was editor of *The Military Surgeon* and was the third president of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States. He was commissioned a lieutenant colonel of volunteers in May, 1898, and promoted to colonel and assistant surgeon general in 1905. He retired April 11, 1912, but was assigned to active duty in the office of the surgeon general in 1916. Hoff was a recognized pioneer in the military science of army field medicine. While at Fort Riley, Hoff's medical and teaching staff included First Lts. and Asst. Surgs. Benjamin Brooke, Joseph Taylor Clarke, Henry C. Fisher, James Denver Glennan, Merritte Weber Ireland, Frank Royer Keefer, and Francis Anderson Winter. Doctor Hoff died in 1920.

Merritte W. Ireland was born in Columbia City, Ind., May 31, 1867, the son of a country doctor. He graduated from the Detroit College of Medicine in 1890 and entered the army in 1891. After his tour of duty at Fort Riley, other early assignments included tours in Cuba and the Philippines during the Spanish-American war. In 1911 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and was in command of the hospital at Fort Sam Houston when Gen. Frederick Funston suffered his fatal heart attack in San Antonio. General Pershing requested Ireland as a member of his staff and he was promoted to colonel on the eve of his departure for France. He was promoted to major general in August, 1918, and served as surgeon general of the army until May, 1931. Doctor Ireland was a strong supporter of the ancillary corps within the Medical Department, and recommended the establishment of the Medical Service Corps 27 years before it was accomplished. He died in 1952. The recently completed 500-bed army hospital at Fort Knox, Ky., is named in his honor.

There is a historical footnote in the fact that when John Van R. Hoff was given a free chance to develop the hospital corps while at Fort Riley, his superior medical officer and the chief surgeon of the Department of the Missouri was the old Seventh cavalry surgeon, Bernard John Dowling Irwin. Some three decades later, Army Surgeon General Ireland's top staff included Brig. Gens. James D. Glennan, Henry C. Fisher, and Francis A. Winter. It might have been a coincidence that this group of general medical officers served together at Fort Riley, and the influence of Col. John Van R. Hoff may not be evident in their careers; but why was the re-

tired Doctor Hoff called to active duty in the office of the surgeon general while this group headed the army medical corps?

From October, 1892, until December, 1896, Henry Stuart Turrill was the post surgeon. While at Riley Doctor Turrill was promoted to major in 1893 and then became a lieutenant colonel and chief surgeon in 1898. He became interested in medical supply, and the *Reports of the Surgeon General* for 1904 and 1905 list him as the commander of the New York Medical Supply Depot, the precursor of the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency.

On January 9, 1893, the cavalry and light artillery school was formally opened with a lecture on hippology by Dr. Daniel LeMay, veterinary surgeon, Seventh cavalry. The school commandant was Col. James W. Forsyth, the school surgeon was Maj. Henry S. Turrill, assisted by First Lts. and Asst. Surgs. Madison M. Brewer, James M. Kennedy, and Paul F. Straub.

Six years later, on December 21, 1899, Paul F. Straub was surgeon on Alos, Zambales, Luzon, Philippine Islands. On that date his bravery resulted in the last Congressional Medal of Honor that has been awarded to an army physician. "Surgeon Straub voluntarily exposed himself to a hot fire from the enemy in repelling with pistol fire an insurgent attack and at great risk of his own life went under fire to the rescue of a wounded officer and carried him to a place of safety."

By 1896 the company of instruction of the hospital corps was graduating two classes of enlisted men each year. School instructors and Assistant Surgeons Brewer, Kennedy, and Straub had been replaced by Capt. and Asst. Surg. Jefferson Poindexter and First Lts. and Asst. Surgs. William W. Quinton and Thomas U. Raymond.

VII. THE SPANISH WARS

From December, 1896, through 1898, the post surgeon was Capt. and Asst. Surg. Junius L. Powell. Captain Powell was promoted to major in 1897. The hospital steward was Oscar F. Temple while Sarah Steward was the hospital matron.

Capt. and Asst. Surg. Ashton Bryant Heyl arrived in 1896. In 1897 the canteen had become the post exchange and was located in Waters Hall. Capt. A. B. Heyl of the medical department was the first officer in charge. Doctor Heyl left Fort Riley in April, 1898, and was assigned to the First cavalry at Tampa, Fla. He participated in the Cuban battles, then resigned from the army in February, 1900.

Following Surgeon Heyl, a series of medical officers came to Fort Riley for a few months, only to leave for Cuba. The hospital corps school of instruction was an activity only on paper, since the medical faculty were on detached service at Mobile, Tampa, or Cuba. Acting Asst. Surg. Jose M. Delgado joined the First cavalry and Henry A. Webber left for Fort Tampa, Fla. Capt. and Asst. Surg. Benjamin L. Ten Eyck departed for Fort Tampa, Fla. Even Maj. and Surg. J. L. Powell, the post surgeon, left Fort Riley in June, 1898, for detached service at Mobile, Ala. W. F. Pride stated in his history that in April, 1898, all the officers had left the post except Chaplain Barry, who was in command, and a contract surgeon named Powell. In August, 1898, Acting Asst. Surgs. R. M. Geddings, Charles D. Camp, and F. A. E. Disney were at Fort Riley, but all were in Cuba by October.

The hospital returned to normal when from September, 1899, until September, 1901, Capt. and Asst. Surg. Charles Edward Woodruff was post surgeon. Woodruff was born in Philadelphia on October 2, 1860. He was graduated from the U. S. Naval Academy in 1883 and received his M. D. from Jefferson Medical College in 1886. He was an assistant surgeon in the navy from 1886 to 1887, then became an army surgeon. He was promoted to major when he finished his tour of duty at Fort Riley, and became chief surgeon of the Philippine Department. He was the author of the book: *The Effects of Tropical Light on White Men*. He retired in 1913 and died in 1915.

In September, 1901, Maj. and Surg. Paul Shillock became post surgeon. The hospital staff consisted of Assistant Surgeons Poey and Winn, Hospital Steward August Nickel, and Caroline Neilson as matron.

In 1902 the uniform of the hospital corps was changed. The emerald green color prescribed for stripes and chevrons was changed to maroon and white. The caduceus was substituted for the maltese cross for cap and collar ornaments.

Also in 1902, the first maneuvers of any magnitude in the United States were held from September 20 to October 8, at Fort Riley. The troops were encamped on the site now occupied by the present cantonment hospital. The area was named Camp Root for Elihu Root, Secretary of War. The chief surgeon of the maneuver division was Lt. Col. and Dep. Surg. Gen. John Van R. Hoff. General Order No. 11 from Camp Root also list Maj. and Surg. Henry P.

Birmingham, Lt. and Asst. Surg. P. C. Field, and Contract Surg. Joseph Pinquard. The equipment for a field hospital and ambulance company was evaluated in great detail in 1902, and the third field hospital and ambulance company No. 3 were the first modern units so organized and utilized.

In 1903 Hoff again served as chief surgeon for similar maneuvers at Camp Sanger at Fort Riley. He discussed supply, packing units, and transportation problems in detail in his paper quoted in the *Annual Report of the Surgeon General* in 1903. Doctor Hoff was very critical of the existing policy of allowing the quartermaster department to maintain transportation items such as ambulances and mules. Army physicians mentioned in Hoff's report include: H. L. Gilchrist, E. F. Gardner, E. B. Frick, F. P. Reynolds, and F. A. Winter.

A medical board was called at Fort Riley in the fall of 1903 because of an outbreak of typhoid fever. The members were Lt. Cols. J. V. R. Hoff and E. F. Gardner, with Maj. E. B. Frick and Paul Shillock, the post surgeon. The findings were that typhoid fever had been endemic in the Kaw valley since the June floods and did not originate in the maneuver camp.

The year 1903 marked the end of the first 50 years of medical service at Fort Riley. Three post hospitals had been occupied and the reservation had been utilized for the first maneuver trial of a modern field hospital and ambulance company. The first company of instruction for the hospital corps had been organized and developed into an example for future army medical schools. But the surgeons who served in the days of individual medicine provide the most history-full accounts. Of the 22 post surgeons, seven became general officers and three became army surgeon general. In addition, two other medical officers who served at Fort Riley also became surgeon general. Among these five surgeons general was the first medical officer to receive the rank of brigadier general and the first to obtain the present rank of major general.

Three physicians were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, including the first one won in the entire army and the last one that has been awarded to an army physician. Six general hospitals in World War II were named in honor of doctors who had served at Fort Riley. A graduate of the U. S. Naval Academy was a post surgeon and one doctor deserted his hospital post during a cholera epidemic with resulting courts-martial and dismissal from

the service. The first president of the association of military surgeons of the United States was a Fort Riley post surgeon, who also became president of the American Medical Association. Two surgeons resigned to join the Confederacy. Only one doctor died during his tour of duty at Fort Riley. But most important, in that varied group was a sprinkling of men with vision—who developed efficient techniques for field medicine and maintained superlative curiosity for scientific investigation in the midst of mediocre stimulation fostered by isolation, routine, and military apathy.

*(Part Two, the Final Installment of This Hospital History,
"From Horses to Helicopters—Fort Riley, 1904-1957,"
Will Appear in the Spring, 1958, Issue.)*

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A Kansas Revival of 1872

WILLIAM E. BERGER

IN all places of business yesterday, the only topic of conversation was religion. To such an extent was the interest, that we obtained local items with great difficulty.”¹ The Topeka reporter who wrote this could have written the same about Leavenworth, Lawrence, Atchison, Fort Scott and a score of other Kansas communities during the winter and spring of 1872. From January to May a revival swept Kansas which competed successfully for space in the newspapers with such items as the Grant scandals, the “liberal Republican” movement, the meeting of the state legislature, and the progress of railroad construction across the Plains. On several occasions it made the front page, which, almost without exception in those days, was reserved for national and international news.

The central figure in the revival was the Rev. Edward Payson Hammond, an internationally-known evangelist. Hammond was born in Ellington, Conn., in 1831. He was graduated from Williams College in 1858 and then studied for two years at Union Theological Seminary in New York. This was followed by a year at the Free Church Theological Seminary in Edinburgh, Scotland. It was during the year in Scotland that his evangelistic abilities were first discovered. He was ordained an evangelist by the Presbytery of New York, Third, of the Presbyterian Church (U. S. A.) in January, 1863. Following his marriage in 1866, he and his bride spent nearly two years abroad visiting and conducting meetings in Italy, Egypt, Palestine, France, and England. From the time he returned to the United States until he arrived in Kansas in January, 1872, he had conducted meetings in many of the larger cities of the country.

Hammond was described by the editor of the Leavenworth *Times* as being a “Muscular Christian”; he is rather short, ‘thick set’, and squarely built, has a very powerful voice, looks and talks like a well-fed Englishman, and might very readily be taken for the original of the wood-cut pictures in the illustrated papers of Jim Fisk.”² One of Hammond’s admirers resented the comparison of the beloved evangelist to Fisk. The editor was informed “that such comparisons are not at all pleasant to the ears of the great

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1. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, March 21, 1872.

2. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, January 27, 1872.

many admirers of Mr. Hammond in this city. We hope he will be more choice in his comparisons hereafter.”³ To this chastisement the editor’s only comment was that Fisk’s friends hadn’t been heard from yet. The same editor later confessed a liking for Hammond, in spite of describing him as being “as full of life . . . as George Francis Train, as indomitable as Andy Johnson, and as persistent as a insurance agent.”⁴

An account of the Lawrence revival contained several interesting descriptive passages:

He is of a class of men who, while their labors relate almost exclusively to another world, enjoy a hearty laugh and a good dinner in this. . . . He has a mobile and expressive countenance, capable of instantaneous changes of expression, depicting all the varying emotions of the human soul, a bright smile, and a wonderfully sympathetic voice. . . . One secret of Mr. Hammond’s power, we think, with the masses of men not allied to him in belief, is the absence of anything like professional severity in his demeanor. He adopts the clerical suit of black, and the white neckcloth, but further than that has little to mark him for a clergyman.⁵

Hammond spent more than three months in Kansas. He arrived at Leavenworth on January 21, 1872, from Kansas City, Mo., where he had been conducting meetings. He remained in Leavenworth until February 16. Subsequent engagements took him to Lawrence from February 16 to March 8; Topeka from March 8 to March 28; Atchison from March 31 to April 12; and Fort Scott from April 13 to May 2. Following the Fort Scott meetings he spent less than a week in Paola and Ottawa, after which he returned to the east.

Every evangelist has certain techniques which are used extensively and Hammond was no exception. He began his work in each city by holding several, usually three or four, children’s meetings. These sessions were designed especially for children and youth who would be accompanied by their parents. At the first children’s meeting in Lawrence, there were “at least five hundred of the children, and altogether, by actual count, there were 1,994 persons in attendance.”⁶ This was probably typical of the ratio between children and adults at most of the children’s meetings.

At the first meeting Hammond would explain in simple terms the plan of salvation and the necessity for everyone, including children, to accept it. At the second and subsequent meetings, the children were asked to repeat short sayings and prayers which were enter-

3. *Ibid.*, January 30, 1872.

4. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1872.

5. *A Brief Account of the Great Revival in Lawrence, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1872), p. 4.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

taining as well as educational. At the second children's meeting in Topeka "at the close of his sermon, he stationed several ministers at the foot of the platform to examine the children who thought they were converted, and then pass them up on the stage."⁷

The validity of child conversions was questioned by some of the adults. In an age when conversion was regarded as strictly an adult concern, this is not surprising. Hammond, however, remained firm in his belief in the value of work among young children and was supported by the local ministers who worked with him in the meetings. Six of the Lawrence clergymen testified at the morning prayer meeting on February 21 that they were convinced that child conversions were as genuine and lasting as those of adults. The Reverend Mr. Cordley of the Congregational Church told of his own experience in which he said that when "he was ten years old he had just as clear an idea of sin and the necessity of repentance as he had now."⁸ Dr. F. S. McCabe, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Topeka, who was visiting and observing the Lawrence meetings in view of asking Hammond to come to Topeka, supported the statement of his fellow clergymen. He told the same congregation that he had examined some of the children himself and was perfectly satisfied. "Yesterday he asked a lad 'why he loved Jesus?' 'Because,' said the boy, 'he died to save me.' What synod, association or conference could say more?"⁹ At Fort Scott two boys from Atchison and one from Topeka took the platform at the first children's meeting to tell of their conversion during the meetings held in their cities.

The task of convincing parents that the conversion of their children was either desirable or conducive to good conduct was not easy. The Reverend Mr. Cordley answered the objection of at least one parent who said he would be convinced about the conversion of children when his own began to show some religion around home. "We do not expect children," Cordley replied, "to become perfect, full-grown Christians at once. This is the work of a lifetime. But their conversion affords a starting point, a basis to build on."¹⁰

The Leavenworth *Times* reported a rather far-fetched story which was said to be only one of a dozen such being told in Leavenworth:

7. *Spring Showers: A Brief Account of the Great Revival in Topeka, Kansas* (Topeka, 1872), p. 14.

8. *Brief Account, Lawrence*, p. 8.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

It appears that people become sinners at a very early age in this part of the country. We heard of one yesterday only two and a half years old, who becoming convinced that he was a great sinner, and had been all his life, concluded to have prayers in the family thereafter. His father, being a very bigoted and over bearing man objected and, told him that if he must have prayers it could not be in that house; and so the brave little christian went upstairs to pack his trunk.¹¹

The most popular part of the meetings was the song service which was a novel feature of revivals in 1872. The evening meetings would open with hymn singing which might last as long as 30 minutes. Hymns would also be interspersed between prayers and personal testimonies during the remainder of the service. Hammond had compiled a hymn book called *New Praises of Jesus* which was used at his meetings. It contained a large number of new hymns with lively tunes. The favorite hymn was "Jesus of Nazareth Passeth By" which was sung to the tune of "Sweet Hour of Prayer." The words of the first verse were

What means this eager, anxious throng,
Pressing our busy streets along?
Voices, in accents hushed, reply,
"Jesus of Nazareth passeth by."

The daily schedule of meetings began with a morning prayer service at 9 o'clock. Weather permitting, a late morning street meeting at one of the main intersections rounded out the morning activities. The evening service began at either 7 or 7:30 o'clock. On Sunday an afternoon meeting was held.

In addition to a sermon, usually by Hammond, the time in the meetings was given to testimonials by lay people who would relate their experiences in finding Christ and urge others to follow their example. Until such time as a corps of converts could be obtained in a city, Hammond would utilize the converts from his previous meetings. Thus, the congregations at the early meetings in Lawrence heard the Leavenworth converts speak of their experiences. At Topeka the Lawrence people were used until sufficient numbers of local converts were obtained. For the benefit of those from Lawrence who wished to attend the Topeka meetings, the Kansas Pacific railroad offered three-day excursion tickets at two dollars. In order to take advantage of the excursion rate, purchasers were "provided with a certificate from Rev. Mr. Cordley in order to show that the excursionist is activated by a religious motive."¹²

11. Leavenworth Times, February 13, 1872.

12. Daily Kansas Tribune, Lawrence, March 17, 1872.

The evening meetings had no formal closing. After the sermon and speaking, the congregation would gather in small groups and talk of things religious. This gave the converted an opportunity to talk to the nonconverted personally and help them overcome their fears and doubts about being forgiven for their past life and their ability to lead a new one. This period, known as an "inquiry meeting," would often last as long as an hour with people leaving the church or hall as they desired.

There was more to the revival than holding meetings. Other work needed to be done. Saloons and houses of prostitution were visited by eager workers in hope of leading both the operators and patrons from their life of sin. Although there is little evidence that these labors produced the desired results, the operators, for the most part, did not seem to mind the intrusion. Children were organized into evangelistic teams in Atchison to sing in the saloons. On the afternoon of April 6, the children, divided into two groups, visited all the saloons on Commercial street. A few of the proprietors refused them admission but most of them let them sing and depart in peace. Not all of the work in the saloons was without incident.

The *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, of March 23 gave an account of a fight which took place in front of Mr. Pauley's saloon at Kansas and Fifth the preceding afternoon. The Rev. E. O. Taylor, with others, entered the saloon hoping to hold a meeting. Pauley asked them to leave and the meeting was held in the street in front. As Taylor was speaking, Jim Kelley, identified only as an Irishman, shouted, "It is a d——d lie." At this point, Dick Brown, an engineer for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad, challenged Kelley to a fight at the conclusion of the meeting. The fight took place and the two, along with Jim's brother, Pat, were hauled into court. They were found guilty by the judge with Jim Kelley drawing a fine of ten dollars and costs, and the other two five dollars and costs each. Taylor's defender did not go unrewarded. After the trial, Att. Gen. Archibald Williams, Jacob Smith, and several other prominent citizens stepped forward and paid Brown's fine.

Closely allied with the campaign against the saloons was the anti-gambling crusade. One meeting in each town was devoted to the gamblers. This was always announced several days in advance and proved to be a popular meeting. In Lawrence it drew the largest audience of the revival. In Topeka the Christians were

asked to leave Union Hall and go to the Presbyterian and Congregational churches to make room for the unconverted. The text of the sermon for the gamblers was Romans 6:23—"For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Jesus Christ our Lord."

Hammond also visited the jails and, while at Leavenworth, made several visits to the state penitentiary in Lansing.

Hammond made the claim that he never came into a city except by invitation from the local clergymen and churches. Such was the case in Kansas. As a matter of fact, he had more invitations than he was able to accept. In all cases he was fully backed and supported by the pastors of the evangelical churches. They usually held several meetings in the week preceding Hammond's arrival and the meetings continued several weeks after his departure. The meetings in Topeka lasted four weeks after Hammond left and about the same length of time in Lawrence. In the other cities the meetings were continued from two to three weeks.

As could be expected the revival drew opposition. Most of it came from the groups which were theologically opposed to the co-operating churches. Hammond often berated the Unitarians, Universalists, and other groups known generally as "free thinkers." As a result their spokesmen in the various cities held meetings of their own and issued challenges to Hammond or a representative of his to debate questions of religion.

The first challenge to Hammond came toward the close of his Leavenworth meetings. The *Times* of Sunday, February 11, 1872, carried a letter from I. J. Stine, a local book agent, in which he attacked the revival as being bigoted and narrowminded and listed a number of propositions which he would be willing to debate with any representative of the revival group. This challenge was ignored but Stine did not weary easily. He appeared later at Atchison and Fort Scott while the revival was in full progress in those cities. Only at Fort Scott did Stine appear before the final days of Hammond's meetings. More will be said of the Fort Scott encounter later.

A vocal exchange was touched off in Lawrence during the last week of Hammond's appearance when he delivered a sermon on the Trinity aimed at the Unitarians and Universalists. The following Sunday (March 3), the Rev. W. C. Brooks, pastor of the Universalist church in Lawrence, devoted his sermon to a defense of the principles espoused by the Universalists. A series of weekly meetings, held on Friday evening, which lasted through March and April

followed. Brooks took a live-and-let-live attitude toward the revival. At his meeting on April 5 he told the congregation that he was immune to those who attacked his faith. Even if his faith was not the best, he knew it was the best for him. He illustrated the point by saying that an oak, even if transplanted in better soil, is likely to die.

The Unitarians sponsored a series of lectures by Mrs. M. J. Wilcoxson which began on April 7, 1872. This was a month after Hammond had left Lawrence but the revival meetings were still being carried on by the local pastors. In her first address, which was on the subject "Religious Revivals," she gave her reasons for the enthusiasm shown by the revivalists.

[She] accounted for the remarkable enthusiasm of the revival by the fact that some men have certain psychological powers by which they lead people away from the calm use of their own reasoning and common sense. If each person was educated in his religious principles so as to be well founded, such a man as Hammond could not lead them into these excitements.¹³

Opposition to the "excitements" as the basis of the revival was echoed by every speaker who spoke against it. Hammond and the revivalists, on the other hand, constantly denied this to be the case. They maintained that excitement or emotionalism was not encouraged and had no place in the revival meetings. To them, the opponents of the revival could not distinguish between emotionalism and enthusiasm. Mrs. Wilcoxson continued her lectures through April and the first two Sundays in May.

A different line of attack was taken by a person who wrote an open letter to the *Kansas Daily Tribune* published on April 9, 1872, and signed "Third Story Front." The revival was attacked on several points. First, that it was like a pendulum. Morals, it was stated, will swing as low in reaction as they go high in response to religious fervor. Second, that the revival was more commercial than religious. Some persons, it was charged, were converted because "it will help your business, you know." Hammond's own commercial interest was questioned because he sold his books during the revival meetings. Third, that the revival was divisive. It tended to divide the community into two groups while religion should be a uniting force. Fourth, the inquiry meetings only served the purpose of bringing together young men and young women for doubtful purposes. The revivalists countered by saying that the assumptions of "Third Story Front" were totally false.

13. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1872.

It was in Topeka that the opposition was most active. Unlike the other cities in which Hammond appeared, his adversaries did not wait for his arrival or, as in some cases, his departure. By mid-February a debate was in the offing between Elder D. P. Hall of Olathe, a Christadelphian, and Dr. T. B. Taylor, the leader of the Spiritualist Society of Topeka. The proposition to be debated was "Resolved: That modern Spiritualism is taught in the Bible and, as opposed to materialism, is true." The question was to be affirmed by Taylor and negated by Hall. All arrangements for the debate were completed by February 15 except for the time. For some undisclosed reason the debate did not begin for another two months. The first discussion took place on April 15 with nightly meetings held for a week following. During this two months interim Hall dropped out of sight but Taylor and the spiritualists were active in other areas.

The first encounter between the spiritualists and the revivalists arose over a resolution adopted at a mass meeting on February 25 preparatory to Hammond's expected arrival in Topeka on March 1. The meeting passed a resolution requesting the board of education to dismiss the afternoon session of school on the days when Hammond would hold children's meetings. The first written protests were carried in the *Commonwealth* on February 28. On that day two letters appeared, one of which was signed by "Philo," who identified himself only as a spiritualist, and the other by Theodore Mills, a leader in the Topeka Spiritualist Society. "Philo's" protest was brief. He wrote, in part, "I protest against the interruption of our common schools for the furtherance, supposed or real, of any other interest whatever."¹⁴

Mills, who wrote several other protest letters in the days following, was not quite as firm as "Philo." He did not approve of a general dismissal but was willing to have those children dismissed who brought requests from their parents that they be excused to attend the revival. He opposed a general dismissal of school because a large number of people had no confidence in this type of meeting and did not want their children to miss a single recitation.

The day following Mills' first letter came the announcement that Hammond would postpone his arrival in Topeka one week because of physical exhaustion. Mills took this opportunity not only to further his stand on the school problem but to question Hammond's sincerity. He wrote:

14. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, February 28, 1872.

The reason why Mr. H[ammond] does not visit Topeka now, is for the lack of funds; for Mec [possibly the Reverend Mr. McCabe] and Samuel Dolman . . . must remember that, so far as Mr. Hammond is concerned it is "purely a matter of business." So if the brethren of Topeka don't lay down the "pew-ter," the Rev. Mr. H. will not visit us and the poor little children will have to go unconverted, and go to h—l at last, and all this for the lack of a little of that which Mr. H's bible calls "filthy lucre," the love of which is said to be "the root of all evil," as to let the dear children of Topeka go to the bad place for lack of "his revival?"¹⁵

The board of education granted the request of the revivalists and only a morning session of school was held for about two weeks.

It was T. B. Taylor, rather than Mills, who led the attack against the revival. Taylor announced that on Sunday evening, March 3, he would answer the Rev. D. P. Mitchell of the Methodist church who had previously spoken against spiritualism. "The public," the announcement read, "that has been induced to believe that Spiritualism is such a *monstrosity*, and Spiritualists such monsters, as Mr. Mitchell has pronounced them, are cordially invited to attend. Mr. Mitchell, in person or by proxy, is also invited."¹⁶

Taylor apparently had asked permission to speak at one of the revival meetings and had been denied. Toward the end of Hammond's stay in Topeka, Taylor wrote him an open letter. He began by explaining that it was necessary to "take this method of speaking to you and to others who are not permitted to hear me in the meetings in consequence of this ostracism—in consequence of this infringement of one of the dearest of American human rights, the liberty of speech."¹⁷

He continued by relating briefly three conversion experiences of his own. He had been a Methodist clergyman for nearly a quarter of a century until he had been banned from the church a year previously for ideas expressed in lectures on the resurrection of the dead. Taylor volunteered to be a guinea pig by attending the meetings and following Hammond's instructions to see if he could be forced to change his mind.

Taylor closed his letter by attacking three basic theological beliefs of the revivalists. He stated that he did not believe in a personal God but rather that "God is a spirit"; that Jesus was not God but that he manifested the God-spirit in all of his deeds; and, that the doctrine of vicarious atonement was a logical and theological

15. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1872.

16. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1872.

17. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1872.

paradox because no one can substitute or suffer for the sins of another.

The testimony of R. N. Collingsworth at one of the revival meetings in which he blamed all of his past sinful deeds on spiritualism served as the occasion for another Taylor letter. He wrote:

If Mr. C., or anyone else, has ruined the character of an unsuspecting girl, and had thus thrown her out of society as an outcast upon the heartless world, then he must hunt up such and do all in his power, by his money and otherwise, to bring her back to society and friends again; that if he has "taken anything wrongfully he must restore it with interest." But no, no, that is too costly . . . for Mr. C. and a great many others. They must seek to lay all these shameful crimes on some one else, who is innocent. And this is the beautiful theology that Mr. Hammond and all the rest of these zealous souls are teaching.

But rather let them "bring forth *fruits* meet for repentance" and think not to say, "Jesus has died for my sins and I will go scott free."

They expect to live as they list, say a prayer, make a profession, say they "love Jesus," and go into heaven on a white horse with a great flourish of trumpets; but instead, they will hear, ringing in their ears, these awful words, "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."¹⁸

The verbal blast by Taylor was not the end of this incident. The day following the appearance of the letter, Collingsworth chanced upon Taylor on Kansas avenue where he administered a beating, by the use of his cane, which required Taylor to seek medical assistance.

The practice of the revivalists in praying for the conversion of specifically named persons brought forth at least one letter to the editor in each city conducting revival meetings. E. E. Barnum of Topeka wrote a letter to the *Commonwealth* which was typical. Barnum attended the meeting in which he was the particular object of prayer. "I was made the subject," he wrote, "of public exhibition and scurrilous attack, which was utterly uncalled for, and without justification."¹⁹ In the same letter, he also wrote:

The spirit manifested by these revivalists in condemning as "heretics" and "vile sinners" all those who chance to disagree with them in matters pertaining to religion, is identical with that which in all ages of the world has pursued and put to the tortures of the inquisition honest men and women who conscientiously differed from them in their interpretation of religious faith.²⁰

The revival meetings had competition from a phrenologist who delivered a series of lectures at Costa's Opera House midway

18. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1872.

19. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1872.

20. *Idem.*

through Hammond's stay in Topeka. The lecturer, Prof. O. S. Fowler, delivered a speech on "Love, Courtship and Matrimony" on the evening of March 15. This was followed the next day by an afternoon lecture to ladies only on "Female Health and Beauty Restored" and an evening discussion to gentlemen only on "Manhood: Its Strength, Impairment, and Restoration." These lectures had little effect, if any, on the attendance at the revival meetings.

The attacks on Hammond's character did not end with his departure. At the revival meeting on Sunday evening, April 7, Mr. Hunter, an employee in the AT&SF railroad shops, reported that three men in the shops had accused Hammond of all sorts of crimes and that they could prove their accusations by evidence from people in Peoria, Ill. Hunter had written Robert G. Ingersoll and received a reply which probably was not satisfactory to either side. Ingersoll wrote:

The Rev. Mr. Hammond conducted what is generally called a "revival" at this place [Peoria] some two or three years ago. I know nothing for or against his character. I have regarded him as a kind of fanatic whose intentions might be good enough, but whose lack of real sound sense was fearful. I never saw the man, and have never heard much about him one way or the other. From what I have seen in the papers, I am satisfied the man is responsible for his actions, but is entirely carried away by his unfortunate belief in the gospel. He acts in my judgment as any real Christian ought to act. He is doing what he can to help people out of hell. If there is danger of eternal punishment being inflicted upon sinners, every honest Christian should give his whole life to the business of rescuing souls from such terrible fate. Mr. Hammond acts out his doctrine and of course acts like a crazy man. No man of decent heart can believe in the doctrine of eternal punishment without becoming insane.²¹

In comparison to his stay in Topeka, Hammond must have felt that Atchison was rather dull. The opponents of the revival were relatively inactive. It is difficult to ascertain whether there was no active organized opposition or whether the community was indifferent to the revival. The latter is probably nearer the truth since in the cities, such as Lawrence and Topeka, where the revivals were regarded as more successful, the opposition was more active.

Reference has been made to the children's groups organized in Atchison for the purpose of singing in the saloons. William H. Irwin, who reported the meetings for the papers in Atchison and Fort Scott, reported the following incident which occurred on the afternoon of April 6:

Several boys followed the little Christians, and abused them, hit them with sticks, insulted them in many ways, but the little fellows can afford to be per-

21. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1872.

secuted for the sake of the dear Jesus, and can claim the promise: "blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." ²²

Toward the end of Hammond's stay in Atchison, Stine appeared to deliver his series of lectures and issue his challenge to debate as he had done in Leavenworth. This time the challenge was accepted by the Reverend Mr. Van Wagner of the Congregational church. He attended Stine's lecture on April 12 prepared to present the revival cause. Stine spoke for two hours and then refused to give the platform to Van Wagner. The audience insisted that both sides be heard. Stine not only gave up the platform but left the hall without hearing Van Wagner's presentation. To the revivalists it was a great triumph. Van Wagner wrote in the *Champion*:

It is well known that this man Stine was sent for to counteract the revival, and that he is in the habit, wherever he goes, of challenging the clergy, particularly, and calling us a set of hypocrites, knaves and cowards, and declaring that we dare not meet him, nor discuss the various questions of belief and disbelief. . . .

The arguments and positions are the same substantially, by all infidel lecturers. It is only Hume, Volney, Voltaire, Shaftsbury, Paine, and later still, Strauss and Renan over again, all of whom have been met and vanquished from the field. The latest foe of infidel thought is *Darwinism*, and Darwinism is nothing but the old doctrine of Pythagorus . . . pushed with scientific investigation. It is merely the development theory of Combe and modern spiritualists. . . . And even if it *were true* that man is only an improved monkey, it would not disprove the existence of God nor the sacred record.²³

Stine appeared in Fort Scott a few days after Hammond's arrival having been requested by some of the citizens to give his lectures. Upon his arrival the *Monitor* observed that "Free Religion" and Christianity are about to lock horns for a struggle in this city. We opine that the meek and lowly Nazarine will come off victor."²⁴

"The Great Imposture; or, the True and Untrue in Christianity" and "God and Man" were the titles of the two lectures Stine delivered wherever he appeared. These were presented to crowded audiences in McDonald Hall at Fort Scott on the evenings of April 19 and April 20. He delivered a third lecture on Sunday evening, April 21, which was to be his last. His followers asked him to remain a while longer which he consented to do. On the evening of April 23 he preached from the text used by Hammond on the previous day.

22. Atchison *Daily Champion*, April 7, 1872.

23. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1872.

24. Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, April 18, 1872.

Following his usual course, Stine attempted to arrange a debate with one of the local clergymen. He wrote the following note to the Reverend Mr. McCarthy:

Yesterday morning [April 21], if I did not misunderstand you, you publically announced your ability and readiness to defend and debate the general principles of the Christian religion.

Was your language meant as a challenge to discussion? If so, will you be kind enough to name a time and place, when and where, during the present week, I can have the privilege of meeting you, in open and fair debate on the general question, "Is Christianity true?"²⁵

McCarthy followed the Old Testament injunction and refused to descend to the plains of Ono. V. W. Sunderlin, who delivered the letter to McCarthy for Stine, reported that the "above letter was presented by me to the gentleman addressed, with a request to reply over his signature. As no such reply could be obtained, I wish only to state that fact."²⁶

Stine made another attempt to stir a debate during a street meeting in front of the Wilder House. The meeting was conducted by the Reverend Mr. Paulson, a presiding elder of the Methodist church. William H. Irwin reported the incident:

The remarks were good, instructive and kind, all was quiet until he [Paulson] made some allusion to Tom. Paine, when a poor, lost, blind sinner, by the name of Stine . . . openly and shamefully disturbed the religious meeting by calling the Rev. Mr. Paulson a liar. This is in keeping with his teaching.²⁷

Paulson, like McCarthy, wasn't interested in descending to the plains from his well fortified heights.

The Fort Scott revival was held in a large tent. During the last days of the meetings a nuisance was caused by "a large number of obnoxious individuals who, it seems, take a great delight in obstructing the passage in and out of the tent by their persons and whiskey fumes, mixed with tobacco smoke and other than gentlemanly deportment."²⁸ It was hoped that the local police would correct the situation.

It is difficult to evaluate the effect of a revival meeting. There can be no doubt, while the revival was in progress, that most people were amazed at its success. A report in the Atchison *Daily Champion* was typical:

25. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1872.

26. *Idem.*

27. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1872.

28. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1872.

The fruits of the revival were seen on the Sabbath, in the increased attendance, at all the various churches and Sabbath Schools, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather. We can but believe that from this time the history of Atchison, in this respect is to be changed, and that our churches, instead of being thinly attended, and struggling for existence, are to become stronger, and a power in our city that will be felt in all directions.²⁹

The revivalists worked with vigor and enthusiasm. From the centers of the revival, clergymen and laymen traveled to the surrounding towns and villages to spread the fruits of the revival as widely as possible. It was not unusual for entire families to travel as far as a hundred miles to attend the meetings for a day or two.

Statistically, the revival was a success. It is impossible to determine the exact number of conversions. In round numbers, the following were generally accepted.

Leavenworth	500
Lawrence	1,000
Topeka	600
Atchison	300
Fort Scott	400 ³⁰

The number who joined the local churches during the revival was only about half this number. Most of the newspapers carried a statement attributed to Hammond that he regarded the Lawrence revival as his most successful to that time except for the one held in Dunfries, Scotland.

There were always those ready to scoff. A Lawrence convert was jailed in Kansas City for drunkenness. "He told several persons that his visit to Kansas City was to escape the importunity of the revival people in Lawrence, and to enjoy a quiet drunk."³¹

References to the revival were carried frequently in the papers for several months. As for the long range effect of Hammond's visit to Kansas, the following is probably a good summary:

In general it may be said that there has been no time of wide-spread religious interest when the foundations of society were stirred to their depths, such as has sometimes been seen in different ages and portions of the church. But Kansas has by no means been left unblest.³²

29. Atchison *Daily Champion*, April 16, 1872.

30. Fort Scott *Monitor*, May 18, 1872.

31. Kansas *Daily Tribune*, April 14, 1872.

32. The Rev. Timothy Hill, *Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church in Kansas* (Topeka, 1877), pp. 22, 23.

The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of

Lt. J. E. B. Stuart

Edited by W. STITT ROBINSON

I. INTRODUCTION

THE duties of the United States army on the frontier were many and varied during the decade preceding the Civil War. There were both military and nonmilitary services to perform. The military involved primarily campaigns against hostile nomadic Indians, campaigns which were on the whole limited to minor skirmishes and which can hardly be classified as wars. Nonmilitary duties involved the army as policeman rather than soldier and as the builder of forts which ringed the frontier area. Both military and nonmilitary services were vital parts of the mission of the army on the eve of the Civil War.

Greatest attention in the writing of American military history has been devoted to the fighting role.¹ Even with this emphasis, the story is not complete as evidenced by the lack of printed material concerning some of the campaigns on the frontier. The diary reproduced here has only recently come to light and supplies new and detailed information on the Kiowa and Comanche campaign of 1860.² The record was kept by Lt. James Ewell Brown Stuart who is best known to history as "Jeb," the dashing cavalry leader of the Southern Confederacy. The military units included Companies F, G, H, and K of the First regiment of cavalry with some attention to the two attached companies of the Second dragoons, Companies C and K. As an appropriate background to the diary of the 1860 campaign, a brief résumé will be given of Stuart's early military career which involved mainly his service with the First cavalry.

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1. Francis Paul Prucha's *Broadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1860* (Madison, Wis., 1953) is a recent study that concentrates on the nonmilitary services of the army.

2. Brief accounts of the campaign are given in George A. Root, ed., "Extracts From Diary of Captain Lambert Bowman Wolf," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (May, 1932), pp. 206-210, and in Merrill J. Mattes, ed., "Patrolling the Santa Fe Trail: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan," *ibid.*, v. 21 (Winter, 1955), pp. 585, 586.

A Virginian by birth, Stuart received an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point and graduated in the class of 1854. His first assignment as an officer was with the regiment of mounted rifles under the command of Maj. J. S. Simonson, who was then carrying out orders for both military and non-military services along the Texas frontier from Fort McIntosh near Laredo to Fort Davis and El Paso.³ Federal troops were responsible for protecting the area from Indian raids, securing the emigrant routes, fortifying the Mexican border, supporting the enforcement of revenue laws, and curbing the activity of bandits and murderers.⁴ Stuart's service in Texas was cut short by his appointment to the First regiment of cavalry which along with the Second cavalry was organized in March, 1855, by act of congress to expand the number of mounted troops in the army. Command of the First cavalry was assigned to Col. Edwin V. Sumner and Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston.

Stuart reported in June, 1855, to Colonel Sumner at Jefferson Barracks in Missouri where the regiment was being organized, and before the end of the month the unit moved on to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas. Colonel Sumner assumed command of the post and appointed Stuart to his staff as regimental quartermaster and as assistant commissary of subsistence of the post.⁵ While organization was still under way, orders were issued for the First cavalry to participate in the campaign against the Sioux Indians in August and September, 1855. The major skirmish of the expedition involved Bvt. Brig. Gen. William S. Harney and Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke of the Second dragoons in an attack on the Sioux on Blue Water creek near Ash Hollow along the North Platte river in Nebraska territory.⁶ But for the First cavalry, the venture was little more than an exercise in organization and an orientation to the Plains, for on the march to Fort Kearny and beyond toward Fort Laramie, no Sioux were encountered.⁷

Upon return from the Sioux campaign, Lieutenant Stuart completed plans for his marriage to Flora Cooke, daughter of Lt. Col. P. S. G. Cooke of Virginia, plans which had been tentatively made

3. "Regimental Returns," Regiment Mounted Rifles, February and March, 1855, National Archives.

4. Averam B. Bender, *The March of Empire: Frontier Defense in the Southwest, 1848-1860* (Lawrence, 1952), pp. 34-36.

5. "Post Returns," Fort Leavenworth, July, 1855; "Regimental Returns," First cavalry, August, 1855. Both in National Archives.

6. "Report of the Secretary of War," *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (1855-1856), v. 2, pt. 2, pp. 49-51; *ibid.*, *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 58*, 34th Cong., 3d Sess. (1856-1857).

7. "Regimental Returns," First cavalry, September and October, 1855, National Archives.

after a whirlwind courtship following their first meeting at Fort Leavenworth. The event was solemnized on November 14 at Fort Riley where Lieutenant Colonel Cooke was stationed with the Second dragoons.⁸

The increased tensions of the Kansas struggle in late 1855 and 1856 resulted in the call for military personnel for a wide variety of assignments, more as policemen than as soldiers. Commanders of federal troops were ordered by the Secretary of War to assist the territorial governor in enforcing the law and maintaining the peace. While many of the assignments were common for normal frontier conditions, the number increased for such missions as the following: preventing bloodshed between Proslavery and Free-State factions; guarding the polls and land sale offices; stopping the raids of freebooters and bandits; providing military escorts for the mail, for Indian agents delivering annuities to the tribes, and for visiting or local officials; and prohibiting white encroachment upon the land reserves of friendly semisedentary Indians. Calls were made upon the First cavalry for all these tasks.⁹

Preoccupied during 1856 with these problems, the First cavalry was not able until 1857 to undertake a campaign against the Cheyenne Indians. Although signers of the treaty at Fort Laramie in 1851,¹⁰ the Cheyenne had been guilty of raiding Western trails and murdering whites. The purpose of the campaign, therefore, was to punish the tribe for depredations and at the same time so to overawe them by a show of force that peace would be maintained. Two moving columns led by Col. E. V. Sumner and Maj. John Sedgwick were employed from May until August, the major encounter with the Cheyenne occurring on July 29 on Solomon's fork of the Smoky Hill river.¹¹ Lieutenant Stuart began the expedition as regimental quartermaster officer, but was relieved during the campaign by Colonel Sumner because of a difference of opinion over the question of signatures for responsibility of government property.¹² Continuing as a company officer, Stuart was in the thick of the fight with the Cheyenne on July 29; and while attempt-

8. Letter of J. E. B. Stuart, November 25, 1855, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Va.

9. Examples of these assignments are given in my essay on "The Role of the Military in Territorial Kansas," *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial* (University of Kansas Social Science Studies, Lawrence, 1954), pp. 84-98.

10. Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Sen. Doc. No. 452, 57th Cong., 1st Sess.), v. 2, pp. 440-442.

11. "Governor Walker's Administration," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Topeka, v. 5, pp. 299-301.

12. F. J. Porter to J. E. B. Stuart, August 11, 1857, "Letters Sent," Department of the West, National Archives; "Regimental Returns," First cavalry, June, 1857, National Archives.

ing to save a fellow officer, he was wounded in the chest by a pistol shot of an attacking Indian.¹³

Further expeditions against the Cheyenne were prevented by the order for federal troops to join the forces being organized in 1857 for the Utah campaign. The Mormons were reported to be in rebellion against the United States; and only two U. S. officials, both being Indian agents, remained in Utah. Alfred Cumming was appointed as new governor of Utah territory, and orders were issued to organize some 2,500 troops at Fort Leavenworth to accompany the governor and other new officials to the Mormon country.¹⁴ Companies of the First cavalry were assigned to various columns that were to march at designated intervals. Stuart was a member of the column under Major Sedgwick and served as quartermaster officer of the expedition. However, agreements worked out by negotiators in the Mormon country ended the campaign without fighting; and Stuart's column, not leaving Fort Riley until May 29, 1858, went beyond Fort Laramie only as far as the Valley of the Sweetwater in present Wyoming before returning to Fort Riley on August 29.¹⁵

Following a winter in quarters at Fort Riley, the First cavalry received assignments for field duty for the summer of 1859 to protect the emigrant route along the Arkansas river. Stuart obtained a six months' leave and returned to Virginia. While on leave he completed his invention for a sabre attachment devised in Kansas. By means of "a stout brass hook" Stuart made it possible for the mounted soldier to leave his sabre on the pommel of the saddle when dismounting to fight; when remounting, he could easily return the sabre to his belt. Stuart patented the invention (patent number 25684 dated October 4, 1859)¹⁶ and he was successful in selling to the United States government the right to use the improvement for mounted troops.¹⁷

While in Washington on October 17 waiting outside the office of the Secretary of War for a conference about his invention, Stuart

13. H. B. McClellan, *The Life and Campaigns of Major-General J. E. B. Stuart* (Boston and New York, 1885), pp. 20-22.

14. LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, 1938), pp. 284-299.

15. Summary of the marches of the regiment, "Regimental Returns," First cavalry, 1858, National Archives; "Muster Rolls," Company G, First cavalry, June-August, 1858, National Archives.

16. The patent may be found in "Records of the War Department," Office of the Chief of Ordnance, Ordnance Special File, Inventions Section, National Archives.

17. Receipt for the sale is in special files of the Ordnance Department, Record Group 156, Box 46, National Archives.

was asked to deliver a message to Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee across the Potomac at his Arlington home. Learning that the mission involved quelling the uprising at Harpers Ferry, Stuart volunteered his services and accompanied Lee as his aide to the scene where John Brown was captured on October 18. Writing to his mother on January 31, 1860, after returning to Fort Riley, Stuart stated that one of his greatest services was the recognition from his experience in Kansas, that the insurgent leader Smith was actually "Old Brown."¹⁸

Back in Fort Riley, Stuart rejoined the regiment and assumed command of Company G on December 15, 1859, until Capt. William S. Walker returned from leave.¹⁹ Orders from army headquarters were received in March to begin preparations for a campaign against the Kiowa and Comanche Indians. These two tribes along with the Apaches had signed the treaty in 1853 at Fort Atkinson on the Arkansas river (near present Dodge City). The agreement was made to maintain "Peace, friendship, and amity" with the United States and to preserve peace among the signatory Indian tribes. The right was provided for the United States to build roads or highways and military or other posts in territories occupied by the Indians. The three tribes also promised "to make restitution or satisfaction for any injuries done by any band or any individuals of their respective tribes to the people of the United States" legally residing in or traveling through their territories, and not to molest them in any way but rather to aid them if possible. In return the United States was to pay \$18,000 annually in annuities for ten years and to protect the tribes from depredations by people of the United States. Violation of the treaty, it was agreed, could result in the withholding of annuities; and if at a later date it seemed desirable to establish farms among the Indians, the United States could use the annuities for that purpose.²⁰

By 1857 the Kiowas and Comanches were reported in large numbers for extended periods of time on the Arkansas river, and by 1859 were residing permanently in the area between the Canadian and Arkansas rivers.²¹ Indian Agent Robert Miller (or Millar) met the Comanches, Kiowas, and other tribes on July 19, 1858, at

18. The original of this letter is owned by Stuart B. Campbell of Wytheville, Va. Most of it has been reproduced in substance in McClellan, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 30.

19. "Muster Rolls," Company G, First cavalry, October, 1859, to April, 1860, National Archives.

20. Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 445-447.

21. "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. (1859-1860), v. 1, p. 506.

Pawnee Fork and found the Comanches unwilling to treat with the United States, threatening to annul the treaty of 1853. The Kiowas were more amenable, but parties from both tribes had been guilty of attacking and robbing two Mexican trains in sight of the agent's camp. Miller found both Kiowas and Comanches arrogant and confident of their superiority over U. S. forces, an opinion held by them, he thought, because of their lack of knowledge of the size and resources of the United States. In his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he concluded that "Nothing short of a thorough chastisement, which they so richly deserve, will bring these people to their proper senses."²²

A few weeks later Colonel Sumner en route from Fort Kearny to the Arkansas river met a band of Kiowas under Little Mountain, one of the leaders with whom Miller had conferred. Sumner found the leaders of the Kiowas desirous of peace, although they indicated great "difficulty in restraining their turbulent young men." Pledges were made to Sumner to exert every effort to keep the young braves off the warpath.²³

The Kiowas and Comanches were "encountered" the following year on September 16, 1859, at the mouth of Walnut creek by Agent W. W. Bent, who reported their number as 2,500 warriors. As to conduct, they appeared peaceable in the presence of federal troops; but when troops returned to Fort Riley, Agent Bent stated that they "assumed a threatening attitude, which resembles the prelude of predatory attacks upon the unprotected whites" along the Santa Fe road. Bent was convinced that a "smothered passion for revenge agitates these Indians"; and he recommended the establishment of two additional military forts along the Arkansas river to provide the "perpetual presence of a controlling military force." Because of the pressure of white settlement, he foresaw a war of extinction unless the federal government provided for the reduction of the nomadic tribes to an agricultural and pastoral way of life.²⁴

Orders from army headquarters of March 10, 1860, ordered "active operations" against the hostile Comanches and Kiowas with instructions to hold no intercourse with them until punishment had been inflicted by military attack. Columns of troops, operating independently, were organized to begin the march in May. Six com-

22. *Ibid.*, *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 35th Cong., 2d Sess. (1858-1859), v. 1, pt. 1, pp. 448-452.

23. "Report of the Secretary of War," *House Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 35th Cong., 2d Sess. (1858-1859), v. 2, pt. 2, p. 425.

24. "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. (1859-1860), v. 1, pp. 506, 507.

panies of the First cavalry (A, B, C, D, E, and I) were dispatched under Capt. S. D. Sturgis. The other four companies of the regiment (F, G, H, and K) along with Companies C and K of the Second dragoons were assigned to the column commanded by Maj. John Sedgwick.²⁵ Writing to his sister in April about the command appointment, Sedgwick stated that "I have no desire for it, but if I have it I shall do my best to bring it to a successful issue."²⁶

Special instructions of May 9 were forwarded to Major Sedgwick from Colonel Sumner at headquarters of the Department of the West in St. Louis. Drawing upon his varied experience as an Indian fighter, Sumner advised that in order to be able to pursue, overtake, and attack the enemy, it was necessary to leave the wagon train at Pawnee Fork and to make the expedition from there with supplies conveyed by pack mules and beef cattle on foot. In pursuing Indians traveling with their families, a "steady determined march" would overtake them and when closely pressed, the warriors would separate themselves to protect the families. This, according to Sumner, was an excellent time to strike them; and in case the Comanches and Kiowas should unite to pose a strong threat, efforts should be made to turn their flanks for "Indians can never stand that." One further suggestion from Sumner reflected the problem of the military in distinguishing friendly from hostile Indians and the tendency of Federal troops to make little or no distinction within one tribe when punitive expeditions were under way. When "proffers of peace and disclaimers of all connection with the hostiles" approach you, stated Sumner, it is impossible to make distinctions; therefore, "whenever Comanches or Kiowas are found they must give the character to the whole party."²⁷

Lieutenant Stuart accompanied Major Sedgwick's column as a company officer in Company G, and he was appointed journalist of the expedition. In addition to keeping an official record of events,²⁸ he recorded a more informal and personal impression of the expedition in a "Daily Miniature Diary for 1860" which had been printed by the New York concern of Kiggins and Kellogg. There are gaps in the personal diary, mainly in July. But it is

25. Sumner to Sedgwick, May 9, 1860, "Letters Sent," Department of the West, National Archives; "Report of the Secretary of War," *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 36th Cong., 2d Sess. (1860-1861), v. 2, pp. 19-22.

26. John Sedgwick, *Correspondence of John Sedgwick, Major-General* (New York, 1903), v. 2, pp. 10, 11.

27. Sumner to Sedgwick, May 9, 1860, *loc. cit.*

28. A copy of the official journal kept by Lt. J. E. B. Stuart is in the Coe Collection, Yale University library; microfilm copies are in the libraries of the University of Kansas and the Kansas Historical Society.

valuable for giving new information of the 1860 expedition and the terrain over which it was made, as well as affording some insight to the personal reaction of Stuart and other military personnel to the events of the campaign.

The Stuart diary presented here is a literal transcription from photographic reproductions of the diary in the possession of the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia and is reproduced with the permission of that institution. Raised letters in the manuscript have been uniformly lowered and deletions by the diarist have been omitted. All other changes have been indicated by the usual square brackets.

Stuart's references to the streams of western Kansas are of considerable interest since history has recorded 1860 as a year of Great Drought for Kansas and adjacent Plains area.

II. THE DIARY, MAY 15-AUGUST 15, 1860

MAY, TUESDAY, 15, 1860. Left Fort Riley on Kiowa campaign, take route up Smoky Hill for Pawnee Fork of Arkansas. camped first night on chapman's creek. comd. composed of cos F G H & K 1st. cav. under Maj Sedgwick.²⁹ We expect a 5 mos arduous campaign principally with packmules having our grand depôt at Pawnee Fork. Walker³⁰ & I mess together the 2d Lt absent I like co duty far better than staff. Detailed in camp to get wagons over chapman's creek. Hard work. Some ladies came to cr from Fort R[iley] but could nt cross

MAY, WEDNESDAY, 16, 1860. I am the Journalist of the Expedition, continue up Smoky Hill 16. miles camp just beyond Sand creek & spring, on bank of Smoky Hill. Water of this stream salt—banks boggy. passed settlements all the way— farm houses with wells and springs. Rock Sp and a cluster called 7 springs opposite Kansas Falls.³¹ Soil very rich in Smoky Hill bottom Miles 16

29. John Sedgwick, a graduate of the military academy at West Point in 1837, was assigned to the First cavalry as a major in March, 1855. During the Civil War he remained with the Union and attained the rank of major general before being killed on May 9, 1864, at the battle of Spotsylvania, Va.—George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (New York, 1879), v. 1, pp. 533, 534; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), v. 1, p. 872.

30. William Stephen Walker served as a first lieutenant in the Mexican war and in March, 1855, was assigned as captain to the First cavalry in command of Company G. He resigned from the U. S. army in May, 1861, and served as brigadier general in the army of the Southern Confederacy.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 997; Thomas H. S. Hamersly, *Complete Army and Navy Register of the United States of America* (New York, 1888), p. 837.

31. Kansas Falls was located on the Smoky Hill river six miles west of Junction City. It was organized in September, 1857, and incorporated by the territorial legislature in 1858.—George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 4 (February, 1935), p. 17. Its location was marked on "New Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines" by O. B. Gunn (Wyandotte, K. T., 1859), and "Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines" by O. B. Gunn and D. T. Mitchell (Lawrence, 1866).

MAY, THURSDAY, 17, 1860. Crossed Solomons Fork at Ferry— 8 miles farther camped on Saline Fork days march. 13. miles— Smoky Hill Fork all day in sight to our left. solomons Fork has good water st Cloud ³² on east bank thriving settlement— caught a fine cat in Saline water of saline salt

MAY, FRIDAY, 18, 1860. Passed up Saline to Ferry two miles above During delay here I caught another fine cat. Advanced 4 miles through town on Smoky Hill called Salina— thriving place. Houses weather boarded with clapboards— belongs principally to one Phillips ³³ of Laurence [Lawrence] K. T. Much corn raised in vicinity. This is the last settlement. 2 miles crossed Dry cr. with water (?) in it. 1½ miles pond to right. 2½ miles to camp on Spring creek

MAY, SATURDAY, 19, 1860. Country from here west barren & unproductive. passed up Spring creek and its tributaries through country broken & hilly camp on clear creek— days march. miles— clear creek is tributary to Smoky Hill

MAY, SUNDAY, 20, 1860. Pass at 1½ miles from camp fine Spring in ravine to left of road. peculiar formation supposed to be a buffalo lick. come in sight of Smoky Hill in front 5 miles from camp cross Smoky Hill at Bryans bridge ³⁴ of which only foundation is left at rocky bottom ford. camp on south bank Jo. Taylor's ³⁵ horse Roderick took French Leave of camp to day— not recovered.

MAY, MONDAY, 21, 1860. Passed several creeks where water was expected now all dry. passed in afternoon to our left immense lake thought at first to be the Arkansas— but found to be lake of good water— in centre of a very large basin of parched soil passed through myriads of buffalo lassoed a calf at head of column. & put it in wagon. at 42 miles strike Walnut creek. having passed 3 tributaries of cow cr. all now dry.

MAY, TUESDAY, 22, 1860. spent to-day in camp resting after the

32. St. Cloud was a small settlement on the left bank of Solomon's fork. Its location was also marked on the two maps listed in Footnote 31.

33. William Addison Phillips, a native of Scotland, emigrated to the United States about 1838 and in 1855 came to Kansas as a correspondent of the *New York Tribune*. Active as an antislavery journalist and politician, he also, along with four associates, founded the town of Salina in 1858 and later served in the United States congress as a representative from Kansas.—*Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 14, pp. 548, 549.

34. Lt. Francis T. Bryan, Corps of Topographical Engineers, arranged in 1855 for the construction of bridges along the Santa Fe trail at crossings of Solomon's fork, the Saline, and Smoky Hill rivers. Contract for construction was awarded to J. O. Sawyer, and the bridges were accepted by Bryan for the United States government.—W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Army Engineers as Road Surveyors and Builders in Kansas and Nebraska, 1854-1858," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 17 (February, 1949), pp. 40-44.

35. Joseph Hancock Taylor was a graduate of West Point in 1856 and was assigned to the First cavalry. He later reached the rank of colonel in the United States army.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 436, 437; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 947.

long march yesterday caught a small cat. Thunder storm in afternoon— very refreshing shower.

MAY, WEDNESDAY, 23, 1860. At 12 miles march to-day strike Santa Fe route at Pawnee rock. Many wagons on route to Santa Fe & Pike's Peak— 6 miles on Santa Fe road bring us to Ash creek— a ranch— and here turning to right 7 miles farther reach Pawnee Fork cross it at Bell's bridge. Substantial structure built by Bell D. & mail agent. Camp Alert³⁶ on west bank and above. Called on Maj Wessells.³⁷ comd. camped just below bridge.

MAY, THURSDAY, 24, 1860. Moved camp to-day 5 miles lower down, to Arkansas for better grass. Went up to Camp Alert & dined with Maj Wessells Lt W. F. Lee³⁸ & lady treated me with marked kindness also Maj W & wife. I gave the calf to Maj W's boys. Visited camp of 2d. Drags. Squadron under Capt Steele.³⁹ Cos C & K. Armstrong⁴⁰ & Sol Williams⁴¹ with it. In afternoon got odometer Lt Lee Mrs L & Mrs Wessells went down to camp in Wing's ambulance. The young officers rather on frolic. Armstrongs horse in leaping pole in Newby's⁴² hands shyed & knocked N. senseless. I serenaded ladies at night.

MAY, FRIDAY, 25, 1860. Pack mules & saddles distributed this morning generally gentle— the day was consumed in adjusting saddles & packing experimentally. Walker went to Camp Alert to-day— six miles off.

MAY, SATURDAY, 26, 1860. To-day Maj Sedgwick determined to sent a party of 30 men, south of Arkansas to reconnoitre & if expedient attack the enemy if there. a smoke having been seen

36. Camp Alert was established on the Santa Fe trail about six miles west of present Larned. The camp was renamed Fort Larned in honor of Col. B. F. Larned.

37. Henry Walton Wessells was a graduate of the military academy at West Point in 1833 and was assigned to the Second infantry. He served in the Mexican war and in 1860 was still a member of the Second infantry with the rank of brevet major. He remained with the Union and later attained the rank of brigadier general.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 437; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 1019.

38. William Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia, was a lieutenant in the Second infantry. He resigned from the U. S. army in April, 1861, and served as a captain in the Confederate army before being fatally wounded at the first battle of Bull Run in July, 1861.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

39. William Steele was a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1840 and was assigned to the Second dragoons in which he was serving as captain in 1860. He resigned his commission in May, 1861, and served as brigadier general in the Confederate army.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 613; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 919.

40. Francis C. Armstrong was a first lieutenant of the Second dragoons in 1860. He resigned from the Union army in August, 1861, and served as brigadier general in the Confederacy.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 169; Hamersly, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

41. Solomon Williams was a graduate of West Point in 1853 and was assigned to the Second dragoons. Having resigned his commission in May, 1861, he served as colonel in the Confederate army before being killed in action at Beverly Ford, Va., in June, 1863.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 472; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 1042.

42. Edward W. B. Newby served in the Mexican war and in March, 1855, was assigned to the First cavalry as captain. He retired from the U. S. army in September, 1863, with the rank of major.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 744; Hamersly, *op. cit.*, p. 661.

the night previous I go in command also Jo Taylor & Sol Williams. go S. E. 25 miles & arrive at Otter cr.⁴³ at 9 P. M. no Indians, camp without cooking. having 2 days rations on our horses— suffered some from cold.

MAY, SUNDAY, 27, 1860. Continued at 4.30 AM up creek N. E. for 32 miles halting 2 hours at noon to graze & rest— then left creek & went nearly due north reach 20 miles to the Arkansas just before sun down. & camped. Having a fine roast of buffalo on sticks Saw no trace to day of Indians. Otter creek has no timber, good grass, thousands of buffalo Saw also antelope, duck, curlew, plover, snipe, sand hill cranes otter & muskrat to say nothing of prairie dogs. & such ilk.

MAY, MONDAY, 28, 1860. Proceeded at 4.30 AM up Arkansas— south bank over waste of barren sand hills full of gofer holes & recrossed river opposite camp days march 25. Whole march 102 miles in 48 hours. Men & horses in fine condition. Find letters & package from wife. Bless her heart. Who with my experience could live without a wife. heightening every joy, lightening every sorrow. Mrs. Ruff⁴⁴ in camp near here visit her. She is en route to M.

MAY, TUESDAY, 29, 1860. Camp at Pawnee Fork. Saw D W Scott. Sent letter to wife by Mrs. Ruff. & list of Distances.

MAY, WEDNESDAY, 30, 1860. In camp reading "what will he do with it"⁴⁵ Officer of the Day. Dine with Lee at Fort.

["Be joyous at forebodings of evil but tremble at day-dream of happiness."

MAY, THURSDAY, 31, 1860. In camp preparing for departure tomorrow on pack mules. Bayard⁴⁶ & Merrill⁴⁷ arrived about 11 at night in the outward bound mail.

JUNE, FRIDAY, 1, 1860. Marched about 8. o'clock up Arkansas. Recd. letters of mail, 1 from wife— no news Camp on Arkansas.

43. Present Rattlesnake creek in Stafford county.

44. Probably the wife of Charles F. Ruff, graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1838. Ruff was stationed in New Mexico in 1860 and participated in the Comanche expedition as a major in the Mounted Rifles.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 570, 571.

45. A novel by the English writer Edward George Earle Lytton, Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Baron Lytton (1803-1873). The work was originally published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh (Scot.) Magazine* in 1857 and 1858.

46. George Dashiell Bayard was a graduate of West Point in 1856 and was assigned to the First cavalry. On the 1860 expedition against the Kiowas and Comanches, he received a severe arrow wound in the face on July 11. During the Civil War he served as brigadier general in the Union army before being fatally wounded at the battle of Fredericksburg, Va., in December, 1862.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 425; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

47. Lewis Merrill was a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1855 and was assigned to the Second dragoons. He served in the Kiowa and Comanche campaign in 1860 as a second lieutenant and later attained the rank of brevet brigadier general in the United States army.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 406, 407; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 705.

[blank] miles beyond crossing of coon cr. several of the ladies go out as far as coon creek in Capt Hayden's ambulance. I never commenced a march with more buoyant feelings. Everything smiles auspiciously notwithstanding *Friday* Scott came this far with us & took back our last dispatches for home. I gave Gaffner a strong recommendation for wagon mr at Pawnee. days march 15.33/100 miles

JUNE, SATURDAY, 2, 1860. Marched up Arkansas & camped on its bank Bayard has dubbed Merrill "Gig Lamps," a very appropriate soubriquet, taken from Verdant green.⁴⁸ Merrill is mounted on a mule wears spectacles & a citizen's dress! 20. 20/100 miles

JUNE, SUNDAY, 3, 1860. March up River along Santa Fe road. Coon creek is very little to our north. Camp about 18 miles farther 5 [?] miles above Jackson's Island. Bright Sabbath day. A few Arrappahoe lodges on river in sight. In afternoon their chief came in bearing aloft on a pole the stars and stripes which he rightly conjectured was the surest passport through our lines. He was dressed in a dressing gown and wore a[n] Infantry Cap 18 43/100 miles

JUNE, MONDAY, 4, 1860. Forded the Arkansas & without difficulty sending back all the wagons but a Light ammunition wagon & sick ambulance⁴⁹ at 3½ miles reach Mulberry cr. which empties into Arkansas a few miles below our camp. ½ mile above cross its dry bed. Cross near waters of Nuscitunga R⁵⁰ & camp. plenty of timber & water grass in timber. S. 17 45/100 miles

JUNE, TUESDAY, 5, 1860. Travelled down the dry bed of stream, 15 miles & camped in wide valley groves of cottonwood. Last year this valley must have been thronged with Indians Camped at holes of water. grass tolerable, water unpleasant & boggy to the taste. Citric acid corrects it sufficiently Bayard caught some fine perch here. S. E. 15 miles

JUNE, WEDNESDAY, 6, 1860. March East 3 miles then S. E. at

48. The reference is to the writing of Cuthbert Bede, pseudonym for Edward Bradley (1827-1889): *The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green, an Oxford Freshman* (1853); *The Further Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green, an Oxford Under-Graduate* . . . (1854); and *Mr. Verdant Green Married and Done for* . . . (1857).

49. The ambulance as used by the army at this time was a four-wheeled vehicle similar to a wagon. In the 1857 Cheyenne expedition after part of the ambulance had broken down, J. E. B. Stuart was transported on the "sick wagon" which he described as "the two hind wheels of the ambulance, with a tongue attached, the cushions being fastened on the spring."—McClellan, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22.

50. It is obvious that there was a lack of exact knowledge of streams on maps being used by the military at this time. On the map of "Kansas, Texas, and Indian Territory, With Parts of Colorado and New Mexico" issued by the Engineer Office of the U. S. army, division of the Missouri, 1868, Crooked creek flows into the Nescutungua river which then becomes the Little Arkansas river (present Salt fork of the Arkansas). Crooked creek, as is now known, flows into the Cimarron river. A map containing the errors of the 1868 sketch was probably being used by the expedition of 1860.

5 miles from last camp a tributary running S W joins the one we follow, & after junction their course is nearly South.⁵¹ Camp on it. water scarce wood plenty, grass sufficient for a squadron only. E & S. E. 14 68/100

JUNE, THURSDAY, 7, 1860. Leaving valley of streams Cross S W 8 miles to another which must be the main Nuscetonga now dry— pools deep & clear of fresh water full of fish in a beautiful grove of timber. Quail & deer abound here. birds singing at the greatest rate. Some horse shoes *gems* of Civilization found here. fine grass. Then S for 12 miles then S. E to camp on small tributary of Cimaron Cimarone is here dry— water in tributary stagnant grass very bad water & soil worse S W & S. & S. E. 25. 42/100

JUNE, FRIDAY, 8, 1860. Crossed dry bed of Cimaron & going south 1½ miles crossed distinct wagon trail. probably Col Johnstons 1857 outward route⁵² days march over very rough & broken country. find dry bed of stream with holes of water impregnated with salts, incrustations on ground of Gypsum. Scarcely any grass. Soil red & barren. this is probably the Red Fork of Cimaron.⁵³ S 10. 17/100 miles

JUNE, SATURDAY, 9, 1860. Cross directly South for 7 miles. country intersected by deep & rugged ravines with a few clumps of cedar & cottonwood. Two streams in full view. cross the first above their junction. It is the north Fork of Canadian the other Middle R. Both well-timbered. 4 bear & several deer & buffalo killed. water slightly salt but clear Grass better than since left Arkansas. Col J's return trail found near camp. S & S. E. 9. 91/100

JUNE, SUNDAY, 10, 1860. Ly by in camp on north Fork of Canadian.⁵⁴ just above junction with it. majority of officers are inclined to make scout towards Antelopes Hills on Main Canadian. But Maj S. is going up the north Fork of Canadian but will take Middle River as we afterwards ascertain

51. Probably Bluff (or Buff) creek and its tributaries in present Clark and Comanche counties.

52. The reference is to the 1857 route of Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston in command of the surveying party for marking the southern boundary of Kansas from May through October. Johnston's private journal is in Nyle H. Miller, ed., "Surveying the Southern Boundary Line of Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (February, 1932), pp. 104-139. Other journals on the expedition may be found in *ibid.*, v. 6 (November, 1937), pp. 339-377, and in Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861*, by Eugene Bandel (Glendale, 1932), pp. 121-211.

53. Probably Buffalo creek and its tributaries in present Harper county, Oklahoma.

54. The camp was on Middle river rather than the North fork of the Canadian. See diary entry for June 13. Middle river is now identified as Wolf creek which flows from Texas into Oklahoma and empties into the North Canadian river in Woodward county, Oklahoma.

JUNE, MONDAY, 11, 1860. Marched up what we believed to be north Fork of Canadian (Middle River) at 10 miles enter a very extensive bottom of fine grass. Remains of Indian camps passed. Timber & grass fine. water good. Camp on south bank S. S. W. 26. 81/100

JUNE, TUESDAY, 12, 1860. Continued the march. This stream abounds in bear deer & turkey. Cross & recross several times finally camp on north bank. after reaching camp we were so fortunate & [as] to find a surveying party Boundary commission, one of whom Mr Weyss⁵⁵ was with Col Johnston in 57. We get a copy of Col J's map find that we are in Middle fork or River. main canadian dry. No Indians. our Long is 100°. Lat 36°. 16' W S W 17. miles

JUNE, WEDNESDAY, 13, 1860. To-day we left the Boundary party who follow up 100° degree of Longitude. we continue up Middle R. our camp on 10th. was on north Fork now about 30 miles north of us. This stream gives indications of continuing very little farther up. West 21. 70/100

JUNE, THURSDAY, 14, 1860. up Middle River. Timber scarcer. Bluffs bolder & valley narrows. Passed remains of Indian camp 2 months old. abrupt cedar bluffs. water now in detached holes banks very steep & high. Evidence of great freshet on the banks early in spring. Camp the last time on Middle R. a very romantic & picturesque camp. bird serenade at night also thunderstorm—West 13. 50/100

JUNE, FRIDAY, 15, 1860. Struck across from Middle River 5° [15°?] west of north to north Fork of Canadian. 34 miles about 10 AM a large herd of mustangs to the N. W. are pronounced by the Delawares⁵⁶ Kiowas. We make preparations for battle— marching by squadrons in two columns All are eager for the fray Dragons too far behind to join us. But Armstrong co trotted up. Steele was ordered to remain behind with the pack mules. we were sadly fooled. This ended mustang battle. north 24 75/100

55. John E. Weyss was surveyor with the party for the southern boundary line of Kansas in 1857 and was a member of the Texas and United States Boundary Commission in 1860. For a map of the survey and a discussion of the Texas boundary, see Marcus Baker, *The Northwest Boundary of Texas* (Bulletin of the United States Geological Survey, No. 194, Washington, 1902).

56. Colonel Sumner requested permission for use of 12 Delaware Indians as guides for Major Sedgwick's command, but Secretary of War J. B. Floyd approved the request only for six.—Sumner to Headquarters of the Army, April 16, 1860, "Letters Received," A. G. O., National Archives. Stuart's personal diary lists six Delawares by the following names: Fall Leaf, Sarcouxie, John Williams, Bascom, Wilson, and Bullit.

JUNE, SATURDAY, 16, 1860. Went up north bank of stream Camp on N. Fork Canadian⁵⁷ march 19. Finished the Disowned⁵⁸

JUNE, SUNDAY, 17, 1860. Camp on north Fork of Canadian, march 14. miles.

JUNE, MONDAY, 18, 1860. Marched up N. F. Canadian 19. miles & camped on good grass no fuel.

JUNE, TUESDAY, 19, 1860. Lay by to-day. took bath ponds full of cat & sunfish. fish for every meal. Dr. Madison's mustang potatoes [?]

JUNE, WEDNESDAY, 20, 1860. Lie [?] by to reconnoitre for water volunteered to go on march with 2 men to see if water is 40 miles ahead. start at 5 am. find water at 40 miles at 2½ P. M. rest 1½ hours & starting back reached camp at 1¼ at night. slept 1½ hours and marched at 5 am back with command over the 40 miles. Walker characterizes my reconnaissance as very successful & creditable service.

JUNE, THURSDAY, 21, 1860. Arrived at camp 4.10 P M. I have marched 120 miles in 35 hours during all which time I have slept but 1½ hours.

JUNE, FRIDAY, 22, 1860. March n. n. W. by compass cross Santa Fe road about 20 miles, & reach Cimaron at Aubrey's crossing.⁵⁹ Finish letter to wife, to send by Express to Pawnee Fork tomorrow. Express sent for provisions.

JUNE, SATURDAY, 23, 1860. Went up stream 4 miles & camped on better grass. Lay by remainder of day.

JUNE, SUNDAY, 24, 1860. Lay by till 4 P. M. March on Aubreys trail N. E. till 10½ A M [P. M.] Halt picket out on prairie. Saddle up & resume march early— without breakfast on 25th. Reach Bear river (two Butte) River, whole march 45 miles Last night Walker at Sedgwick. Water of Bear river plenty & good in large pools. Reuben killed 2 ducks at one shot.

57. The march of Major Sedgwick's column from Middle river to the North fork of the Canadian is shown on the map of the Texas boundary in Baker, *op. cit.*, facing p. 11, and also on the map of "Kansas, Texas, and Indian Territory, With Parts of Colorado and New Mexico" issued by the Engineer Office of the U. S. army, Military Division of the Missouri, 1868.

58. Another novel by Edward Bulwer-Lytton published in 1828-1829. As an explanation of the *Disowned*, Bulwer-Lytton stated in 1832 that out of his study of metaphysics and ethics "grew the character of Algernon Mordaunt . . . as a type of the Heroism of Christian Philosophy—an union of love and knowledge placed in the midst of sorrow, and laboring on through the pilgrimage of life, strong in the fortitude that comes from belief in heaven."—*The Complete Works of Edward Bulwer-Lytton* (New York, n. d.), v. 2.

59. Aubrey's crossing of the Cimarron river was in present Cimarron county, Oklahoma. Aubrey's crossing and Aubrey's trail were named for Francis X. Aubrey (also spelled Aubry), a Santa Fe trader. In an effort to shorten the Santa Fe trail, he selected a route that left the trail near Cold Springs in Cimarron county, Oklahoma, and ran northeast across the Cimarron river, along Bear creek, and then to the Arkansas river at Fort Aubrey near the boundary line of present Hamilton and Kearny counties, Kansas.

JUNE, MONDAY, 25, 1860. See preceding page. Found Otis⁶⁰ here, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre for water.

JUNE, TUESDAY, 26, 1860. Fine antelope killed by Johnny Williams (Delaware). I got the antlers—a superb pair.—to present to P W H of N C. Lay by till about 4 P. M. when saddling up we go down Bear river about 18 miles & find water & large cottonwoods. about 10 P. M. camp by moonlight. take cold lunch & to-bed.

JUNE, WEDNESDAY, 27, 1860. Lay by till P. M. Loll in the shade of the gigantic cottonwoods. all day. At 4 P. M. saddle up & march on aubrey's trail 21 miles, picket out about 10 P M on roadside, & with cold lunch to-bed. N E 21 miles

JUNE, THURSDAY, 28, 1860. At first dawn saddle up & continue march warming some cold coffee we brought in a canteen, & after 15 miles march N. E. reach the long wished for arkansas. How comparative all our joys are. That stream upon which I have heaped so much abuse, appears now—lovely & most welcome to view. Fall Leaf's rifle burst today mangling his face a good deal. I crossed with McL⁶¹ & Lom⁶² to a train no news no nothing N E 15 miles

JUNE, FRIDAY, 29, 1860. Yesterday the same Arrapahoe visited us, now on his way to Bents Fort⁶³ with one of Bents trains on the other side. Crossed to north bank of arkansas & camped. aubreys crossing.⁶⁴ a very extensive bottom— many islands with brushwood in the river. And some large trees on an island above.

JUNE, SATURDAY, 30, 1860. Muster at 8 A M— Horses & mules inspected. G has best horses but worst mules. Our ration period expires to-day.

JULY, SUNDAY, 1, 1860. In camp. Col. St. Vrain⁶⁵ the old trader

60. Elmer Otis was a graduate of West Point in 1853 and was assigned to the First cavalry in March, 1855. He later attained the rank of colonel in the U. S. army.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 358; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 762.

61. Probably James B. McIntyre, West Point graduate of 1853. Assigned to the First cavalry in March, 1855, he was serving as regimental quartermaster officer in 1860 and later served as brevet lieutenant colonel before his death at Fort Larned in 1867.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 364, 385; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 669.

62. Lunsford Lindsay Lomax was a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1856 and was assigned to the First cavalry. He resigned his commission in April, 1861, and served as a major general in the Confederate army.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 430, 431; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 639.

63. The reference is to Bent's New Fort which was built on the north bank of the Arkansas river in the area of the Big Timbers near present Prowers, Colo., in 1853 by Col. William Bent. The New Fort was located about 38 miles downstream from Bent's Old Fort. William Bent leased the New Fort to the War Department in 1859 and in the following year additional fortifications were built and it was named Fort Wise (later Fort Lyon). In 1860 William Bent was still active in the Indian trade.—See George Bird Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 15 (1919-1922), pp. 28-91.

64. Aubrey's crossing of the Arkansas river was at Fort Aubrey.—See Footnote 59.

65. The reference may be to Ceran St. Vrain who had been engaged in the Indian trade with the Bents and was still active in 1860.—Grinnell, *loc. cit.*, pp. 81 and *passim*.

passed in ambulance P. M. Says our supply train left Pawnee Fork on 28th, & ought to be here tomorrow. Pegram⁶⁶ has passed en route to New Mexico. Kiowas reported to be on cow creek & south Platte Randall & Reuben kill six ducks.

JULY, MONDAY, 2, 1860. In camp

JULY, SATURDAY, 7, 1860. Marched up Arkansas & camped just below Big Timbers. 20. 00/100 miles

JULY, SUNDAY, 8, 1860. Contind march up River passing Boon of Mo & several other Pike's Peak trains. Scattered trees continuation of Big Timbers, soil sandy & poor grass good in bottoms. 22. 40/100

AUGUST, WEDNESDAY, 1, 1860. Left at 6 A M on scout Merrill & 36 men Fall Leaf Wms. & Wilson— at 8½ AM reached trib[utary] to Smoky Hill. Signs— halt half hour— march at 9 AM 10° E of N, halt at dry bed half way to skin antelope— pack it and at 11.20 reach another creek same signs. go down it at 12.20

AUGUST, SUNDAY, 5, 1860. Crossed northward and taking ridge several miles from river marched generally East parallel to gen'l course of river. No grass buffalos have devoured all— timber at intervals water in bed in holes. Emigrant road coincides generally with our course— no grass arr. 2.20 P. M. feed on cottonwood 24½ miles [profile sketch included]

AUGUST, MONDAY, 6, 1860. Gen course East coinciding with Emigrant road. crossed many ravines springs of del. water oozing from banks & sinking immediately no grass. Camp on Smoky Hill march 20.95 miles I killed fine antelope buck, at spring named antelope spring. no grass fed horses on cottonwood & elm & grape vine. ar 12.20 [profile sketch included]

AUGUST, FRIDAY, 10, 1860. Travelled S. W. from Sarcxie spring & after 12 miles came to walnut cr. halted & grazed. then crossed S. W. the Santa Fe road and camped on arkansas. Here we met Sedgwick's guides who informed us that Sedgwick had preceded us several days at Fort Larned and that the Expedtn. was broken up— 4 cos of cav ordered to Bent's Fort to winter & build post. Startling news. 2 cos 2d Drags to take post at Fort Larned. Wms

66. John Pegram was a graduate of West Point in 1854 and was assigned to the First dragoons. In March, 1855, he became a member of the Second dragoons where he was serving as first lieutenant in 1860. He resigned his commission in May, 1861, and became a major general in the Confederate army. He was killed in February, 1865, at the battle of Hatcher's Run, Va.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 374; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 780.

& I left camp about sundown & went up to Larned 18 miles that night. Lee told me I had a fine son.⁶⁷

AUGUST, SATURDAY, 11, 1860. Steele's command came in about 11 a. m. McIntyre is going in to Riley for co property. I apply for 7 days leave to go with him. granted. We are to leave tomorrow, with 6 wagons & 4 sergts. Every body is blue & disgusted.

AUGUST, SUNDAY, 12, 1860. Start for Fort Riley. Go by Larned—take in my two mules. They follow. I ride my roan Kiowa, leaving Beppo[?] with Lee at Larned. camp on Walnut creek.

AUGUST, MONDAY, 13, 1860. Travelled pretty briskly reaching the Smoky Hill & camp.

AUGUST, TUESDAY, 14, 1860. Marched beyond crossing of Saline. Left the train late in afternoon on our ponies to make Riley tomorrow. About dark reach Solomon's Fork where Col Crittenden⁶⁸ with an encampment of 20 or 30 families & 700[?] recruits horses &c. for New Mexico. Spent the night there. Saw Dr. Webster, Forney, McNally, Kelly, Moore [?], I. N. McRane [?], Wheeler of N. Y. [?], Gibbs, Lane, Whitall.

AUGUST, WEDNESDAY, 15, 1860. Early this morning left Crit's camp & after 40 miles jog arrived with joyous tramp at our own doors at Fort Riley, taking our families completely by surprise. This page need not be filled out.

III. EPILOGUE

Stuart's personal diary falls silent during most of July except for the few entries printed here. During this time the command continued the march up the Arkansas river as indicated for July 8 and went a little beyond Bent's New Fort near present Prowers, Colo. The return march was then made along the Arkansas to the vicinity of present Garden City where a turn was made to the northeast with three companies proceeding along the Smoky Hill river, the other three along Walnut creek. Stuart marched with the Smoky Hill group which continued to present Ellsworth

67. James Ewell Brown Stuart, Jr. There is some evidence that the son was originally named for his grandfather, Col. Philip St. George Cooke, but the name was changed when the grandfather did not resign from the U. S. army to join the Confederacy.—John W. Thomason, Jr., *Jeb Stuart* (New York, 1941); see, also, Bingham Duncan, ed., *Letters of General J. E. B. Stuart to His Wife, 1861* (Emory University Publications, Sources and Reprints, Ser. 1, Atlanta, 1943), pp. 21, 23, 26, 27.

68. George Bibb Crittenden, a West Point graduate of 1832, was serving as lieutenant colonel in the Mounted Rifles in 1860. He resigned from the U. S. army in June, 1861, and served as major general in the Confederacy.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 409, 410; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

county before turning back to the southwest to join the remainder of the command about 18 miles south of Fort Larned.⁶⁹ From there Stuart returned to Fort Riley.

By August 11 when orders were received to break up the expedition, Sedgwick's column had marched 1,404 miles. The only skirmish for the command involved Lieutenant Stuart and a detachment of 20 men who pursued a small body of Kiowas near Bent's New Fort on July 11 and combined with forces under Capt. William Steele to kill two warriors and take prisoner 16 women and children.⁷⁰

In the same campaign the column of six companies of the First cavalry under Capt. S. D. Sturgis encountered a large group of Kiowas and Comanches along the Republican fork on August 6. Reporting on all of the summer's expedition, Sturgis claimed 29 of the enemy killed.⁷¹

These skirmishes of 1860 along with the appearance in force of U. S. troops on the Plains contributed to the restoration of peace with the Kiowas and Comanches and to the security of the emigrant route. Indian Commissioner William P. Dole reported in November, 1861, that recently the two tribes had "manifested a disposition" to resume friendly relations with the U. S. government and to be "restored to its confidence."⁷²

69. "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 36th Cong., 2d Sess. (1860-1861), v. 2, p. 18.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

72. *Ibid.*, *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 37th Cong., 2d Sess. (1861-1862), v. 1, pt. 1, p. 634.

Traveling Theatre in Kansas: The James A. Lord Chicago Dramatic Company, 1869-1871—Concluded

JAMES C. MALIN

VI. BASES OF DRAMATIC CRITICISM, 1870-1871

LEAVENWORTH

LONG since it should have become apparent to the reader that a critic's commentary upon theatre was a highly uncertain commodity. Always there is question about how much credence can be given to the press notices. Custom provided general practices about complimentary tickets for the press, and advertising, formal and "puffs" in the locals, and so long as both parties played the game, all went well. But, on occasion these relations became snarled. Some theatre troupes did not place formal advertisements in the papers, but depended primarily upon handbills and locals. J. A. Lord was usually quite successful in his press relations, but there were occasions when even his well managed system went wrong. The Leavenworth *Times* revealed a rift in February, 1871, in which Lord may not have been at fault.

Having opened on Monday night in "Ingomar," the *Times* critic introduced himself on Tuesday morning, February 21, with the following:

We would like to have our readers understand, at the outset, that we shall not enter into a criticism of the different plays presented by this company during their engagement here. We know and can appreciate the difficulties attendant upon the management of a troupe organized as this one is. In the one fact of the organization not being permanently located, rests a great share of the trouble of keeping it up to that point of excellence which we know is the aim of that true knight of the buskin, Mr. J. A. Lord. . . . Mr. Lord we have seen upon the opera stage in Chicago, the same careful and studious actor as he appears to us here. In refusing to criticise the company, which is our right, we do so, therefore, solely for the encouragement of what we deem an excellent company. . . . the best troupe of theatrical performers which has visited this place in a long time is the verdict of the public.

No clue has been found about what really was "biting" the boy,

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but something further and more intangible occurred Wednesday night which was noticed in the criticism of the *Times*, February 24, Friday:

Notwithstanding the discourtesy shown toward the employes of the *TIMES* office on Wednesday evening, we have a kindly word to say to Mr. Lord, . . . [and his company]. We can hardly reconcile the discourtesy complained of with the handsome acknowledgements made by the management in the words of farewell spoken to the audience. . . . The forbearance of the press of this city in noticing shortcomings and the hearty support extended were acknowledged in pointed language. We hold that the least worthy of the many good theatrical notices given, was worth more than all the paltry admissions asked for. Having said this much we will now proceed to the more cheerful task of saying the kindly word we had set out to say and which is uppermost in our thoughts. . . .

The first critique by the *Times* man was a peculiar, patronizing, snob performance by which the scribe sought to impress his readers—and he did, but with his own bad taste. He revealed himself also in his insistence that the weaknesses of the Lord company stemmed from “not being permanently located,” in other words from being a traveling not a resident theatre. In this respect he was out of touch with the times, or unrealistic about the world in which he lived, and did not recognize that the choice was not between these two forms of organization, but between traveling theatre or no theatre. Otherwise, as pertains to the merits of the controversy, the data are too incomplete to permit a conclusion.

A second shortcoming in press reports of theatrical performance was a too-great reliance of many editors upon news handouts from the advance agent of the companies. A particularly effective phrasing or sentiment by some early critic might thus become the model for other papers for weeks or months thereafter. By following the itinerary of a traveling company these similarities or even identical eulogies can be spotted, and recognized for what they were. Still, although following precedent they might be sincere. More difficult for the historian to deal with, however, was the possibility that the theatrical criticism was written by the manager of the company. Lord was charged with this practice, particularly during the winter of 1877-1878, when difficulties between Seymour and Lord became a matter of public record. But where a town had more than one paper the individuality of the critics rounds out perspective, but contributes problems of interpretation, their variety and often contradiction adding zest to the task of the historian.

Ward Burlingame told one story on himself that may have had more than one counterpart. He claimed that at Leavenworth he attended a rehearsal of "Othello," wrote his story of the evening's performance, had it set in type, and went to bed. A sudden storm caused the show to be cancelled, but his story appeared nevertheless in the morning paper.¹

The Leavenworth press of 1870 afforded some specific guidance in matters of dramatic criticism for the season of 1870-1871, although not always conclusively. The sober local of the *Times*, November 18, in announcing the opening of the theatrical season by the Lords, was indicative of a predisposition favorable to any really acceptable performance: "as we have had very little of the theatrical of late, they will be likely to draw large audiences." Similarly, the report after the second night was prefaced by the statement: "for the first time in 'many moons' a Leavenworth audience has witnessed talent worthy of their commendations."

During the spring of 1870 the *Commercial*, May 1, had been quite candid in admitting limitations upon its qualifications to pronounce judgment on the National Theatre: "Although in a business point of view we are metropolitan, we must in all candor admit, that so far as high order of art or superior culture is concerned, we are only provincial, and especially in regard to the mimic art." Later, during the Coudock week, June 20-25, the same paper was apologetic, June 23, about the small audiences: "It reflects but little credit upon the Dramatic taste of Leavenworth that acknowledged art is so poorly patronized." The season being late June, ice cream socials had been popular among the churches and at the moment attention was being directed toward the success of the music festival of the South Leavenworth Musical Association to be held at the Fifth avenue chapel followed by fresh raspberries and ice cream. This is the type of competition with theatre that inspired the next remarks, including the bad pun:

It is said that the cream of society in this city affect a different style, and that the *mode* is to frequent assemblies where fruits in conjunction with cream, can be discussed, much to the satisfaction of the consumers, who have also the consolation of knowing that they thereby much advance the cause of religion, in whose aid the feast is generally given.

Be that as it may, however, it is especially worthy of regard, that while talent cannot "draw" on the stage, brass and extravagance does.

1. Atchison *Daily Champion*, February 20, 1879, reminiscences of "Early Kansas," by Ward Burlingame, "Atchison County Clippings" (Kansas State Historical Society), v. 1, p. 216.

The counterfeit negroes' [burnt cork] grotesque and somewhat vulgar antics, will always create a furor of enthusiasm and a corresponding influx to the exchequer of the company, while real Dramatic talent plays to empty benches. If you want a crowd bring along your Circus and "Numidian Lion." There is no such place as Numidia and your lion may be a downcast beast, but he has got a mane and can pass, as lions go. Let us all then give in our checks, and be thankful that we have seen the lion.

But the press of Leavenworth was not unanimous in these evaluations of Leavenworth's aesthetic standards. Lest the picture of that city appear too negative, although in the minority of one against two, the *Bulletin's* view, December 2, is presented last because it is positive. The occasion was the coming of Annie Tiffany who was to appear December 6, 7, 1870, before Leavenworth's sophisticated audiences:

The theatre-goers who compose the Leavenworth amusement loving public are cold, critical and indifferent. It weighs nothing here for Fort Scott or Kansas City to eulogize, and foreign reporters to exhaust rhetoric in describing the charms of a particular "star." Leavenworth has been more highly favored with the presence of prominent actors and actresses than neighboring cities on the river. Our people have listened to Booth, Forrest, Jefferson, Owens, Mrs. Hosmer, Lotta, Laura Keene, Siddons and many others. In truth, the best talent of the country has appeared on the boards of the Opera House.

It would be difficult to document the whole of his list of stars, and it is not worth the effort. The main point of his contention, however, was obviously in error; that Leavenworth occupied a favored position on the river or was on such terms of familiarity with the great as to be conditioned artistically to their excellence as a criterion of taste in theatre.

LAWRENCE

At Lawrence the tone of dramatic criticism was in a markedly different key. With some variation in wording, the *Journal* repeated its dictum of the previous year: "Lawrence people, as a general rule, are more partial to the concert and lecture than the drama. . . ." The paper avoided an expression of editorial opinion, employing various circumlocutions: "Those who delight in the drama and comedy will have a rare chance . . ." or "The audience being judges, the acting last night was a success,"—or "Mr. Lord's troupe is certainly popular with the large class that attends." Undoubtedly, the editor was not among those citizens of Lawrence who delighted in or attended the theatre except as duty required. These were Lawrence's revelations of herself, and ap-

parently the box office confirmed the town's lukewarmness about the drama. The Lord company limited Lawrence to two short visits that winter, or a total of 11 nights compared with Topeka's 23, Leavenworth's 21, and Atchison's 14.

TOPEKA

The Topeka *Commonwealth*, January 14, 1871, adopted an air of humility, which might be described as that of a country boy who was aware of his limitations within the sacred precincts of the sophisticated city, but nevertheless held himself firmly to his own ideals:

We have not traveled the continent, except in imagination, (like most of those who *boast* of their travels), and, consequently, we must not be expected to entertain strong disgust for every dramatic troupe which comes to Topeka. We are unsophisticated enough to think that good acting consists in fidelity to nature, and when a character is rendered in perfect accordance with nature, it is as well rendered as it could be by one who has just returned from "a two years tour in Europe." Hence, our more cultivated and more extensively traveled readers will please excuse us if we say that Mr. Lord has placed before our citizens some of the very best plays, and that all the characters have been well rendered. One thing is noticeable about the troupe, and that is that nothing unchaste has yet occurred upon the stage under Mr. Lord's management.

ATCHISON

At Atchison the visit of the Lord Company of two weeks, December 12-24, 1870, was the occasion of the dedication of Corinthian Hall, the city's new temple of entertainment. Louie Lord opened Corinthian Hall in "Dora" and ten other major roles over the season, and thereby became a legend in Atchison, or it may have been that Corinthian Hall became a legend, to which Eugene Field contributed at a later date by his poem "Corinthian Hall." John A. Martin's *Champion & Press*, the only surviving newspaper of that date in Atchison, was peculiarly noncommunicative about the information the historian would most desire concerning either Corinthian Hall or the reception given the Lords upon that memorable occasion which should have accounted adequately for the form in which the legend developed.

EMPORIA: CHURCH VERSUS THEATRE

At Emporia the reaction toward theatre in general and the Lord Dramatic Company in particular was the most remarkable of any town during their first tours of the troupe in Kansas. The Lords

were advertised to open a week's engagement there on Monday, January 23, with the dramatized version of Tennyson's "Dora." The new public hall, on the third floor over a business establishment, had been opened with a dance on Friday night, January 19. The Topeka correspondent of the *News* wrote that: "The duett singing by Mrs. Lord and [Miss Woltz] is as fine as I have heard in many a day. The excellent manner in which they put upon the boards several of the leading American plays is attracting large and intelligent audiences nightly." All this was set forth before the Emporia public in Friday's issue of the weekly *News*, January 20. The Rev. Mr. Kelley, minister of the Methodist church, called a general meeting at the church for Sunday afternoon at 3 P. M. "to listen to a free discussion upon the subject of amusements." The exchange of views on that memorable afternoon was reported in the *News*, January 27, 1871, apparently quite fully and fairly. In view of the fact that this is the only occasion found when such an examination of current thought was made a matter of record, it has been reproduced almost complete, along with an editorial. The report read:

The intention of the pastor, Rev. Mr. Kelley, in appointing this meeting was to obtain from the members of his church and such others as chose to participate, an expression of sentiment as to what was the duty of Christians as regards amusements, especially as to whether they ought to countenance those popular ones, the dance and the drama.

Among the several speakers was a Mr. Detwiler, temperance lecturer:

As regards the dance it was his rule to explain to his children that, so far as the act of dancing was concerned, which is nothing more than the regulation of the movement of the body to music, there was nothing harmful in it, but that the tendency of dancing, and the associations that are inseparable from it, as it is universally conducted are irreconcilable with Christian godliness and destruction [ive?] of sound morality. Several other speakers, among whom was the minister himself, followed Mr. Detwiler, all of whom maintained substantially the same position regarding both the dance and the drama as that enumerated by the first speaker respecting the dance, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Cunningham. This gentleman believed in making a proper use of all good things. He had no sympathy with long faced Christianity. There was no more impropriety for a Christian to laugh with the utmost heartiness, or listen to the representation, by competent dramatists, of a finely written story or poem than for him to do any other harmless thing. Conscience should be the judge. If he could honestly invoke the blessing of God in attending the theatre, or in doing anything else, he was justified in doing so. He did not believe it was his duty because some man was a bad man that he should on that account be debarred from hearing him render a beautiful poem in a faultless manner. Upon this principle he would be compelled to destroy most of

his library, for the best of books are sometimes written by men whose lives were not at all exemplary.

Mr. Jay thought that the proper rendition of "Ten Nights in a Bar Room" would reclaim ten intemperate men to one reclaimed by ever so good a temperance lecture, with which sentiment Mr. Detwiler agreed. Mr. Kelley tho't that the tendency of both the theatre and the dance was demoralizing, and that so long as this was the case good men should not countenance them. He didn't believe it possible to correct this tendency, . . . [He cited a man who attempted to run a theatre on correct principles and failed—success was possible only by yielding to depraved tastes.] He believed all good persons should refrain from giving them any support whatever. After a few remarks by other speakers the meeting adjourned.

The authorship of the following editorial cannot be determined, but Jacob Stotler and W. W. Williams were the editors, and H. W. McCune was local editor. In view of the fact that the discussion as reported was limited for all practical purposes to the single question of theatre the editorial was confined to that single subject:

The theatre is harmful when it degrades instead of elevates; when it excites the mind without instructing it; when it appeals only to the lower faculties of our being for the purpose of feeding their strong but sinful appetites, instead of administering food to our higher faculties, in order to awaken and quicken the best emotions of our nature as well as to increase our store of useful knowledge and to cultivate the best powers of our mind. That the drama has been too frequently in the past—and is to a great extent yet—the instrument of evil instead of good, all will admit; but that it is universally, and without exception, bad and only bad and cannot admit of any reform, and should, therefore, be unequivocally condemned and spit upon by all good, christian men, is to be strenuously and bravely denied. The object of the drama is to represent on the stage in a manner that is true to life and nature the grave or humorous actions of characters who figure in the composition of some gifted author. To say that this object cannot be accomplished so as to interest, amuse and instruct without at the same time pandering to the depraved tastes of those who are fond of the obscene and indecent is to admit that men can never be made to love the good and the beautiful, can never cherish what is chaste, pure and elevating. It is asserting the doctrine of human depravity in its broadest and most unqualified sense, denying all faith in moral progression. And to attempt to prove the truth of this assumption by asserting that all theaters are demoralizing in their influence, that there is not a single one in existence whose aim and tendency are to make men better and wiser, is simply to demonstrate one's bigotry, and ignorance. The history of the stage, it is true, is not what we could wish it to be; but neither is that of the church. But as the latter has been gradually loosening the bands of superstition, bigotry and narrowmindedness, so the theater year by year has been rising out of the meshes of obscenity, vice and vulgarity into an atmosphere of unexceptionable purity and decency. That there are theaters extant that are corrupt, vile, obscene and indecent is no sound reason for withdrawing patronage from those that are really moral and elevating in their tendency; no sounder reason, in fact, than to say that because

there are christian denominations whose creed is narrow and whose practices are not conformable with the teachings of the Great Master, we should therefore have nothing to do with Christianity and no fellowship with christians. There was a time when the church cried out with an alarming voice against the progress of science, believing that the light it feebly emitted in those early days emanated from the God of darkness himself, and was intended to overthrow Christian[ity] and submerge the world in endless darkness; but now the church looks upon science as the hand maid of Christianity. Every additional ray of light that emanates from the world of nature dispels one more wave of darkness that covers man's mysterious relation to his Maker. So also is the prejudice that good men have heretofore hoarded against the drama giving way to an acknowledgment of its benign influence and elevating character. No intelligent man has the right to say to another intelligent man that every theater is demoralizing, and that it will degrade and corrupt him if he patronizes it. We know that we have been benefitted by the drama—benefitted intellectually and morally. We have listened to Chas. Kean's impersonation of Shakespeare's characters and never before properly understood and appreciated the writings of that greatest of poets. We have had the best and kindest emotions of our nature quickened into unwonted activity by listening to the faultless rendition of some of finely written composition, in which the best qualities of the human heart were strikingly exemplified. And as there are no pleasures as agreeable and rapturous as those of the imagination, and as the drama is calculated to most effectively awaken them, we have experienced some of our most pleasurable emotions in the theatre room. The drama has its place along with other arts. It has not reached its highest state of perfection, neither has any instrumentality of mere human invention. But it has done a good work in the past. It has been at times the only instructor of the people. It has often fallen into abuses, and under the government of bad men, it has sometimes been devoted to bad purposes and used for bad ends. But it was one of the earliest aids by which men advanced from barbarism to civilization, and without it, and its kindred arts, culture and taste would be unknown. Let its excesses be watched and confronted, just as all other excesses should be; but do not strangle it because, like everything else, it is not wholly faultless.

This was indeed a forthright defense of the theatre, but there should be no begging of the question—this editorial position and the absolute repudiation of the theatre by the Rev. Mr. Kelley were irreconcilable.

On the face of it the community should have been split wide open, but the data are too meagre to justify a conclusion that the question was taken so seriously. Reporting as of Thursday afternoon, the *News* local said the play "Ireland as It Is" drew the largest audience Wednesday night of the three thus far and all reserved seats for Thursday night's "Our American Cousin" were already sold. The *Topeka Commonwealth's* Emporia correspondent wrote on the closing Saturday night that the engagement was "highly success-

ful," and "Notwithstanding the supposed opposition of this community to everything in the nature of theatrical exhibitions, Bancroft Hall was crowded every night." The following week, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore lectured on woman suffrage at Bancroft Hall to a small audience. The *News* explained its views of the reasons: the Lord Dramatic Company had just closed a week's engagement; and the unpopularity of the subject; but whether or not one agreed with her, it was the best lecture of the season: "It was better than a whole week of theatrical performances." This suggests that possibly even the editors of the *News* were split on the relative influence for good between "Ten Nights in a Bar Room" and the temperance lecture.

VII. THE PERSONAL EQUATION

VERSATILITY OF MRS. LORD

Because of the great bulk of materials available about this long season in Kansas, 1870-1871, a procedure must be devised different from that employed for reviewing the first tour in Kansas. First to be traced is the emphasis upon the versatility of Louie Lord's talents—the company's formal advertisements always used the word "versatile." After playing "Gilberte" in "Frou Frou," and "Dora" in the play of that name, the Leavenworth *Times*, November 23, 1870, noted that "two characters could scarcely be more at variance. Her success in both stamps her as an actress of very superior talent and versatility." Then November 26, after "Topsy," the same paper insisted: "We never saw the character more finely rendered, and can hardly imagine how her acting in the part could be improved upon. She is as much at home in Topsy as in 'Frou Frou,' and plays both surperbly." Again, January 5, 1871, the *Times* printed a critique from the Joliet (Ill.) *Republican* which reiterated: "it was hard to believe that she who charmed all with her beautiful conception of GILBERTE, could have been the mad cap Topsy of the night before. Truly Louie Lord is the most versatile Artist who has ever visited our city." Of course, this was a company handout in Leavenworth, but the theme was effectively stated. On February 24, after registering complaint about alleged mistreatment of *Times* employees, the editor asserted: "Louie Lord in the full scope of her versatile talents is certainly not excelled in the West. . . ."

The critic of the Leavenworth *Commercial*, November 26, 1870, responded in a manner similar to the *Times* writer: "Mrs. Lord

possesses a variety of talent seldom, if ever, embodied in any one person now on the American Stage. . . ." Following a presentation of "Marco," on December 31 the same paper neatly complimented both Mrs. Lord and her rendition: "Reflective of so much and varied grace, the infatuation of 'Raphael' did not seem surprising to the audience. . . ."

After the fourth play of the first visit, and relative to "Topsy" in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the Leavenworth *Bulletin*, November 25, 1870, concluded: "If any doubts were heretofore entertained as to the versatility of Louie Lord they were happily removed by the very versatile, clever and animated representation of that character last night." On January 5, 1871, the *Bulletin* also reprinted the Joliet *Republican's* verdict, obviously provided by the management.

At Lawrence the matter of versatility was not raised by either paper during the first visit, but the day before the second visit, the *Tribune*, February 12, 1871, wrote: "Mr. and Mrs. Lord are thoroughly read, and are acknowledged first-class actors. Louie Lord, especially, is very versatile. She has a peculiar aptness in assuming almost any character, and is a sincere and faithful worker. . . . We expect a great deal of Louie, and we are sure we will not be disappointed." If this was the work of the advance agent Park Smith, it was well disguised. At Atchison, the only reference to versatility came on December 17, 1870, when the *Champion* was evidently following closely the advertising copy, but making a specific current application: "The occasion being a complimentary benefit to that excellent, versatile and popular actress, Mrs. Lord, Corinthian Hall was crowded. . . ."

The Topeka papers were the most generous in their variations on the theme of versatility. In announcing the first benefit of the season for Mrs. Lord, the *Daily Record*, December 9, 1870, put its comments in perspective: "Mrs. Lord has, in the two engagements which the Lord troupe has played here, appeared in every line of feminine character known to the stage. She has been a negro girl, an Irish girl, a Yankee girl, an Indian girl, and all sorts of a girl, and has in every part she has undertaken shown genuine ability." In "Frou Frou," for the benefit, she was to play "Gilberte," a French girl. After the first night of this engagement, the *Commonwealth*, December 6, 1870, emphasized: "This is the second visit of this troupe to our city. . . . The characters . . . rendered by Mrs. Louie Lord were immense, the best we ever

saw. Mrs. Lord is certainly a lady of rare and versatile talent, seldom embodied in one person." This wording was similar to the Leavenworth *Times* notice of November 26.

Upon their return to Topeka in January, 1871, the *Daily Record*, January 14, was duly impressed by "The Marble Heart" performance: "Mrs. Lord displayed, as 'Mademoiselle Marco,' that versatility of talent which has made her so popular here. It appears to make little difference to the lady what line of character she is called upon to play, whether it is the screaming 'Yankee Gal,' or some roaring farce or the heroine of a dramatic romance like the 'Marble Heart,' she always does her best, and that is always acceptable."

The *Commonwealth*, January 12, showed more warmth in its praise: "That beautiful and graceful lady, Mrs. Louie Lord, appeared as Florence Trenchard ['Our American Cousin'], and the ease with which she entered into the character she represented so well in this comedy, after having seen her in the sad, sad condition of the Octoroon, last evening, astonished us with the versatility of her talents." The *Commonwealth*, January 15, 1871, characterized Mrs. Lord's "Nancy Sikes" in "Oliver Twist" as "another illustration of that versatility of talent for which she is so justly famous." And of "The Child Stealer," five days later, it specified that Mrs. Lord "almost surpassed herself in her magic transitions from the miserable child thief to the repentant mother; from the humble mendicant at a noble's door to the heroic mother *vis a vis* with a long lost daughter; from the lying, poverty stricken parent to the atoning, victorious mother. The 'Mother and Daughter' in in the last act was truly a most affecting scene."

MRS. LORD, ACTRESS

Evaluations of the quality and effectiveness of Mrs. Lord's acting included many that indicated originality rather than stereotype, although there was necessarily much of the latter. After the opening play the Leavenworth *Times*, November 22, 1870, reported: "Leavenworth amusement seekers had a sensation . . . in 'Frou Frou,' as presented by one of the most charming and brilliant young actresses ever seen on the Opera House boards. We can't describe her, but can only say that her like has not been here—since the last visit by herself. The way she represents that wild, giddy, naughty, fascinating 'Frou Frou,' is indescribable, and must be seen to be appreciated." The following day, after "Dora," the *Times* assumed a sophisticated attitude:

She is already a favorite with our people—and we think that past experience shows that to win the hearty support of Leavenworth theatre goers is not an easy exploit. Whether or not they are more faithfully critical than other people we do not claim to be able to decide, but many a bankrupt manager can give sorrowful testimony to the fact that they do not lavish their smiles upon everybody. Therefore we may say that Mrs. Lord is to be congratulated upon her success—richly merited, no one will deny.

Prior to her benefit in "Marco" the *Times*, December 30, insisted that Mrs. Lord had "established herself as a favorite on her first visit," and the next day reported that "as the marble-hearted 'Marco,' [she] was airily and coquetishly fascinat[ing] and abundantly justified the uncontrollable passion of 'Raphael.' The statue [shadow] dance in the opening was very effective. . . ."

On December 28 the *Commercial* reminded readers:

On former occasions we have taken great pleasure in calling attention to Miss Lord's beauty and talented dramatic impersonations, and, as we clearly discern an immense improvement in her stage accomplishments, we unqualifiedly endorse her as the head of all female stars now traveling in the West. Simply and unaffectedly natural in style, she readily wins her way to the good will and appreciation of her delighted audiences.

And, in "Fanchon," the next day's paper reported: "The rendition . . . by the fascinating Louie Lord, was one of the most brilliant histrionic accomplishments of the Leavenworth stage." Two days later: "The stony-hearted 'Marco' was played by Miss Lord with a degree of elegance and grace seldom seen on any stage. . . ." On February 22, 1871, the *Commercial* resorted to a device used in dealing with Louie Lord by this paper before, and frequently by others: "Louie Lord, we need scarcely say, did her part [in the 'Hunchback'] with her usual care and skill." In bidding the Lords farewell at the end of their third engagement of the winter, the *Bulletin*, February 23, paid tribute: "LOUIE LORD is deserving of special distinction. She is an accomplished lady, and many of her impersonations deserve to take equal rank with the renditions of the best actresses of the Atlantic cities."

In writing about Louie Lord the Lawrence *Tribune* exercised for the most part its usual restraint or disinterestedness in theatre as the case may be. Mostly the comment focused upon the company as a whole. On November 29, 1870, after the first show, the *Tribune* conceded: "Mrs. Louise Lord has a natural talent for the stage, that has been improved by study and practice until she is thoroughly proficient in her profession. The rendering of 'Ireland as It Is,' last night, was perfect. . . ." On the second and last visit

the *Tribune*, February 11, 1871, predicted: "Louie Lord will, no doubt, be as much appreciated as ever." Three days later the critic grudgingly, it seemed, wrote: "Louie Lord as Zoe, the octo-roon, displayed that talent which we have heretofore been obliged to acknowledge. She has a charming ease and grace, and at times, when the text requires it, all the fire and spirit which intense emotion and great passion give. The character suited her well and she did full justice to it." On February 15, the critic himself appeared in a more mellow mood which revealed some personal feeling in the matter: "Louie Lord as Laura Courtland ['Under the Gaslight'] came fully up to our expectation, as a matter of course she always does." After "Ingomar, the Barbarian," the *Tribune*, February 17, 1871, again exhibited some enthusiasm: "Mrs. Louie Lord, in the character of the Greek maiden [Parthenia], elicited repeated applause. We have no need of testifying further to the merit of Mrs. Lord, in Lawrence she is sufficiently well known and appreciated. Last evening she called forth more admiration than ever; so correct was the role rendered that we thought ourselves in the wilds of Greece."

Upon their first return to Topeka the winter of 1870-1871, the *Record*, for some reason, did not single out Mrs. Lord for much special comment, but the *Commonwealth* made up for any apparent neglect on the part of its rival: "The rendering of Dora, by Louie Lord, would pass the severest criticism. She is evidently a lady of no ordinary talent, and deservedly receives the applause of the lovers of fine acting." Two days later, December 9, 1870, the *Commonwealth* recorded that: "Mrs. Lord's acting in our city, has elicited the warmest encomiums from dramatic critics. . . ." After her benefit the paper, December 10, became most enthusiastic about the company as a whole for the presentation of "Frou Frou," but particularly about the star: "Mrs. Lord is certainly the most natural actress now on the American stage. She carries the audience with her throughout, and the universal sentiment, last evening, seemed to be, 'Thou art an actress, born such, not made.'"

On the second visit of the winter to Topeka, in spite of the bitter cold of January, 1871, the *Record* thawed out to the point of becoming a warm and vocal admirer of Mrs. Lord: her "Nancy Sikes," in "Oliver Twist" "was a powerful piece of acting. . . ." This was printed January 15 and two days later the *Record* approved "Mrs. Lord's idea of 'Fanchion' . . . as being the correct one. She throws more dignity into the character and rants less than is

usual with ladies who essay the part." After playing "Ogarita" in the "Sea of Ice" the *Record* recorded, January 21, that: "Mrs. Lord was called out, an honor never accorded her, or, we believe, any other actress in Topeka before."

During this two-week run in Topeka, Mrs. Lord took two benefits, both of which thrilled the *Commonwealth* critic who, January 14, 1871, wrote of "Marco, the Marble Heart": "all were delighted. . . . Mrs. Louie Lord was, of course, the star of the evening. Her personation of 'Mademoiselle Marco' was perfect. It is useless for us to attempt to praise her, or the performance throughout. Just let our readers take down their musty Webster's unabridged, and commit the pretty superlatives therein, to memory, and consider us as using them all." One week later the play was "The Sea of Ice": The citizens of Topeka have never before, perhaps, had the opportunity of witnessing so fine acting. Indeed the performance of the piece is rarely excelled in our largest cities. Mrs. Lord sustained herself splendidly throughout the piece, but in the Arctic Scene in the 2nd act and all through the 5th act, she was certainly superb. We mean no fulsome adulation when we say Mrs. Ferren [author] never saw the day when she need be ashamed of the manner in which Mrs. Lord acquitted herself last night. . . .

After the close of the performance, the audience absolutely refused to leave until Mrs. Lord had appeared before the curtain.

At Atchison, superlatives were employed as generously as elsewhere although not the whole of the unabridged dictionary: "No actress who has heretofore visited Atchison has attained so high a place in the estimation of our people as Louie Lord. Natural gracefulness and most delicate culture lend a charm to every character she undertakes, and win the attention and esteem of her audience."

MR. LORD, ACTOR

Early in J. A. Lord's theatrical career it was said he came to realize that he did not have the power to fascinate, and so devoted himself assiduously to the promotion of the career of his wife Louie, of whom the Topeka *Commonwealth* had said at one time that she possessed "the sacred 'fire,'" and at another time: "Thou art an actress, born such, not made." The record of these winter months 1870-1871 is so complete that it does invite a testing of the exact quality of the public responses to Mr. Lord as an actor. The Leavenworth *Times*, November 22, commented on him as "Henry Sartarys," husband of "Frou Frou": "admirably fitted for the part, in many gifts of nature, as well as by brilliant acquirements in the

dramatic art, which have seldom been witnessed here." The following day, after the presentation of "Dora, or the Farmer's Will," the *Times* said:

Mr. J. A. Lord as "Farmer Allen," won his full share of the applause, and proved himself at home in his character. In fact we are inclined to think it his favorite character, and we doubt if he is excelled in it. The audience was at times held spell-bound, and at many points the drop of a pin could have been heard in the house, as deathlike was the stillness. Mr. Lord is an actor of unusual power. "Richard III," came the third night, with Lord in the title role, "played with spirit and appreciation."

On the second of the season's visits to Leavenworth, the *Times* singled out in its report on "The Octoroon" only Mrs. Lord and John Toohey for special mention. Later, "Mr. Lowe [Lord] as Raphael the infatuated sculptor [in 'Marco, the Marble Heart'], added to his previously awarded laurels." In "Oliver Twist": "J. A. Lord acted the character of Bill Sykes to perfection." No comment on Lord's acting resulted from the third run in Leavenworth.

The *Commercial's* comments on Lord, the actor, in the same three series of plays opened: "Mr. J. A. Lord as Farmer Allen, rendered the part thoroughly and was very effective in the tableaux in which he takes so great a prominence."—"Mr. Lord, as the humped-backed King, was exceedingly effective and rendered the part with great power. The tent scene was quite emotional and the passions which filled the breast of the despairing monarch were faithfully portrayed." In the second series of plays, after "The Sea of Ice" and "The Octoroon" the comment directed at the manager personally was "Miss Lord is admirably supported by Mr. J. A. Lord, as leading man, and a numerous and talented company." After the "Marble Heart" eulogy of Louie Lord, the *Commercial* had only this to say of the others: "Both Mr. Lord's 'Raphael,' and Mr. Herbert's 'Volage' were worthy of special attention." In "The Child Stealer": "J. A. Lord plays his specialties skilfully." In the "Hunchback" during the third series, the critic wrote: "J. A. Lord, John Toohey and Horace Herbert were well up in their parts."

The Leavenworth *Bulletin's* verdict on the leading man in "Dora" was: "Mr. Lord's personation of the old farmer was the most correct and natural rendition we have witnessed for some time. The audience completely lost sight of the urbane manager, in the harsh and determined conduct of the self-willed farmer." When the cast of "Our American Cousin" was announced with Lord as "Asa Trenchard," the *Bulletin* would have been pleased "to see Toohey

impersonate the 'Yankee Cousin.' . . ." During the third series of plays, the *Bulletin* was not unappreciative of Mr. Lord, but its personal compliments were directed to other aspects of his activities.

As has been seen already the Lawrence papers were sparing in their theatrical news in any case, but particularly as applied to Mr. Lord as actor. His "Richard III" was commended by the *Tribune*, and he was considered equal to the requirements for the role of "McClusky" in "The Mormons," as well as for "Bill Sykes" in "Oliver Twist."

In Topeka for the first series of plays each of the papers really specified Mr. Lord for particular notice only twice. Both recognized his "Richard III" which is reserved for review under plays. The *Record* cited his "Dan O'Carlan" in "Ireland as It Is" as played "with his wonted power. . . ." The *Commonwealth* selected his Farmer Allen role in "Dora": "the part of the old man was admirably personated and powerfully rendered. . . ."

During the two-week long second visit to Topeka in January, 1871, the *Record* conceded to Mr. Lord "a dashing 'Captain Murphy Maguire,' and Mrs. Lord a sprightly 'Mrs. Delmaine.'" Toohey was given the best notice in connection with that play, "The Serious Family." In the "Marble Heart," "Mr. Lord played the poor sculptor to perfection, and that always careful gentlemanly actor Mr. Herbert was unexceptional as usual." So often Mr. Lord was given about the same recognition as the secondary members of the company. In "Oliver Twist" the *Record* said: "Mr. Lord as the ruffian, Bill Sykes, was excellent. The murderous look of the villain as he enters to murder the helpless girl, and his horror stricken face as he covers the dead body with a blanket to shut out from his eyes the horrid sight, was wonderful."

The *Commonwealth* was more generous than the *Record* in recognizing Lord, the actor: "'Our American Cousin, Asa Trenchard' was extremely well rendered by Mr. Lord. He entered fully into the character . . . of a free and easy American, posted on all the outlandish lingo used on this side of the 'pond.' This was one of the most difficult characters in the play and its admirable rendition showed the artist's skill." In "Oliver Twist" "'Bill Sykes' was well rendered by Mr. Lord." In reviewing "The Child Stealer"—"We must not omit to mention that Mr. Lord pleased his numerous friends last night better than ever before." As the third series, coming in February, 1871, involved other issues it will be deferred to the section on Mr. Lord as manager. Also the Atchison reaction is handled under plays and management.

OTHER PERSONNEL AND MUSIC

Other than Mrs. Lord, and Mr. Lord as manager, six principal members of the company received recognition by name from the critics; probably in this order: John T. Toohey, Jennie Woltz, Mr. Lord, Horace Herbert (Herbert and Miss Reynolds of the company were married at Junction City), and Mr. and Mrs. L. L. Graham. Toohey was the comedian, and in some plays received praise equal if not greater than Mrs. Lord herself, certainly more than Mr. Lord as actor. Yet he did not elicit the enthusiasms associated with Simons the previous season. Jennie Woltz occupied a unique niche in the company organization also that drew attention to her; primarily her music, but her improved skill as an actress was the subject of favorable comment. In "Othello," Mrs. Graham played "Desdemona" and Mrs. Lord "Emelia." In "Ingomar," Mr. Graham played "Fagan the Jew" or the miser, a role so important that the play was sometimes referred to as "Fagan the Jew." In other plays Herbert was second only to Mr. Lord in assignment to male leads.

The Topeka *Record*, January 17, 1871, paid the company a compliment that contained more, much more, than face value: "There was not a break or wait or stumble of any sort from the first to last. Mr. Lord has a fine company in one respect, they never get sick or sulky, or if they do the public never discovers it. We have no time to particularize, and only say that all did well." All that was true, no doubt, but in composition the assignment of roles makes clear that the troupe was not assembled according to such a formula as was illustrated by the Mills Company, but with a view to having a corps of people competent to carry major parts if necessary. In spite of the unusually severe Kansas weather, however, and complaints on occasion that the heating of the theatre was not adequate to keep the audience comfortable, Mr. and Mrs. Lord were not ill, and no substitutions or cancellations took place. All these things taken together would suggest that the rather even handed treatment of these members of the company by the critics was generally sound. Except for the substitution of Toohey for Simon these members of the company had continued from the previous year.

The extent to which music and the dance contributed to the overall success of the Lord Company is difficult to evaluate. Louie Lord's singing and dancing were included in the advertising of her accomplishments. For example, the roles of Topsy and of Fanchon (the shadow dance) called for dancing. Two of the duets sung

by Mrs. Lord and Jennie Woltz were mentioned by name: "The Wild Thyme" and "A Sigh in the Heart." Only one of Mrs. Lord's solos was advertised by name, "Par Excellence," in connection with "Our American Cousin." The *Commonwealth*, January 12, 1871, punned that her singing was "par excellence."

Miss Woltz sang quite regularly an "operatic gem," titles not given. A few of her songs, introduced into plays, were listed. During the 1869-1870 tour she sang "Like the Gloom of Night Returning," in connection with "Under the Gaslight," and "Five O'Clock in the Morning," Parepa Rosa's song, in connection with the "Hidden Hand" performance at Topeka. During the second tour in Kansas, two other titles were mentioned: "Those Evening Bells," and "Song of the Kiss," both in Topeka, December 10, 1870, and January 14, 1871. Of course, the "low comedy" man as well as the child actress were expected to provide both songs and dances. But so far as serious music was concerned, only Mrs. Lord and Miss Woltz, especially Miss Woltz, undertook that responsibility.

VIII. RECEPTION GIVEN INDIVIDUAL PLAYS

The tabulation of frequency of presentation puts the play "Dora" in the lead with six showings. The repeat performances were on different visits to Leavenworth and Topeka. As a play "Dora" did not induce the reporters to comment. Possibly the prestige of Tennyson was such that the play was taken for granted. The dramatization of the poem used was that of Charles Reade.

Of the plays presented on the Lord tour of 1870-1871, "Frou Frou" was the newest and after "Dora" shared with "The Mormons" the rank of being presented most frequently. Adapted in 1870 from a new French play by Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy (1869), Augustin Daly had written and produced it in New York within the year of Lord's use of it during this season.² The Leavenworth *Daily Times*, November 20, called it a "sensational melōdrama . . . as Frenchy as if it just escaped from Paris in a balloon. . . . Elegant new scenery, by one of Chicago's most gifted scenic painters, will accompany the production of the piece here, and our people can enjoy its beauties and sensations as well at our Opera House as at McVicker's or Niblo's Garden." Afterwards the *Times* reported "a sensation," but focused upon praise of Louie Lord the actress rather than the play. The *Commercial* had nothing particular to

2. Arthur H. Quinn, *A History of the American Drama From the Civil War to the Present Day* (New York, 1936), v. 1, pp. 23, 24.

say about the play, but the *Bulletin*, November 21, reported that "Mr. Lord assures us that he has all the necessary effects for producing the piece in a thorough manner. . . ." Afterwards the same paper called attention to the fact that this was the first time the play had been acted in Leavenworth, and except for "the inexperience of the [local] Orchestra in the music of the play" the production "passed off smoothly. . . ." But about the play itself: "Frou Frou is certainly a remarkable piece. It is fascinating, but hardly pleasing. There is considerable blood and excitement in the piece, and several unnatural situations." Gilberte, a giddy young thing, married a serious husband, had a lover whom her husband met in a duel. Finally, Gilberte returned to her husband and died in his arms:

The play would be thoroughly "Frenchy" if a suicide had been introduced. We knew it wasn't American, as soon as the leading man declined the Carlsruhe mission. If it had been the English mission we could have forgiven him, and still thought the piece natural. Some theatre-goers love tragedy. They adore it while they weep, and many at the Opera House last night would have applauded the wholesale murder of all the actors on the stage, in play, and have been gratified at the complete massacre of the Orchestra in reality.

Upon the second visit of the Lord Company to Leavenworth, the *Bulletin* explained that those who had been "charmed" by Louie Lord's "Gilberte" appealed to Mr. Lord for a repeat performance. The request was granted for January 5, 1871, the *Bulletin* commenting that: "The piece generally gets its patronage from people of culture, or at least, people of a better taste, than crowd theatre rooms to witness the 'Sea of Ice,' and 'Under the Gaslight.'" Apparently this rationalization in advance was needed, because the report on the following day admitted only "a very fair audience convened at the Opera House," although the play was received with "satisfaction." Leavenworth was the only Kansas town where Lord gave a repeat performance of "Frou Frou."

At Lawrence "Frou Frou" was presented upon the first visit of the season, but neither newspaper commented upon the play. Yet the formal advertisement of the show pointed out that this was its first production in the city. At Topeka the *Record* suggested that "the novelty alone . . . ought to attract an immense audience." The following day the report was that: "'Frou Frou' was received with intense interest. The play will henceforth be a favorite. . . ." The *Commonwealth* was more demonstrative: "The most elegant and *recherche* dramatic entertainment ever presented in

Topeka, came off at Union Hall last night. . . . Most elegant stage dress and the best of acting was the order of the evening."

"The Mormons" was given at each of the four towns on the first round, and repeated at Leavenworth on the second. The *Commercial*, November 26, 27, 1870, termed it "the best comedy now out," "which drew the largest crowd . . . seen there for many a day." The *Bulletin* was virtually silent on the subject, but the *Times* said all seats were filled and some people stood up. It was more frequently applauded than any previous piece of the season. "The old Opera House has seldom had a more delighted audience." Upon the repeat performance the *Commercial*, January 3, 1871, reported only "a fine audience" was presented with "the excellent comedy the 'Mormons.' . . ."

At Lawrence the *Journal*, December 3, 1870, revealed clearly its hostility toward the Mormons by saying about the play in prospect: "They will undoubtedly be taken off as they deserve to-night. This is certainly sensational enough for any and all. . . . The 'Endowment Ceremonies' and a secret marriage will be enacted." The following day there was no further comment. The *Tribune's* parting reference was: "Louie Lord was particularly attractive, and gave us an amusing and clear insight into the domestic life of a Mormon family."

The Topeka *Record*, December 10, 1870, assured its readers: "To-night will be devoted to fun exclusively, two side-splitting farces being on the bill, viz: 'The Mormons,' and 'Turn Him Out.'" Afterwards the same paper pronounced the play "a queer mixture of tragedy and comedy, and it is difficult to tell whether fire or blood is the leading ingredient—there is certainly plenty of both. The play was well received and would doubtless bear repetition here." The *Commonwealth* was more direct:

Another tremendous gathering greeted the fifth and last appearance of this troupe last night.

The infernal system of polygamy, as practiced in Salt Lake City, was exhibited in glowing colors. Mrs. Louie Lord's address to the women's convention was received with thunders of applause. The Danites were completely outwitted and h—ll was to pay.

Atchison's response to "The Mormons" was similar to that of Topeka and fully as outspoken. The *Champion*, December 18, 1870, recorded a crowded Corinthian Hall and "the audience was delighted with the excellent rendition. . . . Mrs. Lord sustained the characters of Chattirena and Sergeant M'Jugdin in admirable

style. Mr. Lord was loudly applauded for his faultless impersonation of 'Whiskey Jake.'"

The fourth play to be considered was another that was presented in the four cities on the first time around—Shakespeare's "Richard III." This was the Lord's first Shakespeare production in Kansas. The Leavenworth *Times*, November 23, 24, 1870, had little to say but to repeat that it "was given to a full house and was played with spirit and appreciation." The *Commercial* was slightly more specific: Mr. Lord "was exceedingly effective and rendered the part with great power. The tent scene was quite emotional and the passions which filled the breast of the despairing monarch were faithfully portrayed." The *Bulletin* had misgivings before hand:

To-night the great Shakespearian tragedy "Richard III," will be placed on the stage, and it yet remains with our people to see what the company can do with a play of this magnitude. Richard is a famous part and a difficult one to render. Practice and study are necessary for a proper rendition of the character together with a correct appreciation of the genius of the author. Many actors who have gained recognition and won deserved applause in minor pieces, have failed in representing the characters of the great author, Shakespeare. The history of the drama is strewn with such wrecks. We are assured that the play has been produced by this Company in other cities, and been pronounced a gratifying success by the critics. At least we hope to see the effort witnessed by one of the largest audiences that ever assembled in the Opera House.

After that introduction to both the Bard of Avon and to the mid-19th century competence to produce his plays, it is disconcerting to have no report from the same hand after the event.

The Lawrence reception of "Richard III" was recorded in the papers for November 30 and December 1, 1870, the *Tribune* announcing the play "with appropriate scenery. . . ." After the event, both papers undertook to discuss it briefly, something that they seldom accorded theatre. They agreed that the audience was good, the *Tribune* going even a bit further:

Last night this star company produced Richard III to a large and appreciative audience, the leading character being sustained by the popular head of the company. Mr. Lord rarely gives a "Shakespearian night" to audiences which favor his company in the far West, for the reason that lighter theatricals are generally more to the taste of frontier theater-goers. Last night, however, he entertained his patrons with one of the most difficult impersonations in the whole range of acting. Richard—the gross, brutal, bloodthirsty, ambitious, villainous tyrant and usurper—was a part very hard to sustain under the difficulties that exist here for want of scenery, mechanical effects, etc. Lord flung much spirit, taste and force into this part, and won much approbation for his painstaking. He was well sustained and made a better Richard than we have had in Kansas since Wilkes Booth.

The *Journal* exercised customary diffidence in matters theatrical by not expressing any editorial verdict on the performance confining itself to straight reporting: "The rendering of such a play requires more than ordinary talent. The audience being judges, the acting last night was a success." This was the occasion for the second admission about Lawrence, however, which may convey a polite doubt about the competence of "the audience being judges"—"Lawrence people, as a general rule, are more partial to the concert and lecture than the drama; yet Mr. Lord's troupe is certainly popular with the large class that attends."

At Topeka the *Record*, December 7, 1870, introduced the bill for the evening with one sentence: "To-night, for the first time in Topeka, will be presented the great drama of "Richard III." The following day the theme was elaborated:

Last night witnessed the first presentation of "Richard III" in this city, and we believe the first performance of any of Shakespeare's dramas. We confess that we had misgivings as to success of the venture, but were agreeably disappointed. The audience was the largest which has greeted the Lord troupe since their arrival, and the play was excellently given throughout. Mr. Lord's "Richard" was a fine rendition improving with each successive act. The "ghost scene" was especially fine, as was the combat with Richmond. Mrs. Lord's "Queen Elizabeth" was meritorious. The scene in which the Queen parts with her children brought tears to many eyes.

The *Commonwealth* dramatic critic reported the "Richard III" performance in his unsophisticated, wide-eyed, "country boy" outlook, which he expounded so candidly a few weeks later:

Our astonishment was greater than our pleasure at the rendering of Richard, III, by this troupe last evening. Although the concert of the Musical Union drew many away, Union Hall was full, and the acting was superb. This presentation of Shakespeare's Richard the Third, is entitled to more than ordinary notice.

Mr. Lord was seriously questioned by dramatic critics as to his ability to present this drama, but with all his natural modesty, he was confident, that success was certain.

If Shakespeare "was himself again" his most imaginary conceptions of that blood-stained, traitorous villain, would have been stamped with the living reality by the acting of Mr. Lord. This is not a drama that requires magnificent and gorgeous scenery, therefore the acting is brought out in bold relief. Never before, in Topeka's long history, was such magnificent stage dress presented to the admiring audience.

Mrs. Louie Lord, as Queen Elizabeth, exhibited all those womanly traits of wife, widow and mother.

There was no boisterous demonstration by the audience, but every one seemed perfectly satisfied with the rendering of this most difficult drama.

The identity of the *Commonwealth's* dramatic critic is not available, but quite possibly S. S. Prouty himself, at that time one of the editors, wrote the more extensive notices. The old Free-State radical had acquired a reputation of sorts for scholarship, and always he had more than a passive, although at times a somewhat pretentious, interest in the aesthetic aspects of existence. Thus, in view of the style of some of his identified writing, and his known range of interests, the dramatic criticism relating to the Lord Company may well have been his. But, confessed unsophisticate that he was, his comments made sense. He disagreed with the *Lawrence Tribune* about the importance of scenery and mechanical devices of the stage which that paper thought were imperative. Instead, the *Commonwealth* discounted them summarily—the nature of the play itself threw the responsibility upon the actor.

The second play to be presented from the stage of the new Corinthian Hall in Atchison, December 13, 1870, was "Richard III," and possibly the glamor of the new playhouse was a greater stimulant to the *Champion* critic than the play:

To-night, that sublime tragedy, "Richard III," will be presented and as the Company are prepared to present it in better style than it has ever been presented in our city, the Hall should be crowded. Louie Lord will appear as Queen Elizabeth, and J. A. Lord as Richard III, supported by the best stock company that has ever visited the State.

Corinthian Hall is capable of seating about 800 persons, and is the finest in the West. It is elegantly finished, neatly arranged, and comfortably seated. The ceilings and walls are frescoed in exquisite style, and the stage scenery is rarely beautiful, varied, and attractive. Withal, Corinthian Hall is an institution our citizens may well be proud of and should patronize.

Go to-night and see the matchless tragedy, Richard III, and the most elegant hall in the West.

The *Champion* next day reported that: "Corinthian Hall was crowded . . . by an intelligent and appreciative audience," and the play "was produced in fine style, with costumes and scenery."

Mr. Lord sustained the character of Richard well, and elicited loud applause by his careful and faithful rendition of his difficult character. Mrs. Lord, as Queen Elizabeth, was true to the great author's conception of the character. Her acting was superb. It is very rare that a more finished performance on the stage is seen than was her rendition of Queen Elizabeth last night.

In featuring Mrs. Lord as Queen Elizabeth, the Topeka and Atchison writers were following the precedent set by Lord's formal ad-

vertisements in the newspapers: "J. A. Lord's Chicago Dramatic Co. / at Corinthian Hall / First / Shakespearian Night / in Atchison / Louie Lord, / In her classic rendition of / 'Queen Elizabeth!' / Richard III / or the Battle of Bosworth Field." With appropriate modification as to place, this was the standard form. The actor who was to fill the role of King Richard was not specified, but during this season it was always Mr. Lord himself. Already, Mr. Lord had clearly dedicated himself to the promotion of the career of his girl-wife Louie, "an actress, born such, not made." How much did he modify the text by omission or rearrangement, if any, to justify billing Louie as star in "Richard III?" If only a prompt book for that season were available! If the play was presented as written, was her prominence in it nothing more than his devoted glorification of her, or did sheer artistry and the power to fascinate which she possessed, and he lacked, justify featuring her Queen Elizabeth? No one in Kansas commented on this peculiarity, yet the Topeka and Atchison papers accepted tacitly her right to such distinction. "Richard III" is usually viewed as virtually a one-man show, the play and the cast serving as little more than the setting and foils for the hunchback king's monologue.

The reception given "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is always a puzzle. At Leavenworth the *Times*, November 24, 1870, in announcing that: "Louie Lord will play *Topsy*," continued: "that alone will be sufficient attraction to fill the house from pit to dome. This play is full of points and effects and the Lord Troupe is so constituted that every part will be properly filled. It is a good play for Thanksgiving night, and will form a fitting close of the day's festivities." Before "a large audience," the same paper reported,

Louie Lord as "Topsy" won another marked victory over the people of Leavenworth. We never saw the character more finely rendered, and can hardly imagine how her acting in the part could be improved upon. She is as much at home in *Topsy* as in "Frou Frou," and plays both superbly. The piece was well played throughout, Mr. Lord eliciting great applause as "Legree." People who said that Uncle Tom's Cabin was "played out" came away . . . enthusiastic in their praise of "Topsy," and in fact the whole piece.

The Leavenworth *Commercial* announced " 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' which for fun and humor cannot be exceeded. Miss Louie Lord will be the inevitable Topsy and will illustrate the part fully in song and dance." The verdict afterward seemed to indicate the same trend, that Mrs. Stowe's antislavery story had been turned into mere "fun and humor." The commentator admitted:

We were much astonished at the excellent manner in which it was put on the stage and played throughout by the members of this excellent Company, which is without exception the best Troupe that has visited this city for years. The character of Topsy, rendered by Mrs. Louie Lord, was immense, the best we ever saw, and, as many expressed themselves, far superior to Lotta. Mrs. Lord possesses a variety of talent seldom, if ever, embodied in any one person now on the American Stage, and her character of Topsey will at all times ensure a crowded house. . . . The audience showed their approbation by such applause as is seldom heard in the Opera House.

The third of the Leavenworth papers, the *Bulletin* contained the advertisement of Louie Lord as Topsy "with Songs, Dances and Banjo Solos." As so often the case, this paper was the most uninhibited in its appraisals:

Last night the Opera House was densely crowded with an intelligent and delighted audience to witness LOUIE LORD's famous impersonation of the celebrated character of "*Topsy*" in Mrs. Stowe's story, Uncle Tom's Cabin. Every theater-goer knows that the play is old, but it cannot be denied that age improves it. A curiosity to see a new "*Topsy*" attracted people last evening, and we believe every one left the Opera House fairly satisfied with the manner in which *Topsy* was given, if not enthusiastic in praise of the rendition. If any doubts were heretofore entertained as to the versatility of Louie Lord they were happily removed by the very versatile clever and animated representation of that character last night.

At Topeka "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was the vehicle used for Herbert's benefit, and the *Record* urged:

Don't fail to attend. . . . Of the merits of this drama it is not necessary to speak; but there are one or two salient characters in it, on which much of interest centers. Of these, Topsy is one, and as rendered by Mrs. Lord has seldom been equalled. The character of Gumption Cute is also one of the most pronounced in the whole play, and though by some considered a minor one, yet requires an artist to do it justice. Mr. Herbert takes this part on this occasion, and his rendition of it has been such as to call forth the hearty and deserved commendations of those who have seen him play it. Added to these with Addie Corey as Eva, no stronger cast can be given. . . .

The audience was "one of the largest . . . of the season" and Herbert

was in one of his happiest veins and as Gumption Cute kept his audience in a thorough good humor during the whole performance. His rendition of this character is another proof of the readiness with which he adapts himself to any line in which he may be cast. He is one of the most valuable members of the troupe. . . .

The *Commonwealth* was more restrained and definitely sophisticated (certainly not the country boy in the big city approach): "We saw the play some seventy nights in New York and are of the

opinion that Mrs. Lord, as Topsy, up to the time that she went north with Miss Ophelia, was as good as we ever saw. All the rest of the acting was good." The *Atchison Champion*, December 21, 1870, dealt again in superlatives, which by mere repetition, without discrimination, became largely meaningless.

Some conclusions appear to be in order about "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The bare fact stands out sharply that in spite of the superlatives of the newspapers, Mr. Lord, as the responsible manager of his company used the play only three times out of 70 in the four tours. Lawrence did not have it that season. What was implicit in the first tour about the transformation of the old antislavery play into mere "fun and humor" was made explicit during this tour. To accomplish such a result, two characters were made to carry the effective leading parts, Topsy and Gumption Cute. During the 1869-1870 season, the low comedy man, J. A. Simon, used the character "Marks" for the same purpose. The further shift in focus to sensation and suspense in the escape of Eliza Harris with blood hounds baying at her heels was made later under different auspices. If actors' scripts or prompt books were available for a considerable number of companies and over the last half of the nineteenth century, these transformations and shifts in focus for the audiences more and more remote from the antislavery agitation of the 1850's could be traced and documented. More elusive but hardly less important would have been the unique variable of individual actors, each of whom must necessarily employ the techniques that were peculiarly his own.

The vogue of "Ten Nights in a Bar Room" and the seriousness of the liquor question during the Civil War generation require a brief note on the reception of this play. It was not presented at Topeka during the season until February 10, 1871, and the third visit of the Lord Company to the state capital, and during the session of the legislature. The *Record* of that date explained the situation:

To-night will be produced "Ten Nights in a Bar-room." We have always claimed that this play, as presented by Mr. Lord on a certain Saturday afternoon during his first visit here, was the most impressive dramatic performance ever witnessed in Topeka. Mr. Lord in his speech before the curtain last night said he had been requested to give a matinee with the "Ten Nights" on the bill, but circumstances prevented, and he should do the next best thing and oblige his friends by giving it as the regular performance. We doubt not a crowded house will greet its representation.

The reports of the next day on the performance, although in

praise, were peculiarly elusive. In view of the *Record's* setting of the stage, they suggest a feeling of anticlimax. The *Record* stated:

Mr. Lord, in his last engagement in Topeka, for some time at least, appears to be meeting with his usual luck, viz: to have larger houses with each successive evening. The audience . . . last night was one of the best of the season. Of the merits of the performance we do not need to speak, as our regular theatre-goers, and many who are not "regular," are perfectly familiar, not only with the play itself, but with the Lord troupe's rendition of it. It is enough to say that the play was presented in a perfectly satisfactory manner.

The *Commonwealth* appeared to be of a divided mind about the play as comedy or tragedy. To those familiar with the play as given and with the local situation, this dichotomy may not have appeared contradictory:

Ten Nights in a Bar Room was played by Lord's dramatic company last night to a large audience. The miserable, degraded and terrible life of a drunkard was presented in six pictures, painted to life. The drama is full of the horrible effects of dram drinking. The bar-keeper, the gambler, the sot, the desolate home, the pleading and sorrow-stricken wife, were all acted with a wonderful adherence to nature. Mrs. Lord, as "Mehitable," was perfectly side-splitting, and when she got on "the r-a-i-l-r-o-a-d K-e-e-r," thunders of applause greeted every stanza, and a rapturous *encore* told of the appreciation of a delighted audience. John Toohey though [playing] a besotted drunkard to all intents and purposes in his young days, after his reform, showed himself from beneath his rags, to be "a man for a' that." John is an excellent commedian and well deserves the hearty applause which greets his appearance. Mr. Lord, Miss Woltz and Addie Corey, the drunken father, the devoted wife and loving child [respectively], did excellently. The death scene of the child was very affecting, and drew tears to the eyes of hundreds. The father's vow to drink no more was a very fine piece of acting.

At Lawrence the following week, "Ten Nights" was not used, but in the three-night engagements at Leavenworth and Atchison, the plays were "Ingomar," "The Hunchback," and "Ten Nights." As "Ten Nights" was the final show in each case comment upon it in particular was almost lost in the general farewell notices for the Lord Company. The *Commercial*, February 22, 1871, did remark before the event, that the billing of this piece was upon request. The *Champion*, February 26, emphasized again the comic feature: "No piece heretofore produced, by this or any other Company, in this city, was more pleasing than that of last night. Louie Lord as Mehitable Cartwright, provoked the wildest mirth, and proved herself as immitable in the role of a Yankee girl as in almost every impersonation she attempts. . . ."

FARCES

Among the customs of the period was the use of afterpieces—usually short farces. Program making for the legitimate theatre included entertainment of the audience between acts when scene and costume changes might require a substantial time. Apparently, Jennie Woltz's songs usually occurred at such points, or the child actress, or the comedy man appeared. But besides the featured play, it was customary to close the evening's entertainment with an afterpiece, a short comedy or farce—the accent of course was on something light to put the audience in a good humor.

During these first tours of Kansas by the Lord Company, these afterpieces, if and when presented, were not always listed in the advertising or commented upon after the event. Those used during the tour of 1869-1870 included "Jennie Lind," "Kiss in the Dark," "Laughing Hyena," and "Our Gal." Among those used during the tour of 1870-1871 were "Our Gal," "Turn Him Out," "The Funny Family," "Pauline Sanford," "Katy O'Sheal," and "Husband of the Future." The substance of these pieces was never summarized and probably they contained little, but some had already proved durable, and a few were to remain in the theatre repertory for some time to come.

IX. MR. LORD, MANAGER, AND HIS COMPANY

Mr. Lord, as actor, had been treated with restraint by the dramatic critics, although with very high praise for a few roles. Even the most favorable notices, however, lacked the spontaneous enthusiasm evoked by Louie Lord, or even the reception accorded Simon, during the first Kansas tour. But the estimates of Mr. Lord as manager were quite different. Instead of dealing with this aspect in the sequence in which the company entered the state on this second tour, possibly it is more appropriate to take the towns in the order of final leave taking. In following this sequence, however, there is no intention to magnify Lord's one major blunder of the season—the engagement of J. K. McAfferty as leading man.

In 1870, the village of Topeka, transformed from one of 750 into a substantial urban community of 6,000 population within a decade, was recording a remarkable number of firsts in dramatic entertainment, and necessarily, other things as well. No doubt many individuals included in this great influx of people had seen their share of stage productions, but as a city, the record of theatre was short. First performances in Topeka were claimed for "Dora" on Decem-

ber 6, "Frou Frou" December 9, 1870, "Our American Cousin" January 11, "The Child Stealer" January 19, and "Ingomar" February 6, 1871. More unusual was the claim that "Richard III" was not only a first, but that it was the first Shakespearian play to be staged in Topeka. Yet, technically, Topeka had had a railroad since 1865. Effectively, a connected network of railroads as well as population were required before traveling theatre companies moved from the river towns into the interior.

Of the three engagements at Topeka the winter of 1870-1871, the first opened under rather strained relations between the city government and Mr. Lord about license fees. Accordingly:

Mr. Lord between the play and the afterpiece, made a neat little speech in which he took occasion to polish off the city fathers for asking such an exorbitant sum for license, raising in his case, from \$20 last winter to \$50 this. The sympathies of the audience were evidently with him, and we trust the authorities will see the impropriety of taxing our amusements out of existence.

Two days later a local said: "The statement by Mr. Lord has had its effect." Individual members of the common council interviewed favored his contention. At leave taking from their first round of the season the *Commonwealth*, December 11, asserted that "their stay here during the past week has been a perfect ovation." The *Record*, December 11, insisted the audiences had increased "every night from the first." In a curtain speech: "Mr. Lord announced that he should return with his company during the first week of the Legislature."

As happens rather frequently, January brought the stormiest, bitterest, cold weather of the year. The Lord Company opened its two-week engagement January 9, 1871, and apparently the storm climax was reached January 11, 12: "Yesterday morning [January 12] the storm spent its strength in sleeting, accompanied by a very high norther. In the afternoon it snowed furiously and the wind drifted the snow upon the streets and sidewalks. . . ." The *Record*, next day, in reporting on both the storm and the performance of the play, "The Serious Family" admitted:

A more hopeless time than last night for a theatrical performance was never known in this city, . . . That Mr. Lord should play at all on such a night is evidence of his nerve, if nothing else, and when we put the proper construction on the act, which was actuated by a desire to keep an engagement with the public, whatever the loss to himself, too much praise cannot be awarded Mr. Lord for his conduct. There was, after all, a better house than could reasonably have been expected. The Governor [James M. Harvey] represented the "Administration," and both houses had members present. About half-a-

dozen ladies showed their courage by turning out, thus practically doing away with one of the objections to female suffrage [recently rejected twice by popular vote], for if ladies will face a storm like that of last night to go to the theatre, a rattling of pitchforks will not deter them from going to the polls.

The play selected for the evening was the well-worn yet always acceptable "Serious Family," and we could not see but the company gave it with as much spirit as if they were playing before a crowded house.

The *Commonwealth* report provided the necessary data to round out the picture:

It required considerable courage to venture out into the clouds of wind-tossed snow, but those who did venture to Union Hall were amply repaid by witnessing the admirable rendition of the two very good comedies.

First was played "The Serious Family" intended by its author, as a thrust at that straight-jacket, Puritanic, be-happy-by-making-yourself-miserable style, of religious fanaticism, too prevalent even in this enlightened age. The parts were admirably rendered. The company never played better. Mr. J. A. Lord, was peculiarly happy and at home in his character—the open-hearted "Captain Murphy McGuire,"—and his dramatic genius shone with all its brilliancy.

"Mr. Aminidab Sleek," the pious, was played with an excellent appreciation of the character, by Mr. John Toohey.

That example of long-jawed piety, "Lady Sowerly Creamly," was impersonated in perfect detail, by May Graham.

Mrs. Lord played well throughout, but it was in her happy rendition of "Our Gal" [the afterpiece] that her versatile powers were exhibited to the most advantage. Seeing her but a few minutes before as the fascinating widow, "Mrs. Ormsby Delmaine," endeavoring to win the heart of poor "Charles Torsens," one could scarcely believe he saw the same person in "Miss Jemima."

Altogether this was the best entertainment given by the company since its arrival in the city.

The play for Saturday night, January 14, was "Oliver Twist," about which the *Record* had this to say: "The Lord troupe achieved a triumph last night over the elements themselves, and the house was crowded to witness the performance of 'Oliver Twist.' The play was, we think, one of the best so far given in this city by Mr. Lord's company, and reminded us of the successful rendition of the 'Ticket-of-Leave Man' by the same company last winter." Apparently the prolonged severe weather was building up tensions, which reacted to establish a remarkable accord between the actors and the small audiences, all of whom braved the discomforts of the cold to carry on. Thus each night seemed to create an intimate and memorable performance. On Monday the situation continued, unbroken by the Sabbath interval, to include the "Fanchon" show:

There are few sights more gratifying to the theatre-goer than Union Hall

last night. Outside it was dark and snowy with some traces of the late "cold-snap" lingering in the air, inside all warmth and light, a well-filled house and a "taking" play well played. "Fanchon" as we remarked the other night has been a "stock-piece" here and it must have required all of Lord's proverbial "nerve" to essay it again, but he did, and with excellent success.

It was during this long period of severe winter weather, and on this occasion that the *Record* concluded: "Mr. Lord has a fine company in one respect, they never get sick or sulky, or if they do the public never hears of it." The *Commonwealth* summarized the plot:

[In the play] "Fanchion" and "Landry Barbeaud" are over head and ears in love with each other, but according to the rule in such cases made and provided, old "Father Barbeaud" is opposed to their union because "Fanchion" is poor. She flees from her lover, but returns after a year's absence, and the old story was told over again, not at five o'clock in the morning, but at a suitable time of day, and old "Barbeaud," according to another rule in such cases made and provided, of course melts at last, and, the curtain falls upon the whole "Barbeaud" family, saying "Holy be the Cricket," who, without money, brings blessings and happiness to our hearths.

The following night, January 17, the play was "The Ticket-of-Leave-Man," with substantially the same cast as when it was played here last winter, when it was the great dramatic success of the season." But the spell was broken—"a good house" and a good performance. Nothing more. Four more plays were offered before the close of this series, which built up to a new climax on January 21:

The last, and perhaps the best, performance of this company in Topeka. . . . The piece was "Under the Gaslight," a play more popular with most audiences than previous ones, on account of its scenes and incidents being entirely modern and pertaining to our society.

This was an interesting comment on audience taste, but raises some questions if generalized as an accomplished fact. The most of the theatre fare of the next decade hardly provided confirmation. Even if pointing a trend, that itself was scarcely new. From different decades there were "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," and many other examples.

Both Topeka papers made a special point of paying their respects to Mr. Lord and to his company. The major point of emphasis by the *Record* was:

They have made many warm friends here, both as actors and in private life. One very marked feature of all their performances is the entire absence of any of those indelicate allusions and smutty remarks which some actors and actresses too, seem to think necessary, but which this company ignore altogether, and for their care in this respect they can be commended.

The *Commonwealth*, January 22, covered a wider range in commendation of the Lord Company:

We wish to make one or two remarks in reference to this company in a general way. There is not a poor actor in the company and we repeat without hesitation what we said yesterday, that no better stock company can be found *anywhere*, and the stars inferior to Mr. and Mrs. Lord are many times more numerous than those superior to them. The company is composed entirely of ladies and gentlemen, which can by no manner of means be said of most companies that travel. Mr. Lord not only has great pride in his profession, but also in the personal honor and reputation of himself and all the members of his company, and would do nothing to tarnish either. He not only presents a pleasing variety of modern plays, but he scrupulously avoids anything offensive to the taste or the severest morals. And we believe that, should he remain with us three weeks more, he would continue his variety, and not once violate propriety or good taste. We say this much because we think that when a really good company comes among us, we ought to encourage such by simply saying it is good, and when a poor thing asks our patronage, it is an outrage for us to deceive the public by praising it.

The company return here in February, when they will play three nights in Costa's opera house. Mr. McAfferty will be added to the company, and the plays will be Ingomar, The Hunchback, and Shylock. Look out for Louie Lord as Parthenia, Julia, and Portia.

The farewell editorial in the *Commonwealth*, January 22, 1871, had stated that upon their return for the third time that winter, Lord's Company would play in Costa's Opera House. The building in question had been under construction for some time and S. S. Prouty, senior editor of the paper, because of his interest in theatre was credited with inducing Costa to provide a theatre. The opening was set for January 26, or four days after the Lords went to Emporia, and the entertainment was in the hands of amateurs. Thus, although technically the Lords did not open the Opera House, their season beginning February 6 marked its opening as legitimate theatre.

The feature that distinguished this visit was the engagement of Professor J. K. McAfferty, formerly of Racine (Wis.) College, but at that time with the Episcopal Seminary at Topeka, where he was professor of elocution. Whether or not he had been known to Topeka and Lawrence a decade earlier has not been determined, but he had visited the towns of the Missouri river elbow region in September, 1860; Atchison September 14, and Leavenworth the following week, when he gave "readings from the poets." At Leavenworth, the *Times*, September 25, listed "Nothing to Wear," "The Raven," "Famine of Hiawatha," "Power of Fashion," and "The Maniac." The following week the report on his performance emphasized that he

was "without mannerisms which has become too intolerable in dramatic representation."

All that had been some ten years before his appearance upon the Topeka dramatic horizon with J. A. Lord as a young tragedian starting at the top. The first play, February 6, was "Ingomar" of which McAfferty had prepared his own translation from the German. He was assigned the title role, Mrs. Lord playing her accustomed "Parthenia." The *Record* wrote enigmatically: "Mr. McAfferty had no reason to complain of his reception." The *Commonwealth* was more explicit in differentiating major aspects that were good, but condemning others, though softening the adverse criticism by explaining that there was nothing in the weaknesses that practice could not remedy. The *Record* commented further that: "It seemed strange to see Mr. Lord out of the 'leading business,' nevertheless he played with energy and effect, the part assigned him, that of 'Tymarch,'" Also the papers both asserted that comment upon Mrs. Lord was superfluous.

The second play was "Othello" with McAfferty in the title role, Lord as "Iago," Mrs. Graham as "Desdemona," and Mrs. Lord as "Emelia." The verdict of the *Record* on McAfferty was that:

The character was, as a whole, well rendered. . . . His Othello . . . was good, but not what it will be when he has courted Desdemona and killed her afterwards, say a hundred times. Mr. Lord's "Iago" was devilish enough for the "hardest case" amongst Shakespeare's villains, and was one of Mr. L's best renditions. Mrs. Lord's "Emelia" was a beautiful piece of acting, and we are glad to say a good word for Mrs. Graham's "Desdemona." This lady looked as well as spoke her part, and has every reason to feel proud of her success.

About McAfferty's "Othello," the *Commonwealth* was very brief—"the acting, with a few exceptions was good." About the "Hunchback" the next night, the same paper reported, also succinctly: "The characters were well sustained throughout, all things considered." The *Record* was brief also, after admonishing the public that those not in attendance were missing "the best acting ever seen in Topeka, . . . the 'Hunchback' was so rendered as to satisfy a critical audience."

The fourth play was "Our American Cousin," and the *Record* had this to say: "The Opera House contained a fine audience last night, assembled to welcome the Lord back to his wonted position of 'leading man' . . ." The *Commonwealth* critique was forthright, if somewhat left-handed:

The play was well cast, and every one did well, which is more than can be said of previous entertainments. We are satisfied that Mr. Lord will do well to adhere to his own company. The contrast last evening was marked.

Mrs. Lord was herself again. . . . Her easy manners, grace and studious care are very attractive, and always win the hearty recognition of the audience.

Mr. Lord had billed "The Hidden Hand" as the final play for Saturday night, but late Friday night decided to substitute "Under the Gaslight." No reason was given. Only "a fair audience" turned out for this 23rd and last performance for the company in Topeka that winter. They left with the good will of all, their itinerary being indicated as Lawrence, Leavenworth, Atchison, St. Joseph, Chillicothe, and Macon, Mo., and thence home to Chicago.

At Lawrence, Mr. Lord played the leading man roles as usual, but on the last two nights, in "Ingomar" and the "Hunchback" McAfferty acted the title roles, with praise. Incidentally, the Lord Company was accumulating its own peculiar list of firsts in Kansas. On its first visits to Lawrence in 1869-1870 the theatre used was Frazer's Hall. On the first visit of the season of 1870-1871 the company played in Liberty Hall which had been dedicated upon the first night of their second engagement of the previous season. On the return engagement of 1870-1871, they occupied Frazer's Hall again. The point was that the competition of the wholly new Liberty Hall had compelled the owners of Frazer's Hall to remodel it. Although not so large as Liberty Hall, the claim was made that in its new form it was more effective than its rival. The J. A. Lord Company, in effect, on its Lawrence engagement of February 13-16, 1871, opened Frazer's Hall to its new lease on life. Thus is observed clearly the inter-relation among the several factors of competition; an effective railroad service, the increase in patronage for places of entertainment, and the competitive process between places of public amusement for business at the local level.

The plays at Leavenworth and Atchison, both three-night engagements, were "Ingomar," the "Hunchback" and "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." In the first two of these plays at each place, McAfferty took the leading roles, but note should be made of the fact that "Othello" was not offered. At Leavenworth, the *Bulletin*, February 18, announced.

the manager will have the pleasure of introducing to our people Mr. J. F. McAFFERTY, a young tragedian of some celebrity. We have never seen any of Mr. McAfferty's impersonations of prominent characters, but have heard him [September, 1860?] read "Poe's Raven" and other selections. He is certainly a good reader, with a clear full voice, while his articulation is faultless. There-

fore, we have a right to expect something from the young tragedian in the heavier parts, and shall observe his first appearance here at the Opera House Monday evening, in the role of *Ingomar*, with no little interest. He will be admirably supported by the talented lady, Louie Lord, as *Parthenia*.

Two days later the public was further prepared for the new actor by emphasis upon his own translation of the play from the German which would be used: "Mr. J. K. McAfferty will represent the rough barbarian *Ingomar*, Louie Lord will impersonate the gentle tamer of the barbarian, and everything will be nice." The other papers were less elaborate in their introductions. The *Sunday Times*, February 19, said: "The company has had a valuable acquisition in the person of J. R. McAfferty, the popular tragedian." In view of the fact that the new actor had no background of professional experience in theatre to cite, this billing of him as the star, relegating the Lord Company's real star to the status of supporting actress, was certainly more than any young beginner could rightfully ask.

After the performance of "*Ingomar*," the *Bulletin* reported in a two-sentence paragraph that the piece "was very well received. . . ." The *Commercial* introduced its one-sentence notice of the play which "delighted the habitués of the theatre," with a eulogy of Leavenworth and the Lord Company:

It is an unerring index of the enterprise and prosperity of a city, when theatricals succeed. In Kansas City, with the current stars in the dramatic firmament, none have paid expenses. With Leavenworth it differs—where pre-eminent talent appeals for patronage, it invariably receives it. In no instance is it so remarkable as with the oft repeated successes of the Lord Troupe.

This was the occasion when the *Times* printed the patronizing explanation of its self-imposed restraint on adverse criticism as stemming from the handicaps of traveling theatre. At the close the critic praised Louie Lord first, and then added: "The tragedian, McAfferty, was excellent as the barbarian, *Ingomar*."

After the "*Hunchback*" performance, the *Commercial* commented quite favorably on Mrs. Lord in particular, and on Mr. Lord, Toohey, Herbert, and Woltz; and the *Times* handled it this way: "*Hunchback* was presented last night to a very fair house. We must say that Louie Lord made an exceedingly fine representation of the character of Julia. To-night the management present the great Temperance Drama of 'Ten Nights in a Bar Room.' Mr. McAfferty does not appear. The full strength of the company will be brought out. . . ." What more need be said? In its final editorial the *Times*, after airing its grievance about the discourtesies shown its

employees regarding tickets, praised Mr. and Mrs. Lord and Toohey, and closed with a masterpiece of understatement. "The engagement of the three nights just past has not added to the surplus earnings of the management to any considerable extent. We hope it will be different next time." The same paper carried a local: "A. K. McAfferty proposes to abandon the stage." In the *Bulletin's* parting message of February 23, Lord was praised for bringing to Leavenworth "the best pieces and presenting the most talented performers offered during the present winter. LOUIE LORD is deserving of special distinction. She is an accomplished lady, and many of her impersonations deserve to take equal rank with the renditions of the best actresses of the Atlantic cities."

At Atchison, the *Champion*, February 24, 1871, after "Ingomar" pronounced McAfferty "a great addition to the Company." Two days later its verdict on the three nights was "a brilliant engagement," and on McAfferty, "a fine tragedian and distinguished elocutionest." But the *Champion* had not proved itself an outstanding exponent of dramatic criticism.

That Mr. Lord blundered in engaging McAfferty cannot be ignored, but nothing comparable in bad judgment has been found elsewhere in his career. Probably the reputation of the company was not seriously injured by the episode. The critics at Topeka and Leavenworth recognized where the deficiency lay, and differentiated as between McAfferty and the Lord Company, his weaknesses and the regular organization's competence. The *Commonwealth* had been kindly and yet blunt: "Mr. Lord will do well to adhere to his own company." From that perspective, the incident may have had its constructive side in demonstrating so effectively that his troupe was composed of truly superior artists functioning as a harmonious whole.

X. APPENDIX

In order to save footnotes, the following calendar of plays presented by the Lord Company on their tour of Kansas during the winter of 1870-1871 is compiled for reference, together with the list of newspapers available in each of the towns visited. The notices of the plays, with few exceptions, appeared in the press on the day before, on the day of, and on the day following its presentation. The reader who wishes to verify references may thus find the article or advertisement used in the text with the minimum effort.

CALENDAR OF PLAYS, 1870-1871

Leavenworth, November 21-26, 1870.

November	21	Monday	"Frou Frou."
	22	Tuesday	"Dora," and "The Funny Family."
	23	Wednesday	"Richard III."
	24	Thursday	"Uncle Tom's Cabin."
	25	Friday	"Our American Cousin."
	26	Saturday	"The Mormons," and "Turn Him Out."

Lawrence, November 28-December 3, 1870.

November	28	Monday	"Ireland as It Is," and "Our Gal."
	29	Tuesday	"Our American Cousin."
	30	Wednesday	"Richard III."
December	1	Thursday	"Dora," and "The Funny Family."
	2	Friday	"Frou Frou."
	3	Saturday	"The Mormons," and "Turn Him Out."

Topeka, December 5-7, 9, 10, 1870.

December	5	Monday	"Ireland as It Is," and "Our Gal."
	6	Tuesday	"Dora," and "The Funny Family."
	7	Wednesday	"Richard III."
	8	Thursday	(No Performance.)
	9	Friday	"Frou Frou."
	10	Saturday	"The Mormons," and "Turn Him Out."

Atchison, December 12-17, 19-21, 23, 24, 1870.

December	12	Monday	"Dora," and "The Funny Family." (Dedication of Corinthian Hall.)
	13	Tuesday	"Richard III."
	14	Wednesday	"Ireland as It Is," and "Our Gal."
	15	Thursday	"The Serious Family," and "Katy O'Sheal."
	16	Friday	"Frou Frou."
	17	Saturday	"The Mormons," and "Turn Him Out."
	19	Monday	"The Octoroon."
	20	Tuesday	"Uncle Tom's Cabin."
	21	Wednesday	(No Performance.)
	22	Thursday	"Fanchon, the Cricket."
	23	Friday	"Marco, the Marble Heart."
	24	Saturday	"Oliver Twist."

Leavenworth, December 26, 1870-January 7, 1871.

December	26	Monday	"The Sea of Ice."
	27	Tuesday	"The Octoroon."
	28	Wednesday	"Fanchon, the Cricket."
	29	Thursday	"The Serious Family," and "Our Gal."
	30	Friday	"Marco, The Marble Heart."
	31	Saturday	"Oliver Twist," and "Turn Him Out."

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|---------|---|-----------|---|
| January | 2 | Monday | "Dora," and "The Funny Family." |
| | 3 | Tuesday | "The Mormons," and "Our Gal." |
| | 4 | Wednesday | "Under the Gaslight." |
| | 5 | Thursday | "Frou Frou," and "Husband of the Future." |
| | 6 | Friday | "Don Caesar de Bazan," and "Ireland as It Is." |
| | 7 | Saturday | "The Child Stealer," and "Pauline Sanford [Sanfroid?]." |
- Topeka, January 9-14, 16-21, 1871.
- | | | | |
|---------|----|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| January | 9 | Monday | "Dora," and "The Funny Family." |
| | 10 | Tuesday | "The Octoroon." |
| | 11 | Wednesday | "Our American Cousin." |
| | 12 | Thursday | "The Serious Family," and "Our Gal." |
| | 13 | Friday | "Marco, the Marble Heart." |
| | 14 | Saturday | "Oliver Twist," and "Turn Him Out." |
| | 16 | Monday | "Fanchon, the Cricket." |
| | 17 | Tuesday | "The Ticket of Leave Man." |
| | 18 | Wednesday | "Uncle Tom's Cabin." |
| | 19 | Thursday | "The Child Stealer." |
| | 20 | Friday | "The Sea of Ice." |
| | 21 | Saturday | "Under the Gaslight." |
- Topeka, February 6-11, 1871.
- | | | | |
|----------|----|-----------|-----------------------------|
| February | 6 | Monday | "Ingomar." |
| | 7 | Tuesday | "Othello." |
| | 8 | Wednesday | "The Hunchback." |
| | 9 | Thursday | "Our American Cousin." |
| | 10 | Friday | "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." |
| | 11 | Saturday | "Under the Gaslight." |
- Lawrence, February 13-16, 18, 1871.
- | | | | |
|----------|----|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| February | 13 | Monday | "The Octoroon." |
| | 14 | Tuesday | "Under the Gaslight." |
| | 15 | Wednesday | "Oliver Twist," and "Turn Him Out." |
| | 16 | Thursday | "Ingomar." |
| | 17 | Friday | (No Performance.) |
| | 18 | Saturday | "The Hunchback." |
- Leavenworth, February 20-22, 1871.
- | | | | |
|----------|----|-----------|-----------------------------|
| February | 20 | Monday | "Ingomar." |
| | 21 | Tuesday | "The Hunchback." |
| | 22 | Wednesday | "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." |
- Atchison, February 23-25, 1871.
- | | | | |
|----------|----|----------|-----------------------------|
| February | 23 | Thursday | "Ingomar." |
| | 24 | Friday | "The Hunchback." |
| | 25 | Saturday | "Ten Nights in a Bar Room." |

NEWSPAPERS

Leavenworth *Daily Times*, *Daily Commercial*, *Daily Bulletin*.
 Lawrence *Republican Daily Journal*, *Kansas Daily Tribune*.
 Topeka *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, *Daily Kansas State Record*.
 Atchison *Daily Champion*.

Bypaths of Kansas History

IT'S NOT ALWAYS THE POLITICIANS WHO CREATE EXCITEMENT IN TOPEKA

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, December 14, 1872.

A Monroe street man whose horse was laid up with the epizootic, and who had an old cow which was loafing around doing nothing, thought he would hitch her up yesterday morning, and do a little hacking about town.

He tacked her to his spring wagon, and turned out into the street.

It wasn't a minute before every dog in the neighborhood was after that cow, ready for their accustomed chase. With the dogs in close pursuit, the cow at once made for the hay wagons on the corner of Kansas and Sixth avenues where she usually sponged her feed.

With some persuasion, in which assisted the dogs, the hay owners and a man with a shot gun, she left the hay wagons and then started for a favorite salt barrel in an alley back of the avenue.

The salt barrel was gone, and the patient animal proceeded to the Shawnee Mills to lick around there for awhile.

Our friend in the wagon got some boys to head her off, and she then went to see if there was any grass in the capitol grounds.

Here the janitor shot at her twice, when remembering that she had the evening before noticed a pair of old pants hanging on a fence at the female seminary, she thought she would take a trip up there and interview them.

As luck would have it, another cow had been there before, and so our cow didn't know what better to do than to go around to Jake Smith's and see if his cabbage cave had been unearthed lately.

They didn't happen to have cabbage for dinner that day, and nothing more feasible presented itself to the cow than to go across the river and see what the prospect was in the first ward.

About this juncture our friend in the wagon became discouraged. So he deserted the vehicle, and as he walked home concluded to give up the idea of bovine power and calmly await the disappearance of the dreadful malady.

WHAT CALVES CAN DO

From *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, May 16, 1873.

In 1859 some emigrants going west camped at Mr. Henry Edelblute's, on the Wild Cat. That night two of their cows dropped calves, which they sold to Mr. E. at seventy-five cents each. From those two calves he has sold upwards of \$1,600 worth of stock, and still has fifty head on hand.

IT WAS EVER THUS, EVEN IN THE HORSE AND BUGGY DAYS

From the *Girard Press*, July 16, 1874.

When a young man who is out riding with his girl desires to indulge in osculatory amusement, especially if he intends to vary the proceedings by that exercise of the flexor muscles of the arms which Webster defines as hugging, he should see that his vehicle has a top to it, and that it is properly raised, or he should defer his pleasure until after dark. We knew a youth who neglected these precautions, while traveling from Thunderbolt to Girard, on Sunday last, and the consequence was that a lady and gentleman who traveled behind them saw very little of the surrounding landscape for the distance of two or three miles, as they found sufficient amusement in watching the occupants of the foremost vehicle to vary the monotony of the ride. The witnesses to the amatory exercises have no fault to find with the manner of execution. They say that the young man understood his business and did full justice to the subject, and they ought to know, for they are married.

FRONTIER HUMOR

From the *Ellis County Star*, Hays City, July 6, 1876.

Billy King, rushing down the street the other day, asked Billy Patterson if he had seen his black-faced antelope. "No," said Patterson, "who did your blackfaced aunt elope with?" King made no reply, but went on in pursuit of his pet.

A BULL IN THE HOUSE

From the *Lane County Gazette*, California, November 25, 1880.

For several days past the cattle men have been gathering up their cattle which were widely scattered during the storm. Saturday a cow boy came into town with a large bull which he had found some place and after stopping at the store a while he got on his pony and tried to start the bull off towards home, but the bull didn't seem inclined to go. He ran around the buildings several times and finally took a turn around Pelham's building. The cellar under the last named building is four or five feet longer than the upper part and the west end is covered with light boards and dirt thrown over. The bull turned the corner of the house and right on to this light covering and it not being strong enough to hold him up his bullship went down into the cellar with a crash. Mrs. Nixon and family are occupying the cellar and our readers will probably imagine their surprise and fright at seeing such an unhandsome caller come in in such an unceremonious style. Mrs. N. and children got into the upper part of the building through a scuttle hole in short order, and the bull was roped and pulled out. Not much damage was done except to the roof. The young man who had charge of the animal was cheeky enough to mount his horse and ride off without paying for the damage done or even so much as saying he was sorry for the mishap.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Histories of Humboldt churches recently made their appearance in the Humboldt *Union* as follows: Assembly of God church, by the Rev. R. F. McMinimy, August 8, 1957; St. Joseph's Catholic church and Poplar Grove Baptist church, August 22; Humboldt Christian church, September 5; St. Peter's Lutheran church, September 12; Humboldt Pilgrim Holiness church, September 19; and the First Presbyterian church and the former Humboldt Evangelical United Brethren church, September 26. A history of the Humboldt community, by Dick Buzbee, was published in the *Chanute Tribune*, September 20.

In observance of Wathena's 100th anniversary, the Wathena *Times* published its August 15, 1957, issue and a 28-page historical number dated August 16 and 17, under the title Wathena *Centennial*.

A history of Sheridan county, compiled by Mrs. Pearl Toothaker, was published in the Hoxie *Sentinel*, August 15 and 29, 1957. The county was created in 1873 and organized in 1880.

"Linn County Marks 100 Years," by Jack Fairfield, a four-page history of Linn county, was published in the Fort Scott *Tribune's* Linn county fair edition, August 16, 1957.

Herman F. W. Oesterreich's family and descendants are sketched in an article which appeared in the Junction City *Republic*, August 22, 1957. Oesterreich came to Kansas in 1857 and settled in Dickinson county.

On August 22, 1957, the *Butler County News*, El Dorado, began publication of a series of stories on the history of Butler county written by Joy Wigginton for her school pupils. The El Dorado *Times*, September 2, printed a historical article entitled "Spring Near Towanda Served as Indian Campsite Many Years Ago."

A history of the "Beecher Bible and Rifle" church at Wabaunsee appeared in the Wamego *Reporter*, August 22, 1957. The congregation observed its 100th anniversary August 25, 1957.

The story of the Mudge ranch, Hodgeman county, was told in a copyrighted article by Margaret Evans Caldwell, in the Jetmore *Republican*, August 22, 29, and September 5, 1957. Henry S. Mudge, wealthy Bostonian, came to Kansas in 1878. He acquired

over 40 quarter sections of land which he operated as a ranch until he experienced a financial collapse in 1885 and 1886.

Historical articles appearing in recent issues of the *Emporia Gazette* included: "Ruggles Schoolhouse Sale Closes a 70-year Chapter," August 22, 1957; "Letters Show G. W. Brown Was a Devout Free Stater," August 29; and "Hardships Endured in Winter of 1860," September 26. The Ruggles school article appeared in the *Weekly Gazette*, August 29, and the story on G. W. Brown's letters, September 5. On September 26 the *Weekly Gazette* printed "Plymouth's First School Was Held in Private Home," by Mrs. S. H. Bennet. The *Emporia Times*, August 29, published an article by Pearl Mallon Nicholas on the Chase county landmark called Jacobs Mound and the Jacobs family, for whom the mound was named.

Abraham "Bullet Hole" Ellis was shot in the forehead by William C. Quantrill and lived, it is stated in a biographical sketch of Ellis by Lily B. Rozar, published in the *Independence Reporter*, August 25, 1957.

Olathe's 100th anniversary was the occasion for special editions of the city's newspapers, featuring the history of the community. The Olathe *Mirror* published a 32-page centennial edition August 29, 1957, and the *Johnson County Democrat's* edition, also 32 pages, appeared September 12.

Letters of William Hamilton, missionary to the Iowa, Sac, and Fox Indians from 1837 to 1853, were published in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, Lancaster, Pa., September, 1957. The letters were written in 1846, several of them from the Iowa and Sac mission located near present Highland. The introduction was by Charles A. Anderson.

Historical articles in recent issues of the *Hays Daily News* included: "Kansas 'Balkans' Century Ago Was Cherokee Neutral Tract," September 2, 1957; "Hays Citians Enjoyed Steamboat Rides on Big Creek in '70s Before Dam Broke," by Maurine Bergland, and "Movement Started at Fairplay, Colo., to Recreate Life of Gold Mine Days," September 8; and "Martin Allen, One of Great Pioneers of Hays, Sacrificed Everything to Build City of Culture," September 29.

Jules Bourquin's talk before the Horton Kiwanis club August 26, 1957, on the early trails in the Horton area and the traffic they carried, was printed in the *Horton Headlight*, September 5, 1957.

Directions for following the old Chisholm trail, and some of its history, are included in an article by Will Brown, published in the *Ellsworth Reporter*, September 5, 1957.

Early schools in Ottawa were recalled in a brief article in the *Ottawa Herald*, September 7, 1957. The first school began in January, 1865, with Mary Ward as teacher. The first school building was completed in 1866.

Recent issues of the *Wichita Eagle* have included the following historical articles: "Bullets and Ballots Settled [Pratt] County Seat War," by Jim Watts, September 8, 1957; a history of the Seltzer Methodist church, Sedgwick county, September 14; and Eva Wintermute's reminiscences of the Cherokee strip run, by Jessy Mae Coker, and "Beecher Island Monument Is Kansas, Colorado Tribute to Frontiersmen," by Lily B. Rozar, September 15.

Calloch cemetery is all that remains of the settlement of Talley Springs, it is pointed out in an article by R. H. Seaton, in the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, September 12, 1957. Talley Springs was started about 1870 but soon died when the railroad by-passed it.

"Fascinating Fort Hays State Museum Mirrors Pioneer Times, Ancient Life," is the title of an article in the *Junction City Union*, September 19, 1957, describing the Fort Hays Kansas State College museum.

Historical material on the Mt. Tabor community, near Douglass, assembled by Glen E. Kiser from writings of Elisha M. Payne and Mrs. Zella Lamb-Wolff, appeared in the *Douglass Tribune*, September 19, 1957. Settlement of the area began in the late 1860's.

A history of the Brewster schools, by Leola Molesworth, was published in the *Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, September 19, 1957. The school district was formed in September, 1888. Early Brewster history, contributed by Mrs. C. A. Horney, appeared in the *Herald*, September 26. The town was established in 1887 as Hastings.

Elizabeth Barnes' historical column, "Historic Johnson County," has continued to appear regularly in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park. The September 19, 1957, column was a history of Gardner, which had just celebrated its centennial.

R. A. Clymer's address, "In Praise of the Pioneer," given at Butler county's "Pioneer Days" celebration August 25, 1957, was printed in the *Whitewater Independent*, September 26, 1957.

Travel on the Santa Fe trail and some of the pioneers who settled in the vicinity of Marion are the subjects of a four-column article written in 1950 by Jenny Corby and published in the *Marion Record-Review*, September 26, 1957.

Harold O. Taylor is author of a four-column history of Weir entitled "Weir Should Have Been in Land of Texas," which appeared in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, September 28, and the *Pittsburg Sun*, September 29, 1957. Early Weir residents loudly insisted that their town was second to none.

Burlington's centennial was observed by the publication of a 20-page special edition by *The Daily Republican*, September 30, 1957. The edition was largely devoted to Burlington history and sketches of local citizens and businesses.

The October, 1957, issue of the *Ford Times*, Dearborn, Mich., included an article entitled "Olathe—Mother of the Huddle," by Grace Bilger. In addition to reviewing the history of the community, the author claimed for Olathe the origin of the football huddle. The Kansas School for the Deaf started using the huddle to keep opponents from reading their sign language.

Agricultural History, Champaign, Ill., published "The Development of the Capper Farm Press," by Homer E. Socolofsky, in its October, 1957, issue. Arthur Capper entered the farm publications field with the purchase of the *Missouri Valley Farmer* in 1900.

Tecumseh's history is featured in the December, 1957, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka. Articles include: "Tecumseh, Past and Present," by Thomas M. Lillard; "The Stinsons," by Thomas N. Stinson; "Some Pioneer Trails in Tecumseh Township," by Norman Niccum; "The Campbells of Tecumseh and Their Neighbors," by Audrey McMillan Chaney; "Two Families of Old Tecumseh—Naylor and Morris," by Ruth Naylor Chandler; "The Waysman Place," by Erma Schmidler Tebben; "The Faxon Family"; "Garvey's Retreat," by Annabel Garvey; "The Kreipes"; "Murphy-Venable Families"; "The Eli Hopkins-Rush Elmore House"; the Thomas N. Stinson papers from the manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society; and an article from the May, 1846, issue of *Merry's Museum*, on the Indian, Tecumseh.

Kansas Historical Notes

Current officers of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields are: Prof. Homer E. Socolofsky, Kansas State College, Manhattan, president; Father Peter Beckman, St. Benedict's College, Atchison, vice-president; and Prof. Jack W. Vanderhoof, Kansas Wesleyan University, Salina, secretary-treasurer. Prof. Eugene R. Craine, Fort Hays Kansas State College, is a new member of the executive council. The 1957 meeting of the association was held at Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, March 15 and 16. Prof. Dudley T. Cornish of the Pittsburg school was the retiring president. The 1958 gathering will be in Manhattan.

Wathena celebrated its centennial August 16 and 17, 1957, with parades, Indian dances, street dances, an address by Gov. George Docking, and other events.

The Allen county community of Geneva observed its 100th anniversary August 18, 1957, with a basket dinner and a program which included talks on the town's history.

Butler county's "Pioneer Days" celebration in El Dorado, August 22-25, 1957, sponsored by the Butler County Historical Society, was climaxed with a basket dinner and an address entitled "In Praise of the Pioneer," by R. A. Clymer, on the last day. Martha Hoard was recently announced winner of the Butler county society's annual essay contest, and was awarded a prize of \$100 by ex-Sen. Frank H. Cron.

All officers of the Ford Historical Society were re-elected at a meeting of the society in September, 1957. They include: Mrs. Walter Umbach, president; Mrs. Harold Patterson, vice-president; Mrs. I. L. Plattner, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Kathleen Emrie, historian; and Mrs. W. P. Warner, custodian.

Olathe observed her 100th birthday with a week-long celebration, September 1-7, 1957. Included in the program were parades, a historical pageant entitled "Arrows to Atoms," and an old settlers' homecoming.

Labette county old settlers gathered in Oswego for their annual reunion September 2, 1957. A discussion of plans for a county museum was included in the program. Fred McColey, Oswego,

was elected president of the old settlers; Ivan Sullivan, Parsons, vice-president; and Mrs. Winnie Crain, Oswego, secretary and treasurer. O. L. Crain, Parsons, was the retiring president.

Paul B. Wood, Elmdale, was re-elected president of the Chase County Historical Society at its annual meeting, September 7, 1957, in Cottonwood Falls. Other officers chosen include: Henry Rogler, Matfield Green, vice-president; Clint Baldwin, Cottonwood Falls, secretary; George T. Dawson, Elmdale, treasurer; and Mrs. Ruth Conner, Cottonwood Falls, chief historian. The society is now preparing the third volume of its Chase county history.

Junction City businessmen, the First infantry division, former cavalry officers, and others have joined in the re-establishment of the Fort Riley Military Museum which was officially opened September 27, 1957. It is located in the building which served as post headquarters from 1890 through World War II. One room is set aside for history of the Junction City area. The Fort Riley Historical Society will have charge of the museum. Maj. Gen. David H. Buchanan, First division commander, is honorary president and Lee Rich, Junction City, is president.

Humboldt's week-long centennial celebration was climaxed September 28, 1957, by a parade and a street dance. Other features of the observance included a local talent show, football game, and Humboldt High School class reunions.

Mrs. W. G. Anderson, president of the Cowley County Historical Society, has announced that the society's museum, on the campus of Southwestern College in Winfield, will be open every Friday from 2:00 to 5:00 P. M.

Additional appointments to the Kansas centennial commission made by Gov. George Docking include: the Rev. John R. Barber, Columbus; Sid Calbert, Newton; Howard Carey, Hutchinson; W. Luke Chapin, Medicine Lodge; Franklin Gordon, Medicine Lodge; Mike Gordono, Wichita; Mrs. Ruby Harris, Wichita; the Rev. I. H. Henderson, Kansas City; I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, Medicine Lodge; Col. Pat L. Keenan, Seward; August Lauterbach, Colby; Dr. James McCain, Manhattan; Mrs. Thomas Martin, Highland; Novma Mering, Great Bend; L. F. Meyers, Dodge City; Dr. Franklin Murphy, Lawrence; Mrs. E. E. Peiser, Mission; F. J. Rost, Topeka; Leon N. Roulier, Colby; John Sticher, Topeka; Elton Wilson, Mound City; and Dr. L. D. Wooster, Hays. Members of the commission

previously appointed were listed in "Kansas Historical Notes," in the Summer, 1957, issue of the *Quarterly*.

Circular 351, August, 1957, published by the Agricultural Experiment Station, Kansas State College, Manhattan, printed a 36-page article by F. D. Farrell, entitled "Kansas Rural Institutions: XIII. County Fair." It is a study of the Coffey county fair, one of the oldest in Kansas, first held October 9, 1860.

A mimeographed pamphlet entitled "History of the Argonia Friends Meeting," has been issued in commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Argonia church.

Following the Civil War, Phillip and Elmira Simmons settled on high ground in Douglas county between the Kansas and Wakarusa rivers, which became known as The Hill or Simmons Point. A granddaughter, Zoe Dentler, is author of a 144-page history of the area and the Simmons family, entitled *The Hill or Simmons Point*, published by Greenwich Book Publishers, New York in 1957.

William S. Prettyman, Arkansas City photographer, made some 10,000 pictures of Indians, early settlers, land seekers, and other subjects on the frontier from 1880 to 1909. More than 100 of these have been selected by Robert E. Cunningham and included in his 174-page book, *Indian Territory*, published recently by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Ben Thompson—Man With a Gun, by the late Floyd B. Streeter, of Hays, was recently published by Frederick Fell, Inc., New York. The 217-page volume is a biography of Thompson, about whom it is stated in the introduction, "probably no man, before or since, crowded more excitement into forty-three years of life. . . ."

Our Heritage—150 Years of Progress is the title of a 126-page history of the First Christian church of Lawrence, by Clarence E. Birch, published by the church in 1957. The general development of the Christian church is traced from its establishment in 1807, but the Lawrence congregation, formed in 1884, is the main theme of the work.

A 260-page history of Enterprise entitled *A Kansan's Enterprise*, by Ellen Welander Peterson, was recently published by the Enterprise Baptist church.

Errata and Addenda, Volume XXIII

Page 59, second line from bottom of page, Camp Mackey should be Camp Mackay.

Page 109, tenth line from bottom of page, Ray A. Boast should be Roy A. Boast.

Page 127, lines 21 and 22, "this is the oldest church building in Kansas, with the exception of early missions" should be deleted.

Page 129, seventh line from bottom of page, R 16 E should read R 16 W.

Page 130, line 13, R 16 E should read R 16 W.

Page 135, Gove county No. 1, Carlisle Stage Station should be Carlyle Stage Station.

Page 143, line one, Sangro House should be Fangro House.

Page 153, McPherson county No. 1—Coronado Heights should be listed in Saline county.

Page 177, Wilson county No. 2—Fort Belmont should be listed in Woodson county; "Site only, two miles west of Buffalo, off U. S. 75," should read "Site only, about four miles southwest of Yates Center, off U. S. 75."

Page 217, line eight, William Errol Enrau's should be William Errol Unrau's.

Page 328, sixth line from bottom of page, June 16 should be July 16.

Page 330, second line from bottom of page, *Daily World* should read Hiawatha *Daily World*.

Page 332, line two, Maj. Gordon William ["Pawnee Bill"] Lille should be Maj. Gordon William "Pawnee Bill" Lillie.

Index to Volume XXIII

A

- Abilene: Eisenhower home, note on... 124
 ————photograph *between* 144, 145
 ————records, microfilmed. 56
 ————see, also, Old Abilene Town Co.
 Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle*: articles
 in, noted 107
 Actual Settlers' Assn.: note on. 188n
 Adair, Lincoln, Emporia: article on,
 noted 105
 Adair, Rev. Samuel 155
 Adams, Mrs. Paul 109
 Addis, A. S., Leavenworth 17, 19, 27-
 36, 38, 39, 41
 Adee, Glen 222
 Adkins, James: Lecompton const. conv.
 delegate 242
 Agricultural History, Champaign, Ill.:
 article in, noted. 444
 Aiken, George: playwright 50
 Airplane builder. *See* Longren,
 Albin K.
 Airplane Company, Boeing: H. Mans-
 field's book on, noted. 112
 Aitchison, R. T., Wichita 82, 84, 222
 Akin, Asst. Surg. George S.: at Fort
 Riley 347
 Alcove Springs, Marshall co.: loca-
 tion 154
 —note on 154
 Aldrich, Barbara, Atchison 221
 Allen, Henry J.: and W. A. White, in
 Europe, article on, noted. 326
 —residence when governor, note on. 170
 Allen, J. R.: actor 18, 23
 Allen, Mrs. J. R.: actress 43
 Allen, John: minstrel show of,
 noted 314, 315
 Allen, Martin, Hays: article on, noted 442
 Allen, Mrs. P. W., Topeka: donor. 62
 Allen county: historic sites and struc-
 tures, notes on 115
 —jail, note on 115
 —photograph *facing* 144
 —Stoney Lonesome school, note on. 115
 Allen County Historical Society: 1956
 meeting, note on 108
 —1957 meeting, note on 221
 Allender, Corp. Robert: marriage,
 noted 343
 Alma: history, articles on, noted. 218
 Alma *Signal-Enterprise*: articles in,
 noted 218
 —historical series, note on. 326
 Alta Vista *Journal*: article in, noted. 211
 Altamont: Baptist church, article on,
 noted 330
 Altamont *Journal*: article in, noted. 330
 American Heritage Book of Great His-
 toric Places, The: note on. 335
 American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati:
 article in, noted 211
 Americans: article on, noted. 327
 —centennial, note on 333
 —pamphlet, noted 334
 Amos, Ed, Manhattan 109
 Amrine, Milton F.: article by, noted. 220
 —and wife, donors 62
 Anderson, A. E., Leoti: donor. 59
 Anderson, C. E., Wellsford: article on,
 noted 214
 Anderson, Charles A. 442
 Anderson, George, Finney co. 111
 Anderson, George L., Lawrence. 82, 84
 —address by, noted. 110
 Anderson, Gust and John, Lindsborg. 3
 Anderson, Mrs. W. G., Cowley co. 446
 Anthony, Daniel Read, I: letters, note
 on 213
 Anthony, Daniel Read, III. 63, 82, 84, 109
 Anthony, Maj. Scott 264
 Apache Indians 264, 265
 Appleby, John, Columbus 217
 Arapahoe Indians 260, 261, 264, 265
 393, 397
 Archaeology. *See* El Cuartelejo; In-
 dian burial pit, Saline co.
 Architecture, Kansas: article on, noted 214
 Argonia: Friends meeting history, note
 on 447
 —history, articles on, noted. 211
 Argonia *Argosy*: articles in, noted. 211
 Argonne Forest, France: battle
 area 77, 78
 Arickaree, battle of: article on, noted. 443
 Arkalon, Seward co. 286
 Arkansas City: "boomer" expedition
 from, noted. 216
 —Cherokee run starting point. 205
 Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*: articles
 in, noted. 216, 332
 —microfilmed 63
 Arkansas river: Santa Fe trail cross-
 ings, notes on 131, 137
 Arlington's Minstrels 316
 Armstrong, Lt. Francis C.: note on. 391
 Arnold, ———: actor. 34, 200
 Ash creek 391
 Ashlock-Longstreth, Dot: booklet by,
 noted 335
 Ashton & Bros., Leavenworth 40
 Asling, Rev. John, Doniphan co. 107
 Atchison: Amelia Earhart home, note
 on 116
 —photograph *between* 144, 145
 —Byram Hotel, note on 116
 —Corinthian Hall 405
 —Ed Howe home, note on 116, 117
 —First Christian church, history,
 noted 57, 326
 —John A. Martin house, note on. 117
 —Lord Dramatic Co. at 301, 302, 321, 323
 —Otis House, note on 116
 —Pomeroy's Hall, note on 191
 —population, 1860-1890, data on. 111
 —Price's Hall, notes on 191, 192
 —revival at, 1872. 369, 372, 378-381
 —theatre history, to 1868. 191-195
 —Trinity Lutheran church, article on,
 noted 107
 —Turner Hall, note on 191
 Atchison and St. Joseph railway. 202
 Atchison county: High Prairie school,
 article on, noted. 107
 —historic buildings, notes on. 116, 117
 Atchison *Daily Globe*: articles in,
 noted 107, 326, 327, 332

- Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad:
inspection train, 1872, photo-
graph *facings* 224
—to Fort Larned area. 274, 276, 278
Atwood: *Citizen Patriot*, article in,
noted 213
Aubrey, Mlle. —: dancer. 31, 33, 35
Aubrey's crossing: note on 396
Augusta: first building, note on 120
Augusta *Daily Gazette*: articles in,
noted 214, 331
Augusta Historical Society 120
Austin, Mrs. Helen, Chase co. 108
Automatic Electric Co., Chicago. 6
Axe, Lucy Porter: donor 65
Axe, Rose: donor 66
Axtell: note on 213
Axtell *Standard*: article in, noted. 213

B

- Baber, Mrs. Louise, Lawrence: donor, 62
Bache, Maj. Dallas: at Fort Riley. 358
—note on 358
Bailey, Roy F., Salina. 83
Bailey, W. A., Kansas City. 63
Bakeless, John: book on George Rogers
Clark by, noted 112
Baker University: note on 125
—Old Castle Hall, note on 125
—photograph *between* 144, 145
Baldrey, J. A.: family, article on,
noted 327
Baldwin, Clint A., Chase co. 108, 334
Ball, Lt. R. R.: at Fort Riley. 357, 359
Ballou, Louis. 222
Ballou, Mrs. Louis. 222
Bancroft, —: theatre manager 315, 316
Baptist Church. See Delaware Baptist
Missions; Ottawa Baptist Mission;
Pottawatomie Baptist Mission; Shaw-
nee Baptist Mission.
Bar Assn. of Northwestern Kansas:
records, note on 59
Barber, Rev. John R., Columbus. 446
Barber county: historic sites, notes
on 117, 118
Baringer, Sylvester. 83
Barker, Rev. Francis. 184n
Barlow, J. H.: Lecompton const. conv.
delegate 234n
Barnes, Elizabeth E.: articles by,
noted 105, 216, 443
Barnes, Surg. Joseph K.: at Fort Riley 338
—biographical sketch. 338, 339
—photograph *facings* 353
Barnes, Mrs. Lela: treasurer, Historical
Society 67, 69, 83
—report by 67, 69
Barnett, Capt. Richardo: at Fort Riley 359
Barnum, E. E., Topeka: quoted. 377
Barr, Frank, Wichita. 84
Barrel Springs, Greeley co. 137
Barrows, M. C., article by, noted. 220
Barry, Louise. 83, 109
—index by, noted. 64
Barry, Rev. Thomas William: chaplain,
Fort Riley 362
Barton county: historic site and struc-
ture, notes on 118, 119
Bascom, Delaware Indian. 395n
Basye, Ruby: articles by, noted. 106
216, 327
Battle canyon, Scott co.: note on 168
—photograph of cave in. *between* 144, 145
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis. 82, 84
Baughman, Robert. 62
Baxter Springs massacre, 1863: note
on 121
—site, note on 121
Bayard, Lt. George Dashiell: note
on 392, 393
Beatty, Jerome, Roxbury, Conn.: donor 59
Beck, Will T., Holton. 82, 84
—on executive comm., Historical So-
ciety 54, 67
—on nominating comm., Historical So-
ciety 81-83
Becker, Rev. C. H., Fairview. 330
Beckman, Father Peter. 445
—*Kansas Monks* by, noted. 335
Becknell, William. 337
Beecher, Henry Ward. 175
"Beecher Bible and Rifle" Church, Wa-
baunsee: article on, noted. 441
—note on 175
—photograph *facings* 145
Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony: monu-
ment commemorating, note on 66
Beecher Island monument: article on,
noted 443
Beeson, Charley. 324
Beezley, George F., Girard. 83
Bell, —: mail agent, 1860. 391
Bell, Alexander Graham. 3
Bell, Lt. David D.: at Camp Alert. 259
Bell, Mrs. James G. 108
Bellamy, Mrs. John B., Topeka: donor, 62
Belleville *Telescope*: articles in,
noted 212, 217
Beloit: Presbyterian church, articles on,
noted 217
Beloit *Call*: article in, noted. 217
Beloit *Gazette*: article in, noted. 217
Bender family, Labette co.: note on. 146
Bender mounds, Labette co.: note on. 146
Benedictine monks: book by Father
Beckman on, noted. 335
Bennett, Erastus: home, Topeka, note
on 170
Bennett, Mrs. S. H.: articles by, 105, 442
noted 257, 258
Bent, William: Indian agent. 260, 273, 387
Bentley, A. R. 108
Bentley, Roderick, Shields: donor. 62
Bent's Fort. 397, 398
Bent's New Fort. 400
Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell. 83
Berger, William E.: "A Kansas Revival
of 1872," article by. 368-381
—note on 368n
Bergland, Maurine: articles by,
noted 215, 442
Berglund, V. E.: and wife, caretakers,
Funston Home. 65, 67
Bernheisel, Mrs. A. S. 333
Berry, L. J.: Santa Fe mail route sur-
veyor 258n
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland. 84
Bickel, H. M. 278
Big Blue river: Independence cross-
ing, note on 154
Big John creek. 159
Big Springs: note on 125, 126
—United Brethren church, note on. 126
Biggs, R. R., Abilene. 333
Bilger, Grace: article by, noted. 444
Birch, Clarence E.: book by, noted. 447
Birmingham, Maj. Henry P. 362, 363
Bisenius, Jake, Great Bend: article on,
noted 106
Bitting, Carl, Wichita. 222
Black Dog, Osage chief: note on. 223
Black Dog, II, Osage chief: note on. 223
Black Dog Trail, *The*: by Tillie K.
Newman, note on 223
Black Jack, battle of (Douglas co.):
note on 126
Blackburn, Dick: article by, noted. 217
Blackburn, Forrest R. 67

- Blackburn, R. Z., Chase co. 108
 Blake, Henry S., Topeka: note on . . . 54
 Blake, Mrs. Henry S., Topeka . . . 109
 Blanchard, Ben. 163
 —article on, noted 106
 Blanchard, Howard, Garden City . . . 221
 Blind Tom: at Leavenworth 314
 Bloyd, Levi: booklet by, noted 334
 Blue Mound: article on, noted 331
 Blue Rapids *Times*: article in, noted . 327
 Blue river. *See* Big Blue river.
Blue Valley News, Randolph: article
 in, noted 328
 —discontinuance of 328
 Bluejacket, Charles: ferry of, noted . 187
 Blunt, Gen. James 121, 149, 264
 Boast, Roy A., Topeka 109
 Boder, Bartlett: article by, noted . . 214
 Boeing Airplane Company: H. Mans-
 field's book on, noted 112
 Boissiere, Ernest Valetton de 134
 Boling, Lucius, Leecompton 235
 Bolton, J. W., Emporia: recollections,
 noted 105
 Boltz, Arle 108
 Boltz, Mrs. Arle 108
 Bonnell, J. C.: photographer 207
 Bonner, Thomas N.: book on medicine
 in Chicago by, noted 112
 Bonner Springs: historic site in, noted,
 "Boomers" (Oklahoma): article on,
 noted 216
 Boone, Daniel Morgan: Jefferson co.
 home of, note on 142
 —note on 142
 Booth, Capt. Henry: at Fort
 Larned 275, 278
 Booth, John Wilkes 37, 46, 122
 Border Queen Museum Assn.: meeting,
 1957, note on 221
 Border troubles: article on, noted . . 214
 Botkin, Theodosius 250
 Boucicault, Dion: plays by, noted, 41,
 45, 46, 50
 Bourne, Mrs. Bert 222
 Bourquin, Jules: talk by, noted . . . 442
 Bowers, Mrs. Eugene, Topeka 62
 —donor 58, 63
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola 83
 Boxmeyer, Mrs. Roy E. 108
 Boyd, Albert H.: rancher 274
 Boyd, Belle: actress 44
 Boyd, Mrs. McDill, Phillipsburg . . . 110
 Bradley, Mrs. Sola, Merriam 108
 Bradshaw, Alfred B.: articles by, noted 212
 Branson, Jacob: arrest, and rescue,
 note on 182
 Breed, H. E., El Cajon, Cal.: donor . . 59
 Brennan, Jim: murderer of S. N.
 Wood 181
 Breslaw, James C.: scenic artist . . . 192
 Breslaw, Melissa (Mrs. James C.): ac-
 tress 193, 195
 Brewer, David J.: house, Leavenworth,
 note on 147
 —note on 148
 Brewer, Lt. Madison M.: at Fort
 Riley 361
 Brewster: history, article on, noted . . 443
 —schools, article on, noted 443
 Bridges. *See* Covered bridge.
 Briggs, T. C., Kiowa co.: article on,
 noted 212
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Pratt 84
 Bright, Rev. John A. 211
 Bright, Dr. John D. 109
 Brignoli, Pasqualino: at Leaven-
 worth 15, 20
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg . . . 83, 221
 Broadwell, Dick 156
 Brock, R. F., Goodland 70, 84
 Brodrick, Lynn R. 83, 221
 Brooke, Lt. Benjamin: at Fort Riley . . 360
 Brooks, Mrs. Julia (German): article
 on, noted 326
 Brooks, Rev. W. C., Lawrence . . . 373, 374
 Brookville: Brookville Hotel, note on . 167
 —photograph between 144, 145
 Brown, Bernice, Hays: article by,
 noted 107
 Brown, Britt, Wichita 222
 Brown, Rev. Charles, Hugoton . . . 106, 223
 Brown, Dick: engineer 372
 Brown, George W.: letters, article on,
 noted 442
 Brown, John 155, 156
 —A. Whitridge's article on, noted . . 219
 —capture at Harper's Ferry, note on . 386
 —in battle of the Spurs 140
 —in Black Jack battle 126
 —Memorial Park, Osawatomie, note
 on 155, 156
 —Pottawatomie massacre perpetrator . 133
 Brown, Mrs. Mabel Rowe 111
 Brown, Myra Lockwood: article by,
 noted 220
 Brown, R. G., Finney co. 111
 Brown, Will: articles by, noted, 329, 443
 Brown county: early trails, talk on,
 noted 442
 —first school, noted 328
 —historic sites, and structure, notes
 on 119, 120
 Bruce, H. E., Horton 221
 Bryan, Lt. Francis T.: note on 390
 Buchanan, Maj. Gen. David H. 446
 Buchanan, Pres. James 225
 Buchanan, McKean: actor 41, 201
 Buchanan, Virginia: actress 41, 201
 Bucklin: Christian church, article on,
 noted 212
 Buffalo: articles on, noted 331
 —killing of a white buffalo, noted . . 215
 Buffalo hunting: note on, 1872 204
 Buffalo wallows: in Ellis co., noted . 214
 Bulkeley, Mrs. Gerald Clough: donor, 58
 Bulkeley, Roy, Topeka 110
 Bull, "Gen." H. C.: article on, noted, 107
 Bullit, Delaware Indian 395n
 Bunce, Bev: article by, noted 326
 Burgard, Ruth 109
 Burlingame, Anson: town named for . 162
 Burlingame, Ward: anecdote of . . . 403
 Burlingame: note on 161, 162
 Burlingame *Chronicle* 249
 Burlington: history, articles on, noted 444
 —*The Daily Republican* centennial edi-
 tion, noted 444
 Burns, Kathryn: hospital matron, Fort
 Riley 355
 Burns, Mrs. Luther, Topeka: donor . . 59
 Burt, Agnes (Mrs. George): actress . . 14
 17, 18, 21-23, 26, 28, 29, 43, 44,
 52, 193, 194, 197, 198
 Burt, Clara: actress 44, 195
 —naming of 22
 Burt, Eliza Logan: actress 43, 44, 47
 —naming of 193-195, 197
 —22
 Burt, George: actor . 12-14, 17-19, 21-
 26-29, 43, 44, 52, 193-195, 197
 198, 311
 Burt, Nellie 44
 Burt, Willie 44
 Burt and Coutra, Leavenworth 18
 Burt and Hunter, Leavenworth 18
 Burt family: actors 43, 44, 47, 52
 193-195, 197, 299, 300
 Bushton: article on, noted 217
 Bushton *News*: article in, noted . . . 217

- Butler county: first courthouse, article on, noted. 220
 —historic site, note on. 120
 —history, articles on, noted. 214, 441
 —Mt. Tabor community, article on, noted. 443
 —"Pioneer Days" celebration, 1957, notes on. 443, 445
 Butler County Historical Society. 214, 445
 —1957 meeting, note on. 221
Butler County News, El Dorado: articles in, noted. 220, 441
 Butterfield, David A. 271, 275
 —biographical data. 9
 —Manhattan home, notes on. 9, 165
 —photograph. *facings* 9
 Butterfield's Overland Dispatch, 9, 135, 165
 Buzbee, Dick: article by, noted. 441
 Byer, Neil: articles by, noted. 215, 331
 "Bypaths of Kansas History" 104, 204-210
 324, 325, 439, 440
- C**
- "Caches, The": location of. 131
 —note on. 131
 Caddo Indians. 262
 Calbert, Sid, Newton. 446
 Caldwell, Margaret Evans: Mudge ranch story by, noted. 441
 Caldwell, W. C., Humboldt. 108
 Caldwell: Cherokee run starting point. 205, 206
 —Fairbanks House, note on. 174
 —note on. 219
 Caldwell *Messenger*: articles in, noted. 219
 Calhoun, John: notes on. 237, 238
 —photograph. *facings* 240
 —president, Leecompton const. conv. 231
 236-239
 Calnan, Charles C., Troy. 219
 Calnan, Henry J., Sr., Troy. 219
 Camp, Acting Asst. Surg. Charles D. 362
 Camp, Essex: at Fort Riley. 347
 Camp, H. R., Kansas City, Mo. 20
 Camp Alert. 223
 —notes on. 258, 259, 391
 Camp Center. 59, 338, 339
 Camp Doniphan, Okla. 72, 73
 Camp Kirwin, Phillips co.: note on. 163
 Camp Mackay [not Mackey]. 131, 448
 —records, filmed. 59
 Camp Pond Creek. 175
 Camp Precaution. 59
 Camp Whitside. 340
 Campbell, Lt. C. A.: at Fort Larned. 274
 Campbell brothers, Haddam: note on. 334
 Campbell Brothers Great Consolidated Shows: L. Bloyd's booklet on, noted. 334
 Campbell College, Holton. 128
 Campbell family, Tecumseh: article on, noted. 444
 Candy, C. M., Chicago: patent attorney. 3n, 6
 Cannon, L. T., Humboldt. 108
 Cannon: "Old Sacramento," noted. 127
 Capitol, first territorial: article on, noted. 105
 —note on. 165
 —photograph. *between* 144, 145
 Capper, Arthur: at Camp Doniphan. 73
 —home, Garnett, note on. 116
 —photograph. *between* 144, 145
 —Topeka, note on. 170
 —note on. 116
 —publisher. 444
 —residence when governor, note on. 170
 —U. S. senator. 80, 81
 Capper Farm Press: H. E. Socolofsky's article on, noted. 444
 Capper Memorial Museum Assn. 116
- Carey, Howard, Hutchinson. 446
 Carey, James C., Manhattan. 204
 Carlson, Sen. Frank. 279
 Carlyle stage station [not Carlisle]: location. 135
 —notes on. 135, 448
 Carnegie, Andrew. 212
 Carney, Thomas: house, Leavenworth, note on. 147
 Carpenter, Mrs. R. H., Iola. 108
 Carr, Charles H., Wichita: donor. 63
 Carr, Lt. Eugene A.: at Fort Riley. 342
 Carroll, Joe, Marysville: article on, noted. 218
 Carroll and Lynch, Leavenworth: entertainers. 24
 Carter, John, Lyon co.: article on, noted. 105
 Carter, John S.: accounts of, filmed. 59
 Carver, George Washington: homestead, note on. 161
 —location of. 161
 Carver, Hugh D., and wife, Concordia. 62
 Carver, Lewis: donor. 62
 Case, C. A., Abilene. 333
 Castle Rock Creek stage station, Trego co.: location. 174
 —note on. 174
 "Cathedral of the Plains," Victoria: note on. 130
 —photograph. *between* 144, 145
 Catholic Church. See Osage Catholic Mission.
 Catren, Mrs. Marion, Olpe: donor. 59
 Cattle. 439, 440
 Cedar Vale *Messenger*: articles in, noted. 329
 Census: 1857, notes on. 226, 227
 Centennial commission, Kansas: names of members. 221
 Chaffee, Mrs. Harry, Topeka. 110
 Chalk Bluffs stage station: location. 135
 —note on. 135
 Chamberlain, Mrs. Bernard P.: donor. 59
 Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater. 82, 84
 Chandler, Allison: article by, noted. 326
 Chandler, C. J., Wichita. 82, 84
 Chandler, Ruth Naylor: article by, noted. 444
 Chaney, Audrey McMillan: article by, noted. 444
 Chaney, Warren P., Topeka: donor. 62
 Chanute, Octave: article on, noted. 212
 Chanute *Tribune*: articles in, noted. 212, 441
 —microfilmed. 60, 63
 Chapin, W. Luke, Medicine Lodge. 446
 Chaplin, George D.: actor. 17, 19, 20
 33, 35-43, 197, 201, 303, 315-320
 Chapman, Berlin B.: article by, noted. 220
 Chapman, Stan: article by, noted. 326
 Chapman: Dickinson County High School, note on. 124
 Cherokee county: county seat war, articles on, noted. 217
 Cherokee neutral lands: article on, noted. 442
 Cherokee Strip opening: Eva Wintermute's reminiscences of, noted. 443
 —L. R. Elliott's account of. 205-210
 —note on. 123
 —R. Ingle's recollections of, noted. 213
 Chetola: article on, noted. 106
 Chetopa: centennial celebration, note on. 223
 —Christian church, articles on, noted. 107, 211
 —history, article on, noted. 326
 —by W. A. O'Connell, noted. 220
 —note on. 220
 —name origin. 220

Chetopa *Advance*: articles in, noted 107, 220
 Cheyenne Indians 260-262, 264-267
 —battle with, 1857, note on 172
 —1878, note on 168
 —campaign against, 1857 384, 385
 —German family massacre, articles on, noted 330
 —Kidder massacre, note on 172
 —raid, 1857, note on 345
 —1864, noted 149
 —1874, note on 155
 —1878, notes on 123, 124
 Chicago Telephone Co. 2
 Childs, Mrs. Claud 222
 Chippewa Indian cemetery: note on 133
 Chisholm, Jesse 173
 Chisholm trail: article on, noted 329
 —in Sumner co., note on 173, 174
 —route, article on, noted 443
 Chivington, Col. J. M.: in Fort Larned area 264
 Chivington massacre, 1864 263, 264, 266
 Cholera: at Fort Larned 272
 —at Fort Riley, 1855 341-343
 —1867 351, 352
 Chouteau, Cyprian: trading post, note on 179
 Chouteau, Francis and Cyprian: trading post "Four houses," note on 177
 Chouteau's Island: note on 145
 Chrysler, Walter P.: home, Ellis, note on 128, 129
 —photograph between 144, 145
 Church histories: note on 57
 Churchill, Mrs. C. D., St. Francis 63
 Cimarron 137
 Cimarron crossing, Arkansas river: note on 137
 Cimarron *Herald*: microfilmed 60
 Cimarron river 394, 396
 Circus, Campbell brothers': note on 334
 Civil war: battles in Kansas, notes on 121, 149, 157
 —Negro soldiers in, book on, noted 222
 Clark, George Rogers: John Bakeless's book on, noted 112
 Clark, H. T., Leavenworth 12
 Clark county: St. Jacob's well, note on 121, 122
 Clark County *Clipper*, Ashland: article in, noted 212
 Clarke, Lt. Joseph Taylor: at Fort Riley 360
 Clarkson, Rev. David: chaplain, Fort Riley 341
 Clay Center: articles on, noted 216
 Clay Center *Dispatch*: articles in, noted 216, 327
 —microfilmed 63
 Clay county: articles on, noted 216
 —first school dist., article on, noted 327
 Cleardale: article on, noted 330
 Clemens, Mary E.: donor 59
 Cloud county: historic site in, noted 22
 Clough, Ebenezer Nicholas Orrick: papers of, noted 58
 Clyde Development Co.: records, noted 59
 Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado 82, 84, 221
 —address by, noted 443, 445
 —given W. A. White award 221
 —nominated as Historical Society president 69
 —note on 248n
 —president, Historical Society 83
 —"Thomas Benton Murdock and William Allen White," article by 256
 Cobb, Howell: secretary of the treasury 235
 Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg 82, 84, 221

Cody, William F. 151
 —articles on, noted 214, 215
 Coffey county: county fair, F. D. Farrell's study of, noted 447
 Coffeyville: Bethel African Methodist church, article on, noted 331
 —Dalton raid, article on, noted 211
 —note on 156, 157
 —museum, note on 157
 Coffeyville *Daily Journal*: articles in, noted 211, 219, 331, 443
 Coffeyville *Journal*: microfilmed 60
 Coker, Jessy Mae: article by, noted 443
 Colborn, E. F. 324, 325
 Colby *Free Press-Tribune*: article in, noted 212
 Coldwater *Republican*: microfilmed 60
 Coleman, Franklin N.: murderer of Dow 182
 Collard, E. Bert, Sr. 109
 College of Emporia: article on, noted 218
 Colley, S. G.: Indian agent 262
 Collingsworth, R. N., Topeka 377
 Collins, John C.: chief clerk, treasurer's office 281-284
 Collins Dramatic Co. 315
 Collinson, Mrs. W. B., Topeka: donor 62
 Colonial Dames 66
 —Kansas Society of, donor 57
 Columbus *Advocate*: articles in, noted 217
 Comanche county: Collier Flats area, article on, noted 328
 Comanche Indians 257, 259, 260, 264, 265, 386
 —and Kiowas, J. E. B. Stuart's diary of 1860 campaign against 382-400
 Combs, Gene, Wichita 222
 Comes, John, Pittsburgh, Pa. 129
 Compehau, Ottawa chief: burial place, noted 133
 Comstock, William "Buffalo Bill" 151
 Concordia *Blade-Empire*: articles in, noted 212, 330
 Condra, Mrs. Ella 111
 Cone, Mrs. Harold 109
 Cone, Lois Johnson: article by, noted 219
 Confederate troops: killed in fight with Osages, note on 157
 Congressional Medal of Honor 356
 —first, note on 337, 348, 350
 —last to an army doctor, noted 361
 Connecticut Kansas Colony: monument commemorating, note on 66
 Connell, Jesse, Leavenworth co. 234
 Connell, Willard, Kansas City 108
 Connelley, William Elsey 331
 Conner, Mrs. Ruth, Cottonwood Falls, 108
 334, 446
 Connolly, David: inventor 3
 Connolly, T. A.: inventor 3
 Conrad and Haun, Leavenworth: theatre managers 18
 Considine, Bob: speaker at Topeka meeting 110
 Constable, Marshall 109
 Constitution Hall, Leocompton: note on, 127
 —photograph between 144, 145
 Conwell, Mrs. Anna, Topeka: donor 59, 62
 Cooke, Flora: marriage, note on, 383, 384
 Cooke, Lt. Col. Philip St. George 383
 —at Fort Riley 344, 384
 Coolidge, Asst. Surg. Richard H.: at Fort Riley 344-346
 —biographical note 345, 346
 Coolidge, W. H., Leavenworth 17, 19
 40-42
 Coolidge *Border Ruffian*: microfilmed, 60
 Coon creek 393
 —battle of, 1848, note on 128

Coons, Lois, Parsons: donor 59
 Cooper, C. M., Crawford co. 108
 Cooter, —, Leavenworth: saloon
 keeper 40
 Copple, O. A., Council Grove: donor, 66
 Corbett, Boston: homestead, note on, 122
 —note on 122
 Corby, Jenny: article by, noted 444
 Cordley, Rev. Richard 370, 371
 Corey, Addie: actress 299, 304, 306, 307
 310, 425, 427
 Corkill, Eldon, Dallas, Tex.: donor . . 62
 Cornish, Dudley T., Pittsburg 445
 —book by, noted 222
 Coronado Heights, Saline co. [not Mc-
 Pherson co.]: notes on 153, 448
 Coronado's expedition, 1541: note on, 164
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan 84
 —donor 57
 —on executive comm., Historical
 Society 54, 69
 —on nominating comm., Historical
 Society 82
 Correll, Mrs. Charles M., Manhattan . . 109
 Cortelyou, J. V.: Indian collection of,
 noted 62
 Cortelyou, R. G., Omaha, Neb. 62
 Cory, Homer 109
 Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence 82, 84
 Cotton, Julia: estate, donor 62
 Cottonwood Falls: S. N. Wood home,
 note on 121
 Couldock, C. W.: actor 33, 34, 37, 42
 43, 46, 193, 198, 201, 316, 320
 Couldock, Eliza: actress 33, 34, 37, 42
 193, 201, 316
 Council City, Osage co. 161
 Council Grove: civic projects, noted . . 65
 —Council oak, note on 157, 158
 —Custer elm, note on 158
 —Hays tavern, note on 158
 —Kaw Methodist Mission, note on . . 158
 —Last Chance store, note on 158
 —photograph between 144, 145
 —Post office oak, note on 159
 Council Grove Republican: articles in,
 noted 211, 220
 County fair, Coffey co.: F. D. Farrell's
 study of, noted 447
 Coutra, —. See Burt and Coutra.
 Covered bridge, Leavenworth co.:
 note on 146
 —photograph between 144, 145
 Cowley county: historic site in, noted, 123
 Cowley County Historical Society:
 museum, note on 446
 Cox, Al and George: ranchers 274
 Cox, Robert: visit to Victoria, noted . . 214
 Crabtree, Lotta: actress 201
 Crain, O. L., Parsons 446
 Crain, Mrs. Winnie, Oswego 446
 Craine, Eugene R., Hays 445
 Crandall, Prudence: article on, noted,
 —note on 219
 Crase, Mrs. Frank 111
 Crawford, Frances 249
 Crawford county: historic buildings,
 notes on 123
 Crawford County Historical Society:
 1957 meeting, note on 222
 —tour by, noted 108
 Crawshaw, Ralph, Topeka: donor 63
 Creameries, E. W. McDowell's article
 on, noted 217
 Crittenden, Col. George Bibb: note on, 399
 Cron, Frank H., El Dorado 83, 221, 445
 Crooked creek 393n
 Cuartelejo. See El Cuartelejo.
 Culbreth, Marie Antoinette 249
 Cumming, Alfred: governor of Utah
 ter. 385

Cunningham, Robert E.: book by,
 noted 447
 Cunningham Clipper: article in, noted, 213
 Curtis, Charles: home, Topeka,
 note on 170
 —note on 170
 —U. S. senator 80
 Curtis, Gen. Samuel R. 149
 Cushman, Pauline: actress 42
 Custer, Col. Brice C. W., Topeka 70, 223
 —donor 62
 Custer, Elizabeth (Mrs. George A.):
 article on, noted 329
 Custer, George Armstrong: 158, 348, 352
 —articles on, noted 107, 329
 —in Indian campaigns, 1860's 265- 267

D

Daggett, Ralph: article by, noted 218
 Dallas, Dave, Manhattan 109
 Dalton, Bob 156
 Dalton, Emmett 156
 Dalton, Grat 156
 Dalton gang: Coffeyville raid, note
 on 156, 157
 Dalzell, Mrs. Nina: article by, noted . . 329
 Danford, J. S., El Dorado 249
 Danforth, Joshua H.: Leavenworth
 const. conv. delegate 235
 Daniel, Rev. C. T., Altamont 330
 Daughters of American Colonists 66
 Daughters of 1812 66
 Daughters of the American Revolution . 66
 —Kansas Society, donor 57
 —El Cuartelejo site owned by 114
 —meeting at Shawnee Mission,
 noted 66
 Davis, Mrs. Bonnie 331
 Davis, Jefferson 340
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence 84
 Dawson, George T., Elmdale 108, 334, 446
 Dawson, John S., Topeka 82, 84
 —on executive comm., Historical So-
 ciety 54, 69
 —on nominating comm., Historical So-
 ciety 82
 Deal, Carl W.: on Historical Society
 staff 57
 Dean, Julia: actress 20, 201
 DeBar, Ben, New Orleans: theatre
 manager 201
 DeBar, Blanche: actress 42, 43, 201
 DeBar, Clementine 201
 Decatur county: Indian raid, 1878,
 notes on 123, 124
 Delahay, Mark W.: house, Leaven-
 worth, note on 147
 —photograph between 144, 145
 —note on 147
 Delaware Baptist Mission (first): note
 on 179
 Delaware Baptist Mission (second):
 note on 179
 Delaware Indians 187
 —burial ground, Wyandotte co., note
 on 180
 Delaware Indians: scouts, 1860, note
 on 395n
 Delaware Methodist Mission: note on, 180
 Delgado, Acting Asst. Surg. Jose M. . . 362
 Delia: drugstore, note on 62
 Denin, Kate: actress 33, 46, 47, 50
 201, 315, 320
 Denin, Susan: actress 19, 42, 44, 53, 201
 Denious, Jesse C., Jr., Dodge City . . . 84
 Dentler, Zoe: book on Simmons fam-
 ily by, noted 447
 Derby: articles on, noted 213
 Derby Star: articles in, noted 213

De Soto: centennial history, noted . . . 335
 Detwiler, —: temperance lecturer . . . 406, 407
 Deweyville, Clay co.: article on, noted . . . 327
 Dial telephone: early models, photographs . . . between 8, 9
 —invention and development, Emory Lindquist's article on . . . 1-8
 Diamond Springs, Morris co.: note on, Dick, George . . . 159
 Dick, George . . . 66
 Dick, Louis T., and wife, Tulsa, Okla., 66
 Dickinson county: courthouse, article on, noted . . . 107
 —historic buildings, notes on . . . 124
 —historical sketches, noted . . . 58
 —Mt. Pleasant Presbyterian church, article on, noted . . . 107
 —records microfilmed . . . 56
 Dickinson County High School, Chapman: note on . . . 124
 Dickinson County Historical Society: donor . . . 58
 —1956 meeting, note on . . . 108, 109
 Dighton *Herald*: articles in, noted . . . 215
 Dillard, Alva E., Melvern: donor . . . 62
 Dillingham, Annie E.: actress . . . 37
 Disney, Acting Asst. Surg. F. A. E. . . . 362
 Docking, Gov. George . . . 83, 110, 221, 445, 446
 Dodge City: article on, noted . . . 327
 Dodson, Acting Asst. Surg. B. E.: at Fort Riley . . . 352, 353
 Dole, William P.: comm'r. of Indian affairs . . . 400
 Doniphan: article on, noted . . . 107
 Doniphan *Constitutionalist* . . . 240
 Doniphan county: historic buildings, notes on . . . 124, 125
 —Zion Methodist Church, article on, noted . . . 107
 Donnall, Margaret O. D.: at Fort Riley . . . 341
 Donner party: in Kansas, 1846 . . . 154
 "Dora" (play): note on . . . 418
 Douglas, Stephen A. . . . 225
 Douglas county: historic sites and structures, notes on . . . 125-128, 448
 Douglass *Tribune*: article in, noted . . . 443
 Dow, Charles W.: murder, noted . . . 182
 Downer's Station, Trego co. . . . 355
 —note on . . . 174
 Downs: B. Yost's reminiscences of, noted . . . 331
 Downs *News & Times*: article in, noted . . . 331
 Doyle, W. P.: comm'r. of Indian affairs . . . 262
 Drake, Lewis, Humboldt . . . 108
 Drennan, —: hospital steward, Fort Riley . . . 345
 Drew, Asst. Surg. Fred P.: at Fort Riley . . . 346, 347
 —note on . . . 347
 Drought: of 1860, article on, noted . . . 215
 Drum creek: Osage treaty site, note on . . . 157
 Drumm, Andrew: article on, noted . . . 216
 Drussel, Albert . . . 111
 Dry Turkey creek: 1825 treaty site, note on . . . 153
 Duckwall, G. E., Abilene . . . 333
 Dull Knife's raid, 1878, notes on . . . 123, 124
 Duncan, Kunigunde (Mrs. Bliss Isely): book by, noted . . . 224
 Duncan crossing, Pawnee river: note on . . . 139, 140
 Durein, Frank . . . 109
 Durkee, Mrs. C. C., Manhattan: donor . . . 62
 Durpey and Benedict: minstrels . . . 314
 Dutch Henry's crossing, Franklin co.: notes on . . . 133, 134

E

Earhart, A. R., Topeka: donor . . . 62
 Earhart, Amelia: home, Atchison, note on . . . 116
 —photograph . . . between 144, 145
 Eastin, Lucian J.: editor . . . 18
 —Lecompton const. conv. delegate . . . 239, 241n
 —note on . . . 239
 Easton . . . 239
 —note on . . . 241
 Eayre, Lt. George . . . 263, 264
 Ebbutt, Percy G.: emigrant life account by, noted . . . 215
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin . . . 83
 Eckdall, Mrs. Ella (Funston) . . . 115
 —donor . . . 65
 Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia . . . 82, 84
 Edelblute, Henry, Riley co. . . . 439
 Editorial Assn.: ball, Topeka, 1870, noted . . . 312
 Editorial Assn., Southwest Kansas: records, noted . . . 59
 Edna Sun: article in, noted . . . 330
 Edwards, Mabel . . . 222
 Edwards, Ralph, Burdick: donor . . . 65
 Edwards county: historic site, noted . . . 128
 Edwards County Historical Society: 1957 meeting, note on . . . 333
 Eighth Kansas infantry: in 1862, note on . . . 59
 Eisenhower, Dwight D.: home, Abilene, note on . . . 124
 —photograph . . . between 144, 145
 —parents of, note on . . . 128
 Eisenhower, Mrs. Ida: K. Duncan's book on, noted . . . 224
 El Dorado *Democrat* . . . 253
 El Dorado *Free-Lance*: articles in, noted . . . 213, 214
 El Dorado oil field: Stapleton No. 1 well, note on . . . 120
 El Dorado *Republican*: notes on, 250, 253
 El Dorado *Times*: article in, noted . . . 441
 —note on . . . 250
 Eldridge, Col. Lyman, Leavenworth . . . 34
 Election: of June, 1857, notes on, 227, 228
 Elgin: article on, noted . . . 106
 Elland, W. F., Bucklin . . . 212
 Eller, Mrs. Fern: article by, noted . . . 212
 Elliott, L. R., Manhattan: account of Cherokee run by . . . 205-210
 Elliott, Leila, Coffeyville . . . 221
 Ellis, Abraham: article on, noted . . . 442
 Ellis: Walter P. Chrysler home, note on . . . 128, 129
 —photograph . . . between 144, 145
 Ellis county: court house fire, 1895, article on, noted . . . 329
 —historic buildings, notes on . . . 128-130
 —history, articles on, noted . . . 106, 107
 . . . 214, 215, 329
 —Schoenchen community, article on, noted . . . 106
 Ellsworth: Grand Central Hotel, noted . . . 130
 —historic buildings, notes on . . . 130, 131
 —I. E. Lloyd's diary of life in, 1873, noted . . . 330
 —90th-year celebration, note on . . . 334
 —note on . . . 215
 —White House Hotel, note on . . . 130
 Ellsworth county: articles on, noted . . . 330
 —Excelsior Lutheran Church, article on, noted . . . 211
 —George Jelinek's history of, noted . . . 215
 Ellsworth *Messenger*: article in, noted . . . 211, 215
 Ellsworth *Reporter*: articles in, noted . . . 330, 443

- Elmore, Rush: house, article on, noted, 444
 —Lecompton const. conv. delegate... 234n
 236- 239
 —notes on... 238
 El Quartejejo... 114
 —monument, photograph... 114
 of... *between* 144, 145
 —note on... 168
 Emerson Minstrels... 314
 Emigrant Aid Co. of Massachusetts... 186n
 Emporia: centennial, note on... 334
 —colleges, historical articles on, noted, 218
 —fire department, article on, noted... 105
 —First Christian church, articles on, noted... 105
 —First Methodist church, article on, noted... 328
 —high school, article on, noted... 328
 —historical booklet on, noted... 223
 —history, articles on, noted... 328
 —Lord Dramatic Co. at... 321, 405-409
 —population, 1870-1890, data on... 11
 —W. A. White home, note on... 153
 Emporia Gazette: articles in, noted... 105
 218, 327, 442
 —centennial articles in, noted... 328
 —notes on... 253-255
 Emporia Times: article in, noted... 442
 —centennial edition, noted... 328
 Empson, Mrs. Grover: donor... 62
 Emrie, Mrs. Kathleen, Ford... 222, 445
 English Lutheran Church: first Kansas church of, notes on... 141, 448
 Enid, Okla... 210
 Enterprise: Carry Nation's visit, article on, noted... 107
 —history, by E. W. Peterson, noted... 447
 Erickson, Anders: to Lindsborg, 1869, 1
 Erickson, Anna Maria (Mrs. Anders)... 1
 Erickson, Charles J.: account by, quoted... 2-5, 7, 8
 —biographical note... 1n
 —inventor... 1-7
 —photograph... *facing* 8
 Erickson, John: biographical note... 1n
 —inventor... 1-7
 —photograph... *facing* 8
 Ernst, Mrs. Paul, Olathe: donor... 59
 Eudora: Methodist church, article on, noted... 331
 —note on... 331
 Eudora News: centennial issue, note on... 331
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland... 82, 84
 Evans, John: governor of Colorado ter., 263
 Ewing, Cortez A. M.: note on... 281n
 —"Notes on Two Kansas Impeachments," article by... 281-297
 Ewing, Mrs. Ralph, Russell... 59
- F
- Fabrique, Dr. Andrew H.: records of, filmed... 59
 Fager, Maurice: centennial comm. chairman... 221
 Fairfield, Jack: article by, noted... 441
 Fairview: St. Paul's Lutheran Church, articles on, noted... 330
 Fairview Enterprise: article in, noted, 330
 Fall Leaf, Delaware Indian... 395n, 397, 398
 Fangro house, Shawnee: notes on... 143, 448
 Fant, William... 111
 Fargo Springs, Seward co... 286, 287
 Faringhy, Ellen (Mrs. Louis O.)... 351, 355
 Faringhy, George: quoted... 351, 352
 Faringhy, Louis O.: hospital steward, Fort Riley... 351, 352, 355, 356
 Farley, Alan W., Kansas City... 69, 70
 82, 84
 —donor... 59
 —nominated as first vice-president, Historical Society... 69
 —sheriff, K. C. posse of the Westerners, 109
 —vice-president, Historical Society... 123
 Farlington: township hall, note on... 123
 Farmers' Alliance... 286
 —W. P. Hackney's comment on... 291
 Farnsworth, Mrs. Harry B.: donor... 62
 Farrell, Francis D., Manhattan... 83
 —study of the Coffey county fair by, noted... 447
 Fashion: note on, 1857... 204
 Fauntleroy, Col. Thomas T... 338
 Faxon family, Tecumseh: article on, noted... 444
 Feeley, Dr. Newell, Topeka: donor... 62
 Feldman, Mrs. Sophia (German): recollections, noted... 330
 Feller, John... 109
 —donor... 57
 Ferguson, E. E., and wife, Valley Falls: donors... 62
 Ferris, B. E... 222
 Fickertt, Earl, Peabody: donor... 59
 Field, Lt. P. C.: at Fort Riley... 363
 Finlaw, Acting Asst. Surg. W. C.: at Fort Riley... 347
 Finley, Mrs. Dean: donor... 62
 Finney county: historic sites, notes on, 131
 Finney County Historical Society... 131
 —1957 meeting, note on... 111
 First printing press: note on... 143
 First U. S. cavalry: Co. K, in 1859, note on... 258, 259
 —in Cheyenne campaign, 1857... 384, 385
 —in Kiowa-Comanche campaign, 1860... 387-400
 —in Mormon campaign, 1858... 385
 —in Sioux campaign, 1855... 383
 —organized, 1855... 383
 First U. S. dragoons: at Fort Riley site, 1852... 338
 Fisher, Lt. Henry C.: at Fort Riley... 360
 Fitch, Acting Asst. Surg. A. L.: at Fort Riley... 356
 Flora, Snowden D.: book on hailstorms by, noted... 111
 Floyd, H. E.: article by, noted... 218
 Foch, Marshal Ferdinand... 77
 Football huddle: claimed for Olathe community... 444
 Forbes, R. I., and wife, Topeka: donors... 62
 Ford, Evelyn, Topeka... 110
 Ford, Gen. James H... 263, 264, 268
 Ford county: historic sites, notes on... 131, 132
 Ford Historical Society: 1957 meetings, notes on... 222, 445
 Foreman, Harvey: Lecompton const. conv. delegate... 239, 241
 —note on... 239
 Forman, Mrs. Lilly: article on, noted... 328, 448
 Forsyth, Bessie: marriage, noted... 358
 Forsyth, Col. James W.: at Fort Riley... 358, 361
 Fort Atkinson: note on... 131
 —records, filmed... 59
 —Sixth U. S. infantry at, noted... 59
 Fort Aubrey: note on... 138
 Fort Belmont, Woodson [not Wilson] co.: notes on... 177, 448
 "Fort Blair": blockhouse, photograph... *between* 144, 145
 Fort Cobb, I. T... 267, 276
 Fort Dodge... 277
 —buildings, notes on... 132

- Fort Harker: buildings, note on, 130, 131
 —guard house, photo-graph *between* 144, 145
 —note on 130
 Fort Hays: blockhouse, photo-graph *between* 144, 145
 —buildings, note on 129
 —note on 129
 Fort Hays-Fort Dodge trail 139
 Fort Larned 113, 217
 —abandonment of 276-280
 —aerial view of *between* 144, 145
 —buildings, described 269-272
 —cholera at, 1864 272
 —founding of 257-259
 —historic site, note on 162
 —Indian relations at 260-268
 —museum opening, note on 223
 —photograph, 1886 *facing* 272
 —Second U. S. dragoons at 398
 —sports at 275, 276
 —T. R. Davis' 1867 sketch of, *facing* 272
 —W. E. Unrau's article on 257-280
 Fort Larned Historical Society 162
 —note on 280
 —organized 223
 Fort Leavenworth 113
 —First U. S. cavalry at, 1855 383
 —historical markers at, noted 149
 —note on 148, 149
 Fort Leavenworth-Fort Sill trail 152
 "Fort Lexington": note on 119
 Fort Lyon 260
 Fort Lyon-Fort Wallace trail 137
 Fort Mann 131
 Fort Riley 113
 —cavalry school established 357, 361
 —cholera at, 1855 341-343
 —1867 351, 352
 —dispensary, 1889, photo-graph *between* 352, 353
 —early hospitals of, photographs, *facing* 352
 —hospital ambulance, 1900, photo-graph *between* 352, 353
 —hospital history to 1903, Maj. G. E. Omer, Jr.'s article on 337-367
 —hospital ward, 1900, photo-graph *facing* 336
 —note on *facing* 337
 —liquor problem, 1850's 345
 —maneuvers, 1902, note on 362
 —medical detachment, 1870, photo-graph *between* 352, 353
 —1900, photograph *between* 352, 353
 —note on 165
 —Sixth infantry at, noted 59
 —typhoid outbreak, 1903 363
 Fort Riley Historical Society 446
 Fort Riley Military Museum: opening, noted 446
 Fort Scott (military post): buildings, notes on 119
 —note on 119
 —officers' quarters, photo-graph *between* 144, 145
 Fort Scott: First Methodist church, history, noted 212
 —historic buildings, notes on 119
 —photographs *between* 144, 145
 —note on 241
 —Olympic Theatre 16
 —population, 1870-1890, data on 11
 —revival at, 1872 369, 373, 379, 381
 —theatre at, 1870, note on 315
 Fort Scott Tribune: articles in, noted 212, 441
 —microfilmed 63
 Fort Supply-Fort Dodge trail: notes on 121, 122
 "Fort Titus": note on 126
 Fort Wallace: article on, noted 332
 —cemetery, German family monument, noted 330
 —marker, photograph, *between* 144, 145
 —note on 175
 Fort Wise: Indian treaty at, 1861, note on 260
 Fort Zarah: site, note on 118
 Forwood, Bvt. Maj. William Henry: at Fort Riley 352, 353
 —biographical sketch 352
 —letter, 1868 270
 Foster, Mrs. Sharon, Ellsworth 110
 Four Houses trading post: note on 177
 Fourth of July: Ellis co. celebrations, article on, noted 329
 —territorial celebrations, article on, noted 326
 Fowler, O. S.: phrenologist 378
 Fowler, Mrs. Rufin: article on, noted, 328
 Fox, Joy 223
 —booklet by, noted 327
 Frame, Hannah: hospital matron, Fort Riley 346
 Frankfort Index: article in, noted 215
 Frankfort Town Co.: note on 215
 Franklin, Douglas co.: battles of, noted 127
 —note on 126, 127
 Franklin county: historic sites and structures, notes on 133, 134
 Frayne, Francis I.: actor 193
 Free-State meeting: Big Springs, 1857, noted 230
 "Free-Stater's 'Letters to the Editor,' A" (S. N. Wood letters, 1854), 181-190
 Freienmuth, Mrs. W. H., Tonganoxie: donor 62
 Fremont, John C.: in Kansas 179, 337
 Frick, Maj. E. B. 363
 Friends, Society of. *See* Shawnee Friends Mission.
 Friemuth, W. Hans 109
 Frisby, Mrs. B. E., Delia: donor 62
 Frizell, E. D. 279
 Frizell, E. E.: Fort Larned ranch owner 278, 279
 Frizell, Robert: owner of Fort Larned property 223
 Frizell family: ranchers 269
 "Frou Frou" (play): notes on 409, 410
 —418, 419
 Frusher, Edgar: family, article on, noted 327
 Fuchs, James R. 100
 Fulton, T. P., El Dorado 253
 Funston, Aldo, Parsons: donor 65
 Funston, Edward H.: home of, noted, 115
 Funston, Frederick: death, note on 360
 —home, notes on 115
 —photograph *facing* 144
 —*see, also*, Kansas State Historical Society: Funston Home report.
 —note on 115

G

- Gabay's Dramatic Troupe 16, 52, 203
 300
 Gabriel, Dr. Madge, Topeka: donor .. 59
 Gaffner, —: on Santa Fe trail, 1860 393
 Gaines, Charles, Chase co. 108
 Galt, Mrs. Charles: donor 57
 Gambrinus, —, Leavenworth 52
 Gard, Spencer, Iola 108, 221
 Garden City: historical markers, noted, 131
 —U. S. land office site, noted 131
 Gardner, Alexander: photograph (overland stage) by *facing* iv

- Gardner, Bertha, Wichita 222
 Gardner, Lt. Col. E. F. 363
 Gardner: articles on, noted 218, 443
 Gardner *News*: articles in, noted 218
 Garnett: Arthur Capper home, note on, 116
 ————photograph *between* 144, 145
 Garrett, Jack and Uriah 145
 Garrison, William Lloyd: note on 186n
 Garvey, Annabel: article by, noted 444
 Garvey family, Tecumseh: article on, noted 444
 Geary, Gov. John W. 226, 227
 Geddings, Acting Asst. Surg. R. M. 362
 Geisen, Rolla 222
 Geneva, Allen co.: centennial celebration, noted 445
 George, Rev. A. P., Hugoton 223
 George, Al F., Topeka: donor 62
 Gerken, Mrs. Fred: article by, noted, 215
 German, John: family, massacre, articles on, noted 330
 ————note on 150, 151
 ————monument, note on 330
 Germans: in Rice co., note on 217
 Gilbert, Eli: state rep. 283
 Gilbert, N. R. 324
 Gilchrist, H. L.: army doctor 363
 Gillett, Almerin: home, Emporia, note on 153
 Gilmore, Fannie, Leavenworth, singer, 24
 Gilson, Mrs. F. L., Emporia 222
 Girard: article on, noted 105
 ————public library, note on 215
Gray Press: article in, noted 215
 Gladstane, Mrs. Mary: actress 20, 38, 41, 44, 201
 Glandon, Mrs. Clyde E. 82
 Glasco: history, article on, noted 218
 Glasco *Sun*: articles in, noted 218
 Glenn, Frank, Kansas City, Mo. 110
 Glennan, Lt. James Denver: at Fort Riley 360
 Glunt, John: family, article on, noted, 327
 Godard, D. V.: donor 59
 Goddard, Lt. C. C.: at Fort Riley 357
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia 84
 Goodland: library, article on, noted 212
 Goodland *Daily News*: articles in, noted 330
 Goodnow, Isaac T.: home, note on 166
 ————note on 166
 Goodnow, William E.: Manhattan pioneer 9
 Gordon, Franklin, Medicine Lodge 446
 Gordo, Mike, Wichita 446
 Gosling, George, Leavenworth 19, 27
 Gove county: stage stations (1860's), notes on 135, 136, 448
 Gove County *Republican Gazette*, Gove: article in, noted 330
 Governors' residence 1915-1923: note on 170
 Grabendike, Mrs. Frank, Wichita 222
 Graham, L. L.: actor 417
 Graham, Mrs. L. L.: actress 314, 417
 Grainger, Boyne: article by, noted 214
 Grant, George: founder of Victoria 129
 ————home, notes on 130, 448
 Grant, Gen. Ulysses S. 268
 Gray, Lt. Col. Charles Carroll: at Fort Riley 356
 Gray, George A.: article by, noted 216
 Gray, Harry, Topeka 311
 Gray county: historic sites, noted 137
 Great Bend *Tribune*: articles in, noted, 106
 Greathouse, J. E. 111
 Greeley: centennial celebration, noted, ————history of, noted 327
 Greeley county: springs in, noted 137
 Green, Horace T., Topeka: donor 62
 Greene, Mrs. Lena, Arkansas City: biographical data on, noted 332
 Greensburg: hand-dug well, note on 145, 146
 Greenwood, A. B.: comm'r. of Indian affairs 258
 Grier, U. S.: article by, noted 218
 Griffing, O. D., Council Grove: donor, 66
 Griffith, George D., Hays: editor 106
 Grinnell Springs stage station: note on, 136
 Grinter, Moses: house, note on 178, 179
 ————photograph *facing* 145
 ————note on 178
 Groom, Ray W., Council Grove: donor, 62
 Grover, Nellie: actress 195
 Grubaugh, Mrs. J. L., Council Grove: donor 62
 Guilfoyle, William, Abilene 333
 Guise, Mrs. Byron E.: article by, noted, 218
 Guthrie (Okla.) *Daily Leader*: '89er edition, 1957, note on 220
 Guy, Hinkle M., Jr.: donor 61
 Guy, Lillian S.: memorial collection, noted 61
- ## H
- Hackney, William P.: lawyer for T. Botkin 291, 297
 Haddam: stage station, note on 176
 Hadley, Loren: heirs of, donors 62
 Hailstorms: S. D. Flora's book on, noted 111
 Haines, Joe D., Manhattan 109
 Haines, Stella B.: article by, noted 331
 Halberstadt, Ray 222
 Hall, Elder D. P., Olathe 375
 Hall, Ecile: article by, noted 214
 Hall, Fred 83
 Hall, Mrs. Fred 62
 Hall, Jacob: Santa Fe mail route chosen by 258n
 Hall, Acting Asst. Surg. L.: at Fort Riley 356
 Hall, Richard A.: biographical sketch of, noted 105
 Hall, Standish, Wichita 84
 Hall Lithographing Co., Topeka: donor, 62
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit 83
 Hamilton, William: letters, 1846, published, note on 442
 Hamilton county: historic site, note on, 138
 Hammond, Rev. Edward Payson: biographical note 368
 ————in Kansas, 1872 368-381 *passim*
 Hammond, Asst. Surg. William A.: at Fort Riley 340, 343
 ————biographical sketch 343, 344
 ————photograph *facing* 353
 Hancock, Gen. Winfield S.: 1867 Indian campaign 266, 275
 ————article on, noted 329
 Handy, Mrs. Grace: articles by, noted, 211
 Hankins, Mary, Iola 108, 221
 Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, 202, 203
 Hanover: "Days of '49" celebration, note on 334
 Hapo, Osage chief 177
 Harbinson, Asst. Surg. Thomas B.: at Fort Riley 347
 Hardy, Harry, and wife: caretakers, Shawnee Mission 67
 Harkins, D. R.: actor 43
 Harlan, Earl 333
 Harling, Pvt. Charles: at Fort Riley 344
 Harney, Bvt. Brig. Gen. William S. 383
 Harrington, Grant W. 112
 Harris, Mrs. Ruby, Wichita 446
 Harris, Stanley, Colony 108
 Harrop, Mrs. F. F., Manhattan 109
 Harshbarger, Mrs. Ira E.: donor 62

- Hartford: centennial, note on 333
 —pamphlet on, noted 334
 —high school alumni directory, noted, 334
 —note on 327
 Hartford Collegiate Institute, Hartford:
 note on 152
 Hartford Times: centennial edition,
 noted 327
 Hartsuff, Maj. Albert: at Fort Riley 356
 —biographical note 356, 357
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka 83
 Harvey, Fred: house, Leavenworth,
 note on 147
 —photograph between 144, 145
 Harvey, Gov. James H. 277
 Hashinger, Edward H. 112
 Hastings, Sherman co.: note on 443
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove 70, 83
 —on executive comm., Historical
 Society 54, 69
 —on nominating comm., Historical
 Society 82
 Haucke, Mrs. Frank 221
 Haun, —, Leavenworth. See
 Conrad and Haun.
 Haun, Elizabeth, Jetmore 327
 Haun, T. S., Jetmore 327
 Haviland: note on 212
 Haviland Journal: article in, noted 213
 —special edition, 1856, note on, 212, 213
 Hawkes, A. K.: a Hartford founder 327
 Haworth, B. Smith: Ottawa Univ. history
 by, noted 224
 Hay, Mrs. Bert, Holton: donor 59, 62
 Hayden, Capt. Julius 393
 Hayes, Josiah: impeachment, C. A. M.
 Ewing's article on 281-285
 "Haymeadow massacre": article on,
 noted 327
 Hays, Beatrice, Chase co. 108
 Hays, Robert Roy: state senator 290
 Hays, Seth: tavern, note on 158
 Hays, articles on, noted 215
 —fire, 1895, article on, noted 106, 107
 Hays Daily News: articles in, noted 106
 107, 214, 215, 329, 442
 Hazen, Maj. Gen. W. B. 267
 Hazlett, Mrs. Emerson L., Topeka 110
 Healey, J. R., Leavenworth: actor 34
 47, 49
 Heeney, Mrs. D. G.: article by, noted, 330
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita 84
 Heilmann, Charles E. 221
 Heintzelman, John Cranston: article
 by, noted 214
 Heitt, Curtis, Emporia: article on,
 noted 105
 Heizer, Chester C., Caldwell 221
 —donor 62
 Helena, Miss —: actress 28, 30, 31
 33, 35, 49
 Helfrich, Brace, Wichita 222
 Helm, John, Jr., Manhattan 221
 Henderson, Ettie: actress 37, 41, 42
 Henderson, Rev. I. H., Kansas City 446
 Henderson, John Dale: Lecompton
 const. conv. delegate 240
 —note on 240
 Hendrix, Mrs. Jack, Topeka: donor 62
 Hennessey, Okla. 209, 210
 Henshaw's stage station, Logan co.:
 note on 151
 Herbert, Horace: actor 417, 425, 435
 Herington: Methodist church, article
 on, noted 213
 Herington Advertiser-Times: article in,
 noted 213
 Heritage of Kansas, Emporia: buffalo
 articles in, noted 331
 —note on first issue 215
 Herndon, Walter 108
 Hershey, Mrs. Lloyd, Olathe: donor 59
 Herzog, Ellis co.: note on 129
 Hewitt, I. N. "Jibo," Medicine Lodge, 446
 Heyl, Capt. Ashton Bryant: at Fort
 Riley 361
 —note on 361
 Hi-Y movement: note on 124
 Hiawatha: article on, noted 328
 Hiawatha Daily World: article in,
 noted 330
 —centennial issues, noted 220
 Hickok, James Butler: article on,
 noted 214
 Hickory Point, battle of: note on 141
 Hicks, John Edward: articles by,
 noted 326
 Higgins, Rev. Charles, Beloit 217
 Higgins, J. Wallace, III: booklet by,
 noted 334
 Highland, Presbytery of: minutes,
 1857-1858, published 328
 Highland Junior College: Irvin Hall,
 note on 125
 —photograph between 144, 145
 —note on 125
 Highland Park, Shawnee co.: data on,
 noted 213
 Highland Vidette: article in, noted 107
 Hight, Jenny: actress 42
 Higley, Dr. Brewster: cabin, Smith co.:
 note on 173
 —photograph between 144, 145
 Hilbert, John George: biographical
 sketch, noted 334
 Hildebrand, William: Butler co.
 pioneer 214
 Hill, Dr. Gordon, and wife, Topeka:
 donors 59
 Hill, R. B.: telephony authority 6
 Hills, Thomas: hospital steward, Fort
 Riley 356
 Hillsboro Star-Journal: article in,
 noted 217
 Hinton, Emma Lodean, Kansas City:
 estate, note on 61
 Hinton, Richard J. 140
 Historic places: American Heritage
 book on, noted 335
 Historic sites and structures in Kansas:
 survey of 113, 180
 Historical and Philosophical Society of
 Kansas Territory 241
 Historical and Philosophical Society of
 Ohio, Bulletin of the: article in,
 noted 214
 History Today, London: article in,
 noted 219
 Hixon, Will, Altoona: article on,
 noted 329
 Hoard, Martha, Butler co. 445
 Hobbs, Mrs. Elwood 108
 Hodgdon, L. L.: article by, noted 214
 Hodgeman county: articles on,
 noted 216, 327
 Hodgeman County Historical Society:
 1957 meeting, note on 333
 Hodges, Frank, Olathe 83
 Hoff, Surg. John Van Rennselaer: at
 Fort Riley 359, 362, 363
 —biographical sketch 359, 360
 Hoffmeier, Charles: hospital steward,
 Fort Riley 356
 Hoffmeier, Mary (Mrs. Charles) 356
 Hohn, Gordon S.: article by, noted 218
 Hoisington, Perry M., Newton: mili-
 tary career, noted 72
 Hollenberg ranch: notes on 176, 334
 —photograph between 144, 145
 Holloway, J. N.: article by, noted 215
 Holloway, Webster W. 112
 Holmstrom, John, Manhattan 109

- Holt, Lynne: article by, noted 218
 Holton Recorder: article in, noted 220
 "Home on the Range" cabin, Smith co.: note on 173
 —photograph *between* 144, 145
 Hommes, Cpl. Jacob: at Fort Riley 341
 Hope, Clifford, Sr.: speech by, noted 111
 Hopkins, Eli: house, article on, noted 444
 Hopkins, Lt. Thomas: death, noted 76
 Horney, Mrs. C. A.: article by, noted 443
 Horse racing: Marysville area, article on, noted 218
 Horton, Maj. Samuel Miller: at Fort Riley 357
 —note on 357
 Horton: historic site in, note on 120
 Horton Headlight: articles in, noted 328, 442
 Hosmer, Jean: actress 37, 43, 51
 Hospitals. *See under* Fort Riley.
 Houlehan, Mrs. Charles 108
 Houts, Frank: family, article on, noted 326
 Howe, Adelaide, Atchison 117
 Howe, Edgar Watson: homes, Atchison, note on 116, 117
 Howe, Julia Ward: in Kansas, article on, noted 219
 Howells, William Dean: article on Kansas tour, noted 211
 Hoxie Sentinel: articles in, noted 441
 Hoyt, Mrs. Hobart, Lyons 110
 Hubbell, L. W. 333
 Hubbell, Zella Baldey: article by, noted 327
 Hudson, Edward F. 112
 Hudson, Julia and Lola: actresses 28
 Hudson, Miss Leo: actress 43, 47
 Hugoton: First Methodist church, history, noted 106, 223
 Hugoton Hermes: article in, noted 106
 Hull, Mell H.: land office official 207
 Humboldt: centennial celebration, noted 446
 —church histories, noted 441
 —history, article on, noted 441
 Humboldt Union: articles in, noted 441
 Hunt, Mrs. Gorman 109
 Hunt, Ruth E., Topeka: donor 63
 Huntington, Mrs. Amelia: article on, noted 215
 Huron Indian Cemetery, Kansas City: note on 178
 —resolution on 70
 Hutchinson: electric trolley, article on, noted 106
 —Grace Episcopal Church, history, noted 57
 —historical pictures, noted 216
 —*see, also*, South Hutchinson
 Hutchinson family: temperance workers 197
 Hutchinson News: articles in, noted 327
 —note on 216, 217
 Hutchinson News-Herald: articles in, noted 106, 216

I

- Impeachments, Kansas: C. A. M. Ewing's article on 281- 297
 Independence: history, articles on, noted 107
 Independence crossing, Big Blue river: note on 154
 Independence Daily Reporter: article in, noted 329
 —75th anniversary edition, noted 107
 Independence Reporter: articles in, noted 218, 219, 329, 442
 Indian burial pit, Saline co.: note on, 167

- Indian campaign: against Cheyenne, 1857 384, 385
 —against Kiowas and Comanches, 1860, J. E. B. Stuart's diary of, 382- 400
 —Hancock's, 1867, articles on, noted 329
 Indian depredations in Kansas: notes on 123, 128, 137, 145, 149, 150, 155, 164, 166, 167, 172, 173, 176, 261-267, 324, 330, 345
 Indian lands in Kansas: W. G. Murray's reports, noted 335, 336
 Indian material (Kansas): acquired from Beloit College Museum 61
 Indian missions. *See* Kaw Methodist Mission; Shawnee Baptist Mission; etc.
 Indian Territory: by R. E. Cunningham, note on 447
 Indian tribes: treaty with, 1865, notes on 169, 264, 265
 Indians: battles with, in Kansas, notes on 168, 172, 219
 Ingalls 137
 Ingersoll, Robert G.: letter quoted 378
 Ingle, Reece: recollections, note on 213
 Inventors of dial telephone: Emory Lindquist's article on 1- 8
 Iola: county jail, note on 115
 —photograph *facing* 144
 Iola Register: microfilmed 63
 Iowa Indians 187
 Iowa Point: note on 241
 Iowa, Sac and Fox Presbyterian Mission: note on 124, 125
 —photograph *between* 144, 145
 —William Hamilton's letters from, noted 442
 Ireland, Lt. Merritte Weber: at Fort Riley 360
 —biographical sketch 360
 Irving, C. H.: theatre manager 192
 Irving: article on, noted 327
 Irwin, Bvt. Lt. Col. Bernard John Dowling: at Fort Riley 348, 352, 355, 356, 360
 —biographical sketch 348- 351
 —photograph *facing* 353
 —report, 1858 348- 350
 Irwin, William H.: journalist 378, 380
 Irwin, Jackman and Co.: freighters 273
 Isely, Mrs. Bliss: book by, noted 224
 Isern, Mrs. Edward, Ellinwood 111
 Ives, Earl 109

J

- Jackson, G. C.: Woodson co. pioneer 212
 Jackson, Ruth: article by, noted 326
 Jackson county: Winding Vale school, article on, noted 220
 Jackson's Island (Arkansas river) 393
 Jacob family, Chase co.: article on, noted 442
 Jacobs Mound, Chase co.: article on, noted 442
 Jagger, Fred 109
 Jameson, Henry B., Abilene 221, 333
 Jardinier, Christine: article by, noted 331
 Jefferson county: courthouse, note on 140
 —historic sites and structures, notes on 140- 142
 Jelinek, George: article by, noted 215
 Jenista, Harry 221
 Jenkins, Mrs. Elsie 333
 Jenkins, William H.: Leocompton const. conv. delegate 235
 Jennison, Col. Charles R.: daughter of, an actress 34
 Jennison, Sophia: actress 34, 50
 Jetmore: articles on, noted 216, 327
 —75th anniversary, note on 333

Jetmore *Republican*: articles in,
noted 216, 327, 441
—75th anniversary edition, note on 327
Jews in Kansas: article on, noted 211
Johannsen, Robert W.: "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention" article by 225-247
—note on 225n
John Brown Memorial Park, Osawatomie: note on 156
Johnson, Beryl R. 109
Johnson, E. W., Chanute 63
Johnson, Nellie: actress 315
Johnson, Rachel: actress 41
Johnson, Swan: biographical sketch, noted 334
Johnson, Rev. Thomas 144, 183n
Johnson, Virginia L.: articles by, noted 218
Johnson, Rev. William 180
Johnson and Burt Theatrical Troupe 44, 195
Johnson county: articles on, noted, 216, 443
—historic sites and structures, notes on 142-145, 448
Johnson County Democrat, The, Olathe: article in, noted 326
—centennial edition, noted 442
Johnson County Herald, Overland Park: articles in, noted 105, 216, 443
Johnson Pioneer: 70th anniversary edition, note on 217
Johnston, Lt. Col. Joseph E. 383, 394
Jones, Alfred W.: Lecompton const. conv. delegate 240
—notes on 240, 244-247
Jones, Batt.: notes on 234, 235, 242
Jones, E. F., LaGrange: cabin, note on 154, 155
Jones, Elwood, and wife: caretakers, Kaw Mission 67
Jones, Herbert C.: Easton history by, noted 58
Jones, Horace, Lyons 84
Jones, Mrs. Jesse 109
Jones, John C. and Winoma C.: work on pioneers by, noted 58
Jones, John Tecumseh: home, note on, —photograph 134, 145
—notes on 133, 134
Jones, Lucina 222
Jones, Owen C. 112
Jones, S. H.: buffalo article by, noted 331
Jones, Samuel: Douglas co. sheriff 182
Jones, Mrs. Schuyler, Jr., Wichita 222
Jordan, Henry (Harry): actor 30, 49
Jordan, Mrs. Henry: actress 31
Jordan, Neal, Harper co.: donor 59
Jorgenson, Lloyd P.: book by, noted 112
Jumbo Springs, Greeley co. 137
Junction City: Lord Dramatic Co. at 321
—population, 1860-1890, data on 11
Junction City *Republic*: article in, noted 441
Junction City *Union*: articles in, noted 211, 443

K

Kambach, Mrs. Frank 109
Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris, Garden City 84
Kanopolis: Fort Harker buildings, notes on 130, 131
Kansas (ter.): Capitol, article on, noted 105
—note on 165
—photograph 144, 145
Kansas (state): centennial commission, names of members 221, 446
—Forestry, Fish & Game Commission, 169
—Fort Hays Kansas State College museum, article on, noted 170, 171

Kansas (state): Governor's mansion, note on 170, 171
—Governor's mansion, note on 170, 171
—Industrial Development Commission, 114
—National Guard, notes on 71, 72, 80, 81
—Teachers College, Emporia, article on, noted 218
Kansas—A History of the Jayhawk State: by W. E. Zornow, noted 335
Kansas Assn. of Teachers of History and Related Fields: 1957 meeting, note on 445
Kansas Chief, The, Troy: note on 219
—100th anniversary edition, note on 219
Kansas City: historic places, notes on, 178
—interurban to Olathe, article on, noted 326
—population, 1870-1890, data on 11
—Strawberry Hill section, article on, noted 326
—Wyandotte burial ground, resolution on 70
Kansas City *Kansan*: microfilmed 63
Kansas City, Mexico and Orient Railroad: J. W. Higgins' history of, noted 334
Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*: articles in, noted 326
Kansas City (Mo.) *Star of Empire* 240
Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*: articles in, noted 326
—for 1874, microfilmed 60
Kansas Daily Tribune, Lawrence: microfilmed 60
Kansas Falls, Geary co.: note on 389
"Kansas Historical Notes" 108-112
221-224, 333-336, 445-447
"Kansas History as Published in the Press" 105-107, 211-220
326-332, 441-444
Kansas Indian Agency, Council Grove: note on 159
Kansas Indians: treaty site, 1825, note on 153
Kansas Magazine, Manhattan: 1957 issue, note on 214
Kansas Methodist Mission. See Kaw Methodist Mission.
Kansas National Democrat, Lecompton 244, 246
Kansas-Nebraska act: R. F. Nichols' article on, noted 105, 106
Kansas Pacific railroad: train captured by Indians, note on 324
Kansas river: navigation, note on 188
Kansas Sod House, Cimarron: microfilmed 60
Kansas State Historical Society: *Annals of Kansas*, report on 64
—motion relating to 82, 83
—annual meeting, 1956, proceedings 54-84
—1957, noted 221
—archives division report, 1955-1956 56, 57
—executive committee report, 1956 69
—First Capitol report, 1955-1956 65
—Funston Home report, 1956 65
—*Kansas Historical Quarterly, The*: report on, 1955-1956 64
—Kaw Mission report, 1955-1956 65, 66
—library, books added to, 1955-1956, listed 85-103
—report, 1955, 1956 57, 58
—manuscript division report, 1955-1956 58-60
—microfilm division report, 1955-1956 60
—*Mirror*, report on, 1956 64, 65
—Mitchell bequest, report on 66
—museum report, 1955-1956 60-62

- Kansas State Historical Society: newspaper and census divisions report, 1955-1956 . . . 62, 63
 —nominating committee report, 1956, 69
 —pictures and maps, report 1955-1956, 63
 —publications report, 1955-1956, 64, 65
 —research subjects, 1955-1956 . . . 63, 64
 —secretary's report, 1955-1956 . . . 54, 67
 —Shawnee Mission report, 1955-1956, 66
 —treasurer's report, 1955-1956 . . . 67-69
Kansas Tribune, Lawrence: note on . . . 181
Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth . . . 239
Kansas News, The, Emporia: note on . . . 328
 Karns-Newman, Mrs. Tillie, Arkansas City . . . 110
 Kaw Methodist Mission, Council Grove: note on . . . 158
 —photograph . . . between 144, 145
 —see, also, under Kansas State Historical Society.
 Kawsmouth station: Henry King's article on, noted . . . 215
 Keefer, Lt. Frank Royer: at Fort Riley . . . 360
 Keenan, Col. Pat L., Seward . . . 446
 Keim, De B. R.: book by, noted . . . 331
 Keith, A. E., Chicago: inventor . . . 4-6
 Keith, Walter, Coffeyville . . . 221
 Keller, Mrs. Daisy, Sapulpa, Okla.: donor . . . 62
 Kelley, Rev. —, Emporia . . . 406-408
 Kelley, Charles A., and wife, Topeka: donors . . . 62
 Kelley, Jim and Pat, Topeka . . . 372
 Kelly, J. W. . . . 109
 Kennedy, Lt. James M.: at Fort Riley, 361
 Kent, —: actor . . . 27
 Kent, Imogin: actress . . . 27, 315
 Ketcham, H. T.: at Fort Larned . . . 272
 Key, Thomas Jefferson: Lecompton const. conv. delegate . . . 240
 —note on . . . 240
 Keyes, "Grandma" Sarah . . . 154
 Kickapoo Presbyterian Mission: article on, noted . . . 328
 —note on . . . 120
 Kickapoo Rangers . . . 242
 Kidder, Lt. Lyman S. . . . 172
 Kilbourne, Asst. Surg. H. S.: at Fort Riley . . . 356
 King, Clarence: article by, noted . . . 214
 King, Harry, and wife, Zarah: donors . . . 62
 King, Henry: article by, noted . . . 215
 Kingman: salt industry, article on, noted . . . 105
Kiowa County Signal, Greensburg: articles in, noted . . . 212, 214
 Kiowa Indians . . . 257, 259-261
 264, 265, 386
 —and Comanches, J. E. B. Stuart's diary of 1860 campaign against, 382-400
Kiowa News: article in, noted . . . 216
 Kipple murder case: article on, noted . . . 107
 Kirk, Frank W., Parsons . . . 221
 Kirwan, Lt. Col. John S. . . . 163
 Kiser, Glen E.: article by, noted . . . 443
 Klema, Marion, Salina . . . 221
 Klopfenstein, Carl G.: article by, noted, Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville . . . 82, 84
 Knecht, Karl K.: Eisenhower cartoons by, noted . . . 61
 Knights of Labor . . . 286
 Knott, Peter: biographical sketch, noted . . . 334
 Knouse, Charles A. . . . 223
 Knowles, Sheridan: play by, noted . . . 15, 30
 34, 41
 Koch, Mary S.: article by, noted . . . 326
 Kolarik, Manuel, Caldwell: donor . . . 62
 Kreppe family, Tecumseh: article on, noted . . . 444
 Krenger, Charles, Abilene . . . 333
 Kuykendall, James: Lecompton const. conv. delegate . . . 241n
 L
 Labette county: historic sites, notes on, 146
 —old settlers meeting, 1957, note on . . . 445, 446
 LaGrange, Marshall co.: note on . . . 154
 Lamp, Henry: hospital steward, Fort Riley . . . 346
 Land, pre-emption of: note on . . . 187n
 Landes, Fannie Johnson: booklet by, noted . . . 334
 Landes, O. B., Abilene . . . 333
 Landmarks. See Historic sites and structures . . .
 Landon, Alfred M. . . . 110
 Lane, J. M., Frankfort: article by, noted . . . 215
 Lane, Franklin co.: article on, noted . . . 105
 Lane county: pioneers, articles on, and by, noted . . . 215
 Lane County Historical Society . . . 215
 —1956 meeting, note on . . . 108
 —1957 meeting, note on . . . 222
 Lane trail: in Brown co., note on . . . 119
 Lane University: photographs . . . facing 112
 between 144, 145
 —students and faculty, 1884, photograph . . . facing 112
 Lange, Rev. F. W.: Lutheran missionary . . . 135
 Langrishe, —, and wife: actors . . . 197, 300
 Langrishe and Allen: theatre managers . . . 18, 47
 Langsdorf, Edgar . . . 108
 —asst. secretary, Historical Society . . . 67
 Larkin, Arthur, Ellsworth . . . 130
 Larkin, Mrs. Charles, Leavenworth . . . 221
 Larmer, Bud, Council Grove: donor . . . 66
 Larned, Col. Benjamin F.: fort named for . . . 259
 Larrick, John: reminiscences, and data on, noted . . . 330
 Larsen, Lucile . . . 108
 La Rue's Minstrels . . . 317
 Lastelic, Joseph A.: article by, noted . . . 326
 Lathrop, Mrs. Amy: history by, noted, 332
 Lauterbach, August, Colby . . . 446
 Lawrence: First Christian church, history by C. E. Birth, noted . . . 447
 —Frazer's Hall . . . 196, 197, 434
 —Liberty Hall . . . 196
 —Lord Dramatic Co. at . . . 306-309, 313
 314, 321, 323, 404, 405
 —Miller Hall . . . 196
 —Poole's building . . . 196
 —population, 1860-1890, data on . . . 11
 —revival at, 1872 . . . 369, 370, 372
 373, 381
 —saloons, note on . . . 196
 —theatre history to 1868 . . . 196-198
 —Trinity Episcopal parish house, notes on . . . 127, 448
Lawrence Daily Journal-World: micro-filmed . . . 63
 Leaper, Mathew (Matthew?): Indian agent . . . 262
 Leavenworth, Col. Henry . . . 339
 Leavenworth, Col. Jesse: Indian agent . . . 260, 261, 264, 265, 267
 Leavenworth: American Concert Hall . . . 24, 25, 52
 —Chaplin Opera House . . . 19, 43, 51
 —Christian church history, noted . . . 57
 —D. J. Brewer home, note on . . . 147
 —fire, 1858, note on . . . 12
 —First Presbyterian church . . . 147

- Leavenworth: First Presbyterian church, history, noted . . . 57
- Fred Harvey house, note on . . . 147
- photograph . . . *between* 144, 145
- Gambrinus saloon . . . 52
- German Theatre Hall . . . 33, 53
- Harmony Hall . . . 39
- Laing's Hall . . . 15, 317, 320
- Leavenworth Theatre . . . 41
- Lord Dramatic Co. at . . . 302-306, 315, 321-323
- Mark W. Delahay house, note on . . . 147
- photograph . . . *between* 144, 145
- Melodeon Concert Hall . . . 11, 13, 14, 24
- National Theatre, history . . . 13, 18, 23, 24, 53
- newspapers, as drama critics . . . 401-404
- Opera House, notes on . . . 15
- People's Theatre Co. . . . 34, 197
- Planters' Hotel, note on . . . 148
- photograph . . . *between* 144, 145
- population, 1860-1890, data on . . . 11
- revival at, 1872 . . . 369, 371, 373, 381
- Russell, Majors, Waddell offices, note on . . . 148
- Stockton Hall, notes on . . . 14, 19, 23, 40, 53
- theatre history, 1858-1868, J. C. Malin's article on . . . 10-53
- 1869-1871, notes on . . . 302-314, 323
- Thomas Carney house, note on . . . 147
- Turner Hall Theatre . . . 33, 53
- Union Theatre, history . . . 11-14, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 26-40, 53
- Varieties Theatre . . . 11-13
- Leavenworth county: historic buildings, notes on . . . 146-149
- Leavenworth County Historical Society: 1956 meeting, note on . . . 109
- Leavenworth Musical Assn. . . . 15
- Leavenworth Times: D. R. Anthony letters in, noted . . . 213
- microfilmed . . . 63
- Lebanon: note on . . . 218
- Lebanon Community Development Assn.: note on . . . 218
- Lebanon Times: article in, noted . . . 218
- Lecompte, Samuel D. . . . 226
- Lecompton: Constitution Hall, note on, 127
- photograph . . . *between* 144, 145
- in 1857, notes on . . . 225, 226, 228, 231, 232
- Lane University building, note on . . . 128
- photographs . . . *facing between* 144, 145
- Lecompton constitution: original document returned to Kansas, notes on . . . 244-247
- photograph of page one . . . *facing* 241
- travels of original document outlined . . . 240n
- Lecompton constitutional convention: R. W. Johanssen's article on membership of . . . 225-247
- Lecompton Union . . . 244
- Lee, Elford E.: at Fort Riley . . . 347
- Lee, Mary: hospital matron, Fort Riley, 347
- Lee, Lt. Col. Robert E. . . . 386
- Lee, Lt. William Fitzhugh: note on . . . 391
- Lee, Mrs. William Fitzhugh: at Camp Alert . . . 391
- LeMay, Dr. Daniel: veterinary surgeon 361
- Lemert, Bernard H.: reminiscences, note on . . . 213
- Leonard, —: actor . . . 200
- Lerado community, Reno co.: articles on, noted . . . 212
- Lewis, I. N.: machine gun inventor . . . 139
- Lewis, Lt. Col. William H.: death, 1878, noted . . . 168, 219
- Lexington, Brown co.: note on . . . 119, 120
- Lia, Mrs. Eleanor . . . 66
- Lillard, T. M., Topeka . . . 84
- article by, noted . . . 444
- on executive comm., Historical Society . . . 54, 69
- on nominating comm., Historical Society . . . 82
- Lilleston, W. F., Wichita . . . 82, 84
- Lillie, Gordon William "Pawnee Bill": article on, noted . . . 332, 448
- Lincoln, Abraham: at Leavenworth, 1859, note on . . . 148
- Lincoln county: Indian raids, 1860's, note on . . . 149
- Linden, Henry, Leavenworth: actor . . . 19, 41, 42
- Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita . . . 82, 84
- "The Invention and Development of the Dial Telephone . . ." article by . . . 1-8
- note on . . . 1n
- Protestant church bibliography by, noted . . . 211
- Lindsborg: dial telephone inventors from . . . 1-8
- Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison . . . 83
- Linn county: historic sites, notes on . . . 149, 150
- history, article on, noted . . . 441
- Lisle, Dr. George: article on, noted . . . 326
- Chetopa founder . . . 220, 223
- Little, Dr. Blake, Fort Scott . . . 234
- Little, J. E. (or J. Z.P.): actor . . . 43, 197
- Little Heart, Cheyenne chief: killing of, 262
- Little Mountain, Kiowa chief . . . 387
- Livemore, Mrs. Mary A.: at Emporia, 409
- Living conditions: in 1870's and 1880's, article on, noted . . . 220
- Livingstone, Mrs. Ray . . . 108
- Lloyd, Ira E.: diary, noted . . . 330
- Loan, Gen. B. F. . . . 246
- Locke, Yankee: actor . . . 42
- Logan, Dr. C. A., Leavenworth . . . 22n
- Logan, Eliza: actress . . . 22, 30, 201
- biographical note . . . 22n
- Logan, J. Glenn . . . 109
- Logan county: historic sites, notes on . . . 150-152
- Lomax, Lt. Lunsford Lindsay: note on . . . 397
- Lone Elm camp ground: note on . . . 142
- Lone Tree massacre: note on . . . 155
- Long, Mrs. Ray . . . 331
- Long, Richard M., Wichita . . . 83
- nominated as second vice-president, Historical Society . . . 69
- second vice-president, Historical Society . . . 59
- Longren, E. J., Topeka: donor . . . 59, 82
- Loomis, Mrs. R. C. . . . 221
- Lord, James A.: actor and theatre manager . . . 10, 15, 298-323 *passim*
- Lord, Louis (Mrs. James A.): actress, 10, 15, 298, 300-319 *passim*, 405-427 *passim*
- Lord (James A.) Chicago Dramatic Co. . . . 10, 44, 196, 203
- calendar of plays, 1870-1871 . . . 437, 438
- J. C. Malin's article on . . . 401-438
- travels, 1869-1871 . . . 298-323
- Loring, Capt. Leonard Young: at Fort Riley . . . 353, 355
- biographical note . . . 355
- Lose, Harry F., Topeka . . . 82, 84
- Lost Springs, Marion co.: note on . . . 154
- Love, James E.: letters, 1862, filmed . . . 59
- Lovejoy, Rev. Elijah P.: murder, noted . . . 189n
- Lovell, Capt. Charles S.: at Fort Riley, 338
- Lovewell, Paul A. . . . 109

- Lowry, Velma E.: article by, noted . . . 218
 Lundquist, Frank A.: biographical
 notes . . . 1n, 2n
 —inventor . . . 1-3, 5-7
 —photograph . . . facing 8
 Lundquist, N. P., and wife: to Linds-
 borg, 1870 . . . 2n
 Lutheran Church: first Kansas parish,
 note on . . . 135
 Lutheran Church, English: first church,
 note on . . . 141
 Lykins, David: Lecompton const. . . 241, 242
 conv. delegate . . . 143
 Lykins, Johnston . . . 105
 Lyon county: articles on, noted . . . 105
 —early marriage in, notes . . . 152, 153
 —historic buildings, notes on . . . 442
 —schools, articles on, noted . . . 105
 —Verdigris church, article on, noted . . . 222
 Lyon County Historical Society: 1957
 meeting, note on . . . 62
 Lyons, Paul, Topeka: donor . . . 62
- M
- McAfee, Rev. J. B., Valley Falls . . . 329
 McAfferty, J. K.: actor . . . 428, 432, 436
 McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E., Hutchinson, 83
 —donor . . . 57
 Macauley, B.: actor . . . 41
 McCabe, Dr. F. S., Topeka . . . 370, 376
 McCain, James A., Manhattan . . . 83, 446
 McCampbell, C. W.: "Manhattan's
 Oldest House" article
 by . . . 9
 —note on . . . 9n
 McCarrol, Ann: at Fort Riley . . . 338, 340
 McCarter, Charles N., Wichita . . . 110
 McCarthy, Rev. —, Fort Scott . . . 380
 McColey, Oswego . . . 445
 McCollom, James P., Dodge City:
 donor . . . 59
 McComb, John: oratorical contest win-
 ner . . . 110
 McConnell, Faith: article by, noted . . . 329
 McCormick, Dr. Richard P., New
 Brunswick, N. J. . . . 244
 McCoy, Rev. Isaac . . . 66, 143
 McCune, H. W., Emporia . . . 407
 McCune: note on . . . 106
 McCune Herald: article in, noted . . . 106
 McCune Times: note on . . . 106
 McDowell, Earl W.: article on cream-
 eries by, noted . . . 217
 McEwen, Owen, Wichita . . . 222
 McFadden, —, Topeka: grocery-
 man . . . 283
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka . . . 57, 83
 McFarland, William D.: heirs of,
 donors . . . 62
 McGrew, Mrs. William E., Kansas City, 83
 McIntosh, —: justice of the peace,
 Ford co. . . . 325
 McIntyre, Lt. James B.: note on . . . 397
 McKay, Mrs. J. B., El Dorado . . . 110
 McKenzie, Clara (Mrs. John M.) . . . 356
 McKenzie, John M.: hospital steward,
 Fort Riley . . . 356
 McKown, G. W.: Lecompton const.
 conv. delegate . . . 240, 242
 McLellan, Charlotte, Topeka: article
 by, noted . . . 219
 —donor . . . 59
 McMillen, Dr. J. W., Sr.: article on,
 noted . . . 107
 McMillin, Mrs. Eugene, Lawrence . . . 110
 McNown, Ed, Great Bend: article on,
 noted . . . 106
 McPherson county: historic sites, notes
 on . . . 153, 448
 McTighe, J. T.: inventor . . . 3
- McWilliams, Mary: actress . . . 33
 Maddern, Emma and Lizzie: actresses, 42
 at Fort . . . 47, 201
 Madison, Maj. Thomas C.: at Fort
 Riley . . . 346
 —biographical note . . . 346
 Madison: article on, noted . . . 331
 Madison News: article in, noted . . . 331
 Madson, Frank, Jr.: article by, noted . . . 105
 Mails, John: Manhattan pioneer . . . 9
 Malin, James C., Lawrence . . . 82, 84
 —article in Wisconsin magazine by,
 noted . . . 328
 —donor . . . 59
 —notes on . . . 10n, 191n, 298n, 401n
 —"Theatre in Kansas, 1858-
 1868" article by . . . 10- 53
 191- 203
 —"Traveling Theatre in Kan-
 sas" article by . . . 298- 323
 401- 438
 Malone, James, Gen. . . . 83
 Manhattan: Butterfield house, notes
 on . . . 9, 165
 —photograph . . . facing 9
 —Congregational church history, noted, 57
 —Goodnow house, note on . . . 166
 —oldest residence, 1957, notes on . . . 9, 165
 —photograph . . . facing 9
 —Poyntz avenue, 1860, photo-
 graph . . . between 8, 9
 —Runyon house, note on . . . 166
 —photograph . . . between 144, 145
 —traffic problem, 1859 . . . 104
 Manhattan Town Assn. . . . 9
 Mann, Miss —: actress . . . 49, 50, 299
 Mansfield, Harold: book on Boeing
 Airplane Co. by, noted . . . 112
 Marais des Cygnes massacre: note on, 150
 Maranville, Lea . . . 69, 82, 84
 Marble, George W., Fort Scott . . . 63
 Marion county: pioneers, article on,
 noted . . . 444
 Marion Hill Lutheran church: article
 on, noted . . . 211
 Marion Record-Review: article in,
 noted . . . 444
 Marrs, Isaac: soldier, at Fort Larned . . . 262
 Marshall, Frank J.: claim against Paw-
 nees, noted . . . 60
 Marshall, Mrs. George, Basehor . . . 110
 Marshall, George S. . . . 109
 Marshall, Joseph, Topeka: architect . . . 129
 Marshall county: historic sites, notes
 on . . . 154
 Martin, Charles I., Fort Scott: mili-
 tary career, noted . . . 71, 81
 Martin, John A.: home, Atchison, note
 on . . . 117
 Martin, John W.: Lecompton const.
 conv. delegate . . . 242
 Martin, Mrs. Thomas, Highland . . . 446
 Martindale, Mrs. Myrta: articles by,
 noted . . . 331
 Marysville: articles on, noted . . . 218
 —note on . . . 241
 Marysville Advocate: articles in, noted, 218
 Masterson, Bat: review of R. O'Con-
 nor's book on, noted . . . 326
 Mathews, Cecil . . . 333
 Mathews, John: trading post, note on, 146
 Mathews, William: Lecompton const.
 conv. delegate . . . 234n
 Matson, Simon E.: articles by, noted, 219
 Mattes, Merrill J. . . . 279
 Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander, To-
 peka . . . 82, 84
 Meade county: historic site, note on . . . 155
 Meader, E. L., Wichita . . . 222
 Means, Hugh, Lawrence . . . 84

- Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg 81, 83
 —editor 64
 Medicine: in Chicago, T. N. Bonner's
 book on, noted 112
 Medicine Lodge: Carry Nation home,
 note on 117
 Medicine Lodge peace treaty:
 notes on 117, 266
 —site, note on 118
 Meeker, Jotham 143
 —and wife, burial place, noted 133
 Mellinger, Sam 222
 Melville, Emilie: actress 43
 Mendenhall, Richard 184
 Menninger, Dr. Karl A., Topeka 82
 — 84, 110
 —donor 59
 Meredith, Joseph: hospital steward,
 Fort Riley 356
 Mering, Novma, Great Bend 446
 Merrill, Lt. Lewis: notes on 392, 393, 398
 Meserole, Harrison T.: article by,
 noted 211
 Metcalf, Wilder S., Lawrence: military
 career, noted 71
 Methodist churches of central Kansas:
 histories, noted 57
 Methodist Episcopal Church, South 183n
 —see, also, Delaware Methodist Mis-
 sion; Kaw Methodist Mission; Shaw-
 nee Methodist Mission.
 Meuse-Argonne battle area 77, 78
 Meyer, Surg. Albert J. 346
 Meyer, Mrs. Harry 108
 Meyer, Ruth: article by, noted 106
 Meyers, L. F., Dodge City 446
 Miami county: historic sites, notes on 155
 Mickel, W. L.: hotel, Waterloo, note
 on 152, 153
 Millbrook, Mrs. Minnie Dubbs: Ness
 county history by, noted 58
 Miller, Dorothy, White City: donor 65
 Miller, Edward: killed by Indians,
 1864, article on, noted 106
 Miller, Mrs. Frank, Topeka: donor 62
 Miller, John, Topeka: donor 62
 Miller, Karl 67, 70, 82, 84
 Miller, Larry, Topeka 221
 Miller, Mrs. Leonard 333
 Miller, Mary: at Fort Riley 343
 Miller, Nyle H., Topeka 83, 221
 —secretary, Historical Society 67
 —talk by, noted 222
 Miller, Mrs. Pearl Christ 108
 Miller, Robert C.: Indian agent 386, 387
 Miller, S. F.: article by, noted 329
 Miller, Sol., Troy: article on, noted 219
 —autobiography, noted 219
 Miller family, Mulberry: article on,
 noted 105
 Mills, Maj. Madison: at Fort
 Riley 340, 346
 —biographical note 346
 Mills, Theodore, Topeka 375
 —quoted 376
 Mills, Mrs. W. M. 109
 Mills Dramatic Co. 315, 316, 320
 Mine Creek, battle of: note on 149, 150
 Mining. See Salt mining.
 Mission Neosho: note on 160
 Mississippi Valley Historical Review,
 The: article in, noted 106
 Missouri Pacific railroad: book on
 towns and states, noted 111, 112
 Missouri river: first bridge, noted 203
 Missouri River railroad 202
 Missouri Valley Farmer 444
 Missouri Valley railroad 202
 Mitchell, Rev. D. P., Topeka 376
 Mitchell, Miss E.: actress 46
 Mitchell, William: monument in mem-
 ory of, note on 66
 Mitchell, William I.: bequest by, note
 on 66
 Modern Light, The, Columbus: articles
 in, noted 217
 Molesworth, Leola: article by, noted 443
 Monks, Benedictine: book on, noted 335
 Montgomery, John, Junction City 221
 Montgomery, Gen. Richard M.: article
 on, noted 329
 —county named for, noted 326, 328
 Montgomery, W. A.: newspaperman 215
 Montgomery, Maj. William R.: at Fort
 Riley 340, 343
 —court-martialed 341
 Montgomery county: historic sites,
 notes on 156, 157
 —name, article on, noted 326
 Monument Rocks, Gove co. 136
 Monument station, Gove co.: note on 136
 Monument station, Logan co.: note on 151
 Moody, Capt. Sargent 276
 Mooney, Volney P.: comments on T. B.
 Murdock 250-252
 Moore, Bessie E., Wakarusa 59
 Moore, Mrs. Cecil 223
 —booklet by, noted 327
 Moore, Howard, Abilene: articles by,
 noted 107, 219
 Moore, Hugh M.: Lecompton const.
 conv. delegate 238, 239
 Moore, Ray, Atwood: article by, noted 213
 Moore, Russell, Wichita 82, 84
 "Mormons, The" (play): note on 420
 Morphy, W. N. 324, 325
 Morris, Warren 222
 Morris county: historic sites and struc-
 tures 157-159
 —Marion Hill Lutheran church, article
 on, noted 211
 Morris family, Tecumseh: article on,
 noted 444
 Morrison, Frank R., Spring Hill: ar-
 ticle on, noted 330
 Morrow, Dave: article on, noted 214, 215
 Morrow, John: biographical sketch of,
 noted 105
 Morse, Mrs. J. H., Mound City 59
 Mosher, Orville Watson 82, 222
 Motz, Frank, Hays 82, 84
 Mound City Republic: article in, noted 331
 Mound Valley: Times-Journal, article
 in, noted 330
 Mount Mitchell, Wabaunsee co. 175
 —monument placed on 66
 Mudge, Henry S.: note on 441, 442
 Mudge ranch, Hodgeman co.: article
 on, noted 441
 Muecke, Joseph B.: pamphlet by,
 noted 223
 Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita 83
 Mulberry: Miller home, note on 105
 Mulberry creek 393
 Mull, Mrs. R. G., Sr. 108
 Mulroy, H. C., and wife, Topeka:
 donors 62
 Munsell, Mrs. F. E., Herington: ar-
 ticle by, noted 213
 Munsell, Lelia: articles by, noted 214, 326
 Murdock, Ellina: daughter of
 Thomas B. 249
 Murdock, Marshall 249
 Murdock, Mary Alice: daughter of
 Thomas B. 249
 Murdock, Roland 249
 Murdock, Thomas Benton: photo-
 graph facing 256
 —R. A. Clymer's article on 248-252
 Murphy, Dorothy, Caldwell: donor 59

Overend, Mrs. Harry, Wichita	222
Overland Park: articles on, noted	105
Overland stage: 1867 Gardner photograph of	<i>facings</i> iv
Owen, Arthur K., Topeka	84
Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence	84
Owen, Jennie Small: annalist	64, 67, 81, 83
—articles by, noted	326
—donor	59
—retirement, noted	64
Owen, Lucile	222
Owens, Estell Arthur: reminiscences, noted	218
Oxford: schools, article on, noted	220
Oxford Register: article in, noted	220

P

Pabst, Mrs. L. L.: reminiscences, noted	58
Pacific railroad	203
Packard, Augustus: marriage, noted	107
Padilla, Father Juan de: monuments to, noted	164
—note on	164
Palmer, Theodore D.: reminiscences, noted	218
Palmetto: note on	241
Pannkuk, Mrs. Ben: donor	59
Pantle, Alberta: librarian, Historical Society	57, 67, 85
Paola: note on	241
—revival at, 1872	369
Pardey, George: actor	200
Parmeter, Capt. —: at Fort Larned	264
Parrott, Marcus J.	229
Pate, Henry Clay	126
Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Sublette	84
Patterson, Mrs. Harold, Ford	222, 445
Pattison, Mrs. Mary Alice (Murdock)	249
Pauley, —, Topeka: saloon keeper	372
Paulson, Rev. —, Fort Scott	380
Pawnee (town)	340, 341
Pawnee Town Site Assn.	340, 341, 346
Pawnee Bill. See Lillie, Gordon W.	
Pawnee capitol: note on	165
—photograph	<i>between</i> 144, 145
Pawnee Fork	389, 392
—Bell's bridge, note on	391
—camp on, 1859	258, 259
Pawnee Indians: village, Republic co., note on	164
Pawnee river: Duncan crossing, note on	139, 140
Pawnee Rock: note on	118, 119
—photograph	<i>between</i> 144, 145
Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Assn.	278
Pawpaws: article on W. A. White's praise of, noted	326
Payne, David L.: homestead location, notes on	139, 216
Payne, Elisha M.	443
Payne, Lt. John A.: at Fort Larned	277
Payne, Mrs. Loyal F., Manhattan	84
—donor	63
Peak family: Swiss bell ringers	197, 314
Pearson, Carl O., Lindsborg	3
Peck, Maj. Robert Gray	79-81
"Peck's Bad Boys": address by Wilford Riegler	70-81
Pegram, Lt. John: note on	398
Peiser, Mrs. E. E., Mission	446
Pence, Mrs. Ruth: article by, noted	212
Pendergrast, —, Leavenworth	24
Pennoyer, —, actor	21
Pennoyer, Mrs. M. A.: actress	21, 42, 43, 197, 201
Pershing, Gen. John J.	74-76
Peters, Lorin T., Ness City	333
Peterson, Mrs. E. C.	333
Peterson, Mrs. Edna, Chanute	110
Peterson, Ellen Welander: history of Enterprise by, noted	447
Peterson, Mrs. Gail French: donor	62
Petrie, Bruce, Wichita	222
Pettit, Mrs. Frank: donor	61
Pettyjohn, Lura: article by, noted	331
Pfuetze, Carl, Manhattan	109
Philip, Jennie A. (Mrs. W. D.), Hays: estate of, donor	59
—note on	54
Phillip, Ward R., Brownell: donor	62
Phillips, Dr. Samuel: at Fort Riley	342
Phillips, William: newspaperman	230
Phillips, William Addison: note on	390
Phoebus, The, Hutchinson: issues of, given Historical Society	63
Photographs: by William S. Prettyman, noted	447
Piazzek, J. M., Valley Falls: mill, note on	141
Pike, Gen. Albert	261
Pike, Zebulon: expedition, article on, noted	217
Pike-Pawnee village: article on location of, noted	217
—note on	164
Pinquard, Surg. Joseph	363
Pittsburg: First Baptist church, article on, noted	331
—First Christian church, article on, noted	105
Pittsburg Headlight: articles in, noted	105, 444
Pittsburg Sun: articles in, noted	220, 444
Plains, The, Fort Larned: note on	273
—page from, reproduced	<i>facings</i> 273
Platte County (Mo.) Self-Defensive Assn.	242
Plattner, Addie (Mrs. I. L.), Ford	222, 445
Playter, Franklin: home, note on	123
Pleasanton, Gen. Alfred	149
Plumb, Preston B.	277
—article on, noted	328
—comment on A. W. Jones quoted	245
—quoted, 1857	230, 232
Plunkett, Annie	300
Plunkett, Blanche	300
Plunkett, Carrie (Mrs. Charles)	300
Plunkett, Charles	300
Plunkett, Clara	300
Plunkett family: actors	300
Plymouth, Brown co.: note on	119
Plymouth, Lyon co.: articles on, noted	105
—school, article on, noted	442
Poe, Asst. Surg. —: at Fort Riley	362
Poindexter, Capt. Jefferson: at Fort Riley	361
Point of Rocks, Morton co.	113
—note on	160
—photograph	<i>between</i> 144, 145
Pollock, Acting Asst. Surg. Irving J.: at Fort Riley	347
Pomeroy, Samuel C.	116
Pond Creek, Okla.	209
Pond Creek stage station, Wallace co.: note on	176
—photograph	<i>between</i> 144, 145
Pony Express: article on, noted	216
—Hollenberg ranch station, note on	176
—photograph	<i>between</i> 144, 145
Pope, Maj. Gen. John	268, 276, 277
Population statistics: of Kansas towns, 1860-1890	11
Post and Rogers: drama company	316
Pottawatomie Baptist Mission	317, 320
—article on, noted	114
—note on	219
—photograph	171, 172
Pottawatomie county: pioneers, articles on, noted	<i>between</i> 144, 145

- Pottawatomie Indian Agency, St. Marys: note on . . . 163
Pottawatomie massacre, 1856: note on, —location of . . . 133, 134
Powell, Capt. Junius L.: at Fort Riley . . . 361, 362
Powers, Bill . . . 156
Pozzoni, Carlotta: actress . . . 37, 41
Prairie Grove (battlefield), Ark.: note on . . . 111
Pratt, Rev. John G. . . . 179
Pratt, Sgt. McKinley, Emporia: death, noted . . . 76
Pratt county: county seat war, article on, noted . . . 443
Pratt *Daily Tribune*: third *Pride* edition, noted . . . 105
Presbyterian Church: Nebraska Presbytery and Presbytery of Highland, note on . . . 328
—see, also, Iowa, Sac and Fox Presbyterian Mission; Kickapoo Presbyterian Mission; Mission Neosho.
Preston, May: actress . . . 315
Prettyman, William S.: photographs by, noted . . . 447
Price, Fannie: actress . . . 42
Price, John M., Atchison . . . 191, 192
Price, Gen. Sterling . . . 149
Price, raid scrip . . . 282
Printing press, first: note on . . . 143
Proctor, Joseph: actor . . . 43
Proctor, Lotta: actress . . . 43
Protection *Post*: article in, noted . . . 328
Protestant Church in Kansas: an Annotated Bibliography: by Dr. Emory K. Lindquist, noted . . . 211
Prouty, S. S. . . . 423, 432
Punished Woman Creek, battle of, 1878: article on, noted . . . 219
Purdum, B. W., Topeka: donor . . . 62
Purkins, G. W., Leavenworth . . . 21
- Q
- Quail, Mildred . . . 109
Quantrell, William C. . . . 442
Quartelejo. See El Quartelejo.
Quindaro: note on . . . 178
Quinius, Herman M., Wichita . . . 222
Quinton, Lt. William W.: at Fort Riley . . . 361
Quiring, William, Wichita . . . 222
Quivira Indians: village site, note on, 164
- R
- Railroad train: captured by Indians . . 324
Railroads: first lines in Kansas, notes on . . . 202, 203
Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, Boston . . . 334
Randall, Wayne, Osage City . . . 110
Randolph, John W.: Lecompton const. conv. delegate . . . 241
Randolph: newspaper history, article on, noted . . . 328
Randolph *Echo* . . . 328
Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence . . . 70, 82, 84
Rankin, Mrs. Ruth Vawter, Wichita . . 110
Raser, Margaret: articles by, noted . . 216
Rattlesnake creek, Stafford co. . . . 392*n*
Ravanna, Finney co.: note on . . . 131
Rawlins county: school districts, article on, noted . . . 213
Raymond, Lt. Thomas U.: at Fort Riley . . . 361
Raynesford, H. C., Ellis . . . 82, 84
—articles by, noted . . . 329
Records management: state conference, 1956, note on . . . 56
Redbud trees: W. A. White's praise of, noted . . . 326
Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons . . . 82, 84
Reed, Jim, Topeka . . . 110, 221
Reeder, Andrew H.: territorial governor . . . 340
Reeve, Chet . . . 111
Reid, Samuel G.: Lecompton const. conv. delegate . . . 240
—quoted . . . 231
Remsburg, Charles: article by, noted . 106
Reno county: Lerado community, articles on, noted . . . 212
Revel, Marietta: actress . . . 42
Revival: of 1872, W. E. Berger's article on . . . 368-381
Reynolds, Rev. Charles: chaplain, Fort Riley . . . 351, 352
Reynolds, Surg. F. P. . . . 363
Reynolds, Leon: article by, noted . . . 218
Rice, Harvey D.: a Hartford founder, 327
Rich, Lee, Junction City . . . 446
"Richard III" (play): comments on Lord Co. presentation of . . . 421-424
Richards, Walter M., Emporia . . . 84
Richardson, Mrs. Myrtle H. . . . 333
Richmond, Robert W.: archivist, Historical Society . . . 67
—editor, S. N. Wood letters . . . 181-190
Richmond, Mrs. Robert W., Topeka: donor . . . 62
Richmond, Nemaha co.: note on . . . 241
Ridgely, Asst. Surg. Aquila Talbot: note on . . . 340
Ridpath, Dee: article by, noted . . . 105
Rieke, Mrs. Louis . . . 108
Riegler, Wilford, Emporia . . . 84
—"Peck's Bad Boys," address by . . . 70-81
—president, Historical Society . . . 54, 67, 69, 83
Riley, Maj. Gen. Bennet . . . 145, 337, 339
—biographical note . . . 339
Riley county: historic buildings, notes on . . . 166, 167
Riley County Historical Society: museum opening, noted . . . 222
—1956 meeting, note on . . . 109
Riordan, T. T., Solomon . . . 221
Rively, M. Pierce: Lecompton const. conv. delegate . . . 241
—note on . . . 241
Robbins, Richard W., Pratt . . . 84
Roberts, Rev. G. Harold, Atchison . . . 221
—article by, noted . . . 326
—donor . . . 57
Robinson, Charles . . . 178
—home, note on . . . 127
—note on . . . 127
Robinson, Mrs. Hazel: article by, noted . . . 331
Robinson, W. Stitt: editor of J. E. B. Stuart diary of 1860 . . . 382-400
—note on . . . 382*n*
Robinson: articles on, noted . . . 331
Robinson *Index*: articles in, noted . . . 331
Robson, Stuart: actor . . . 43
Roche, Frank: actor . . . 33, 200
Rocky Mountain Fur Co. . . . 337
Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan . . . 82, 84, 109
Rogers, —: actor . . . 34
Rogers, Felix: actor . . . 314
Rogers, J. H.: actor . . . 200
Rogler, Henry, Matfield Green . . . 108
— . . . 334, 446
Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green . . . 83
Rome, Ellis co.: article on, noted . . . 106
Rooney, Mrs. Edward, Topeka: donor . 59
Root, Elihu: camp at Fort Riley named for . . . 362
Root, Frank A. . . . 331
Root, Julien V., Boise, Idaho: donor . . 59

Rose, O. C.: Woodson co. pioneer . . . 212
 Rost, F. J., Topeka . . . 109, 446
 Roulier, Leon N., Colby . . . 446
 Rowe, Fayette, Columbus . . . 221
 Roy, Fred, Wilsey: donor . . . 65
 Rozar, Lily B.: articles by, noted . . . 219
 . . . 442, 443
 Ruff, Mrs. Charles F. . . . 392
 Ruggles school, Lyon co.: article on,
 noted . . . 442
 Runnymede: note on . . . 138
 Runyon, Damon: birthplace, note on,
 —photograph . . . between 144, 145
 Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville . . . 84
 Ruppenthal, Jacob C., Russell . . . 83
 —donor . . . 59
 Rush, Cecile: actress . . . 33, 34, 37, 42
 . . . 43, 46, 47, 201
 Russell, Mrs. A. R., Clay co.: article
 by, noted . . . 216
 Russell: First Congregational church
 records, filmed . . . 59
 Russell county: historic sites, notes
 on . . . 166, 167
 —Kit's Fork Indian raid, note on, 166, 167
 Russell, Majors and Waddell:
 freighters . . . 273, 340
 —Leavenworth offices, note on . . . 148
 Russell Springs stage station, Logan
 co.: note on . . . 151
 Rust, Mrs. Lucile, Manhattan . . . 110
 Rutgers University: Leecompton Con-
 stitution held by . . . 244
 Ryman, John, Dunlap: donor . . . 65

S

Sabin, Dr. Jeremiah: at Fort Riley . . . 347
 Sackett, Dr. S. J.: talk by, noted . . . 222
 Sage and Jackson, Pawnee co. . . . 278
 St. Benedict's Abbey: history, by
 Peter Beckman, noted . . . 335
 St. Benedict's College: articles on,
 noted . . . 332
 —old Priory, note on . . . 117
 St. Cloud: note on, 1860 . . . 390
 St. Francis: articles on, noted . . . 219
 St. Francis *Herald*: articles in, noted, 219
 St. Jacob's Well, Clark co.: note
 on . . . 121, 122
 St. John, Claude J.: biographical sketch
 of, noted . . . 105
 St. John, Silas: ordeal of, 1853, 348-350
 St. Joseph, Mo.: Smith Theatre . . . 12
 St. Joseph (Mo.) Theatre . . . 16
 St. Marys: Pottawatomie Agency
 building, note on . . . 163
 St. Mihiel, France: battle area . . . 76, 77
 St. Paul, Neosho co. . . . 161
 St. Vrain, Col. Ceran . . . 397
 Salina: note on, 1860 . . . 390
 —population, 1870-1890, data on . . . 11
 Saline county: Indian burial pit, note
 on . . . 167
 Saline river . . . 390
 Salt mining: in Kingman area, article
 on, noted . . . 105
 Salt well, first: note on . . . 163, 164
 Santa Fe, Haskell co.: note on . . . 139
 Santa Fe trail . . . 337
 —Arkansas river crossings, notes
 on . . . 131, 137
 —article on, noted . . . 444
 —historic sites, notes on . . . 118, 119, 128
 . . . 131, 132, 137, 138, 142
 . . . 145, 154, 157-162
 —junction with Oregon trail, note on . . . 142
 —note on, 1860 . . . 391
 —remains, west of Dodge City, notes
 on . . . 113, 132
 —photograph . . . between 144, 145

Sarcoxie, Delaware Indian . . . 395n
 Sarcoxie spring . . . 398
 Satanta, Kiowa chief . . . 266, 275
 Satsuma's Royal Japanese Troupe . . . 315
 Sawyer, Joseph O.: at Fort Riley . . . 341
 Scheller, Mme. —: actress . . . 44
 Schenck, Leland, Topeka . . . 63
 Schenck, Mrs. Leland, Topeka: donor, 59
 Schenck, Lena Baxter: article by,
 noted . . . 219
 Schoenchen, Ellis co.: article on,
 noted . . . 106
 Schroeder, Byron . . . 109
 Schweitzer, Wilma: article by, noted, 329
 Scott, Angelo, Iola . . . 63, 84, 108, 221
 Scott, Charles A., Westmoreland: arti-
 cles by, noted . . . 211
 Scott, D. L., and wife: actors . . . 18
 Scott, D. W.: on Santa Fe trail,
 1860 . . . 392, 393
 Scott, John: caretaker, First Capitol . . . 67
 Scott City: *News Chronicle*, articles in,
 noted . . . 107, 219
 Scott City & Northern Railway: article
 on, noted . . . 107
 Scott county: Cheyenne-U. S. battle
 canyon, note on . . . 168
 —historic sites, notes on . . . 168, 169
 —Indian battle, 1878, article on, noted, 219
 —School Dist. 37, article on, noted . . . 107
 Scott County State Park . . . 114
 —El Quartejejo monument, photo-
 graph . . . between 144, 145
 —Steele house, note on . . . 169
 Scrip . . . 232
 Sears, Burton P. . . . 112
 Seaton, Richard H.: article by, noted, 443
 Second U. S. cavalry: notes on . . . 344, 348
 Second U. S. dragoons: at Camp Alert, 391
 —at Fort Riley . . . 344
 Second U. S. infantry: at Camp Alert, 391
 Sedan: article on, noted . . . 218
 —Baptist church, note on . . . 218, 219
 Sedgwick, Maj. John: at Fort Riley . . . 342
 —in 1857 Cheyenne campaign . . . 384
 —in 1860 Kiowa-Comanche cam-
 paign . . . 388, 389, 391, 398, 400
 Sedgwick county: Indian treaty site in,
 noted . . . 169
 —Seltzer Methodist Church, article on,
 noted . . . 443
 Settler . . . 207
 Seventh U. S. cavalry: notes on,
 1890's . . . 359
 —organization, note on . . . 348
 Severance, Mrs. A. L.: recollections,
 noted . . . 211
 Seward county: county seat fight, note
 on . . . 286, 287
 Seymour, —: actor . . . 402
 Shaffer, Sallie: article by, noted . . . 326
 Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka . . . 70, 82, 84
 Shaw, Mary: actress . . . 33, 47
 Shaw, Neosho co.: historic site, noted 160
 Shawnee: Dick Williams house, note
 on . . . 145
 —Fangro house, note on . . . 143, 448
 —historical sketch of, noted . . . 105
 Shawnee Baptist Mission . . . 184n
 —note on . . . 143
 Shawnee county: historic buildings,
 notes on . . . 170-172
 —Tecumseh township trails, article on,
 noted . . . 444
 Shawnee County Historical Society:
 1956 annual dinner, note on . . . 109
 Shawnee County Historical Society,
 Bulletin of the: articles in Apr.,
 1957, issue, noted . . . 219
 —"Highland Park" edition, noted . . . 213
 Shawnee Friends Mission . . . 184, 186
 —note on . . . 143

- Shawnee Indians: lands, note on . . . 187
 —removal from Ohio, article on, noted, 214
 Shawnee Methodist Mission, 113, 114, 183n
 —cemetery, note on . . . 144
 —note on . . . 143, 144
 —photographs . . . *between* 144, 145
 Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society . . . 66
 —1956 meeting, note on . . . 108
 Shearer, Acting Asst. Surg. M. M.: at Fort Riley . . . 356
 Sheets, Mrs. L. W.: article by, noted, 218
 Shelden, Alvah, El Dorado . . . 250
 Sheridan, Gen. Philip H. . . . 276, 277
 . . . 357, 358
 Sheridan, Logan co.: note on . . . 151, 152
 Sheridan county: Cheyenne-U. S. battle site, note on . . . 172
 —history by Mrs. P. Toothaker, noted, 441
 Sherman, "Dutch Henry": home, note on . . . 134
 Sherman, Lt. Gen. William T. . . . 267
 Sherman county: county seat fight, article on, noted . . . 330
 —Kidder massacre site, note on . . . 172, 173
 —newspapers, article on, noted . . . 330
 Sherman County Herald, Goodland: articles in, noted . . . 212, 443
 —70th anniversary edition, noted . . . 330
 Shillock, Maj. Paul: at Fort Riley, 362, 363
 Shirley, Dorothy: article by, noted . . . 332
 Sidebottom, Abbie Ruff: article by, noted . . . 327
 Sigma Nu, at Kansas University: history of, published . . . 112
 Silkville: building, photograph . . . *between* 144, 145
 —note on . . . 134
 Simerwell, Elizabeth: diaries of, filmed, 59
 Simerwell, Robert . . . 59
 Simmons, Philip and Elmira: Zoe Dentler's book on, noted . . . 447
 Simon, J. A.: actor . . . 299, 302, 304
 . . . 307-310, 312-314, 426, 428
 Simons, Dolph, Lawrence . . . 63, 83
 Simons, Asst. Surg. James: at Fort Riley . . . 340-342
 —photograph . . . *facing* 353
 Simonson, Maj. J. S. . . . 383
 Simpson, L. R.: article by, noted . . . 331
 Simson, T. W.: hospital steward . . . 340
 Sioux Indians: Kidder massacre by, note on . . . 172
 Six-Mile house, Wyandotte co.: note on . . . 178
 Sixth U. S. cavalry . . . 355
 Sixth U. S. infantry: at Fort Riley, 1853 . . . 338
 —military escort, 1829 . . . 338
 —records, 1853-1855, noted . . . 59
 Skiff and Gaylor Minstrels . . . 314
 Skinner, Jim: article by, noted . . . 106
 Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan . . . 82, 83, 109
 Slay, Mrs. Frank, Wichita . . . 222
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka . . . 84
 Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence . . . 84
 Smith, Col. Andrew J.: Seventh cavalry head . . . 348
 Smith, Benjamin H., Chetopa: note on, 107
 Smith, Byron Caldwell: award, note on . . . 111
 Smith, Mrs. George E., Topeka: donor, 62
 Smith, Gerrit: note on . . . 186n
 Smith, Mrs. Glee, Larned . . . 110
 Smith, Henry: Lecompton const. conv. delegate . . . 241
 Smith, Jacob, Topeka . . . 372
 Smith, Jedediah: site where killed, noted . . . 137
 Smith, Louis R., Topeka: donor . . . 63
 Smith, Mrs. Raymond, Parsons . . . 110
 Smith, Solon W. . . . 112
 Smith, Mrs. William L., Sarasota, Fla.: donor . . . 63
 Smith, Mrs. Yolande . . . 108
 Smith county: history, article on, noted . . . 215
 —"Home on the Range" cabin, note on . . . 173
 —photograph . . . *between* 144, 145
 Smith County Pioneer, Smith Center: article in, noted . . . 215
 Smoky Hill river . . . 389
 —forks of, note on . . . 150
 Smoky Hill trail: stage stations, Gove co., notes on . . . 135, 136
 —Logan co., notes on . . . 151, 152
 —Trego co., notes on . . . 174
 —Wallace co., notes on . . . 176
 Socolofsky, Homer E., Manhattan . . . 109
 . . . 221, 445
 —article on Capper Farm Press by, noted . . . 444
 Sod house: article on, noted . . . 329
 Sohl, Stanley D., Topeka: donor . . . 62
 —museum director, Historical Society, 67
 Solomon river . . . 390
 Somers, John G., Newton . . . 82, 84
 South Haven New Era: article in, noted . . . 330
 South Hutchinson: salt find, 1887, note on . . . 163, 164
 South Leavenworth Musical Assn. . . . 403
 Southeast Kansas: history, article on, noted . . . 220
 Southern Overland Mail Co. . . . 348
 Southgate, Asst. Surg. Robert: at Fort Riley . . . 344
 Southwest Daily Times, Liberal: articles in, noted . . . 213
 Southwest Kansas Editorial Assn.: records, noted . . . 59
 Sparks, Col. Ray G. . . . 110
 Speer, John . . . 181
 Spencer, Charles: article by, noted . . . 107
 Spencer, Selden P.: U. S. senator . . . 80
 Spring Hill: articles on, noted . . . 329
 Spring Hill New Era: articles in, noted . . . 329, 330
 Springfield, Seward co. . . . 286, 287
 Spurs, battle of the, 1859: note on . . . 140
 Squirrel, James . . . 66
 Stage line. *See* Overland stage.
 Stairrett, Louisa: article by, noted . . . 327
 Stallings, Don . . . 221
 Stanley, Henry M.: at Fort Larned . . . 275
 Stanley, William Eugene: household items of, given Historical Society . . . 62
 Stanley, Mrs. William Eugene, Wichita, donor . . . 62
 Stanton, Mrs. E. M.: article by, noted, 105
 Stanton, Frederick P. . . . 227
 Stanton county: articles on, noted . . . 217
 Stapf, Charles, Abilene . . . 333
 Starke, Mrs. Ellina (Murdock) . . . 249
 Stauffer, Oscar . . . 63
 Steamboat: *Exel* . . . 339
 —on Big creek, Ellis co., noted . . . 442
 Stearn (s), E. Norris: at Fort Riley . . . 347
 Steele, H. L., Scott co.: home, note on . . . 169
 Steele, Capt. William: notes on, 391, 400
 Steffes, Don, Abilene . . . 333
 Stephens, Kate: bequest, note on . . . 111
 Sternberg, Bvt. Maj. George Miller: at Fort Riley . . . 353
 —biographical sketch . . . 353-355
 Sternberg, Louisa Russell (Mrs. George M.): death, noted . . . 353
 Sternberg, Martha L. Pattison (Mrs. George M.) . . . 354

Stevens, J. A., Kansas City, Mo.	20
Stevens, LeRoy, Topeka: donor.	63
Stevens, Richard B., and wife: chil-	
dren of, donors.	62
Stevens county: county seat fight, arti-	
cle on, noted.	327
—records microfilmed.	56
Steward, Sarah: hospital matron, Fort	
Riley.	361
Stewart, Donald, Independence.	82, 84
Stewart, Capt. George H.: at Pawnee	
Fork.	258, 259
Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.	84
Stewart, Larry, Council Grove: donor, ..	66
Stewart, Col. Ralph.	109
Sticher, John, Topeka.	446
Still, Dr. Andrew T.: note on.	189
Stine, Daniel: article on, noted.	331
Stine, I. J., Leavenworth.	373, 379, 380
Stinson, Thomas N.: article by, noted, ..	444
—papers of, noted.	444
Stinson family, Tecumseh: article on,	
noted.	444
Stolte, Fred W., Jr.: reminiscences,	
noted.	216
Stone, Amy: actress.	51
Stone, Arthur.	111
Stone, Clifford W.	221
Stone, Harry, and Anne: actors.	33
Stone, Robert, Topeka.	83
Stoney Lonesome school, Allen co.: ..	
note on.	115
Storms. See Hailstorms.	
Stotler, Jacob.	407
Stover, Ida Elizabeth: in Lane Uni-	
versity group picture.	112
Strachan, Grace: article by, noted.	327
Strang Line (interurban): article on,	
noted.	326
Stratton, Mrs. Clif, Topeka: donor.	59
Straub, Lt. Paul F.: at Fort Riley.	361
Streeter, Floyd B.: book on Ben	
Thompson by, noted.	447
Strowger, Almon B.: inventor.	3-6
Strowger Automatic Telephone Ex-	
change Co., Chicago.	6
Stuart, Lt. James Ewell Brown.	172
—diary, 1860, edited by W. S. Robin-	
son.	382-400
—early military career, outlined.	382-388
—invention by, note on.	385
—marriage, note on.	383, 384
Stuart, James Ewell Brown, Jr.: birth,	
noted.	399
Stuart, Lewis B., St. Louis.	59
Sturgis, Capt. S. D.	388, 400
Stutzman, Mrs. Claude, Kansas City.	110
Sullivan, Mrs. H. B.	108
Sullivan, Ivan, Parsons.	446
Sully, Gen. Alfred.	267
Sumner, Col. Edwin Vose.	131
—at Fort Leavenworth.	342, 383
—campaign against Indians, 1857, note	
on.	172
—head, First U. S. cavalry.	384, 387, 388
Sumner county: historic sites, notes	
on.	173, 174
Sunderlin, Ono. V. W.	380
Swedish inventors of dial telephone:	
Emory K. Lindquist's article on.	1-8
Sweet, Annie B., Topeka: donor.	62
Switzler creek.	162
Sylvester, Louise.	316-319
—biographical data.	319

T

Tabor, Milton.	109
Tade, C. H.: article by, noted.	328
Taft, Robert: posthumous award to,	
noted.	111

Tally Springs, Montgomery co.: article	
on, noted.	443
Talmo: Methodist church, article on,	
noted.	212
—note on.	212
Taylor, Rev. E. O., Topeka.	372
Taylor, Harold O.: article by, noted.	220
—history of Weir by, noted.	444
Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.	84
Taylor, Lt. Joseph Hancock: note	
on.	390, 392
Taylor, Dr. T. B., Topeka.	375-377
—quoted.	377
Taylor, Tom: plays by, noted.	46
Taylor, Lt. W. O.: at Fort Riley.	355
Tebben, Erma Schindler: article by,	
noted.	444
Tecumseh, Indian chief: article on,	
noted.	444
Tecumseh: history, articles on, noted, ..	444
—note on.	241
Tecumseh <i>Note Book</i>	231, 240
Teed, Mrs. C. W.	333
Teeter, Mrs. Virgil, Partridge: donor.	62
Telephone, dial: early models, photo-	
graphs.	between 8, 9
—invention and development, Emory	
K. Lindquist's article on.	1-8
Templar, George, Arkansas City.	83
Temple, Oscar F.: hospital steward,	
Fort Riley.	361
Templeton, John, Leavenworth.	19
28-33, 35, 49	
"Ten Nights in a Bar Room" (play): ..	
comment on.	426, 427
TenEyck, Capt. Benjamin L.	362
Thacher, T. Dwight: quoted.	227
Thayer, Davis W.: missionary.	184n
Theatre: in Kansas, 1858-1868, J. C.	
Malin's article on.	10-53, 191-203
—traveling, in Kansas, 1869-1871,	
J. C. Malin's article on.	298-323
401-438	
Third U. S. infantry: at Fort Riley.	355
35th Division: Wilford Riegle's address	
on.	70-81
Thoes, Joseph: pioneer of Alma.	218
Thomas, Alois.	284
Thomas county: Wesley chapel, near	
Colby, article on, noted.	212
Thompson, Ben: F. B. Streeter's book	
on, noted.	447
Thompson, Frederick.	221
Thompson, Mrs. Myrtle, Ottawa co.	109
Thompson, R. L., Jr., Moran.	108, 221
Thorne, C. R.: theatre manager.	18
—and wife: actors.	23
Thorne, Emily: actress.	37
Thorne, J. C.: actor.	18
Thorne and Burt, Leavenworth:	
theatre managers.	18
Thorne family: actors.	18, 23
Tibbles, Thomas Henry: autobiog-	
raphy, note on.	335
Tiffany, Annie: actress.	404
Tiller and Toiler, <i>The Larned: Fort</i>	
Larned history in, noted.	217
Tillotson, Mrs. J. C., Norton.	110
Tillotson, Raymond, Shields.	108
Tilton, Maj. Henry Remsen: at Fort	
Riley.	356
Titus, Col. H. T.: log home, note on, ..	126
Todd, Jarrett: Lecompton const. conv.	
delegate.	242
Toevs, Waldo, Wichita.	222
Toohy, John T.: actor.	417, 427, 430
435, 436	
Toothaker, Mrs. Pearl: Sheridan co.	
history by, noted.	441

- Topeka: Costa's Opera House 432
 —First Congregational church history, noted 57
 —historic buildings, notes on 170, 171
 —history, articles on, noted 219
 —Lord Dramatic Co. at 309, 321, 324
 428-434
 —population, 1860-1890, data on 11
 —Potwin area history, noted 219
 —printing history, note on 223
 —revival at, 1872 369-373
 375-378, 381
 —Tefft House records, filmed 59
 —theatre in, 1860's, noted 196, 197
 Topeka *Daily Capital*: microfilmed 63
 Topeka—*Guide to the Capital City of Kansas*: note on 335
 Topeka Spiritualist Society 375
 Topeka Typographical Union No. 121, Torluemke, A. W., Manhattan 9
 Tornado: Ottawa-Kansas City, booklet on, noted 223
 Toulon: murder case, noted 107
 Towanda: spring near, noted 441
 Townsley, Will, Great Bend 83
 Trace, Mrs. Carl F., Topeka: donor 62
 Trading post, Mathews, Labette co.: note on 146
 Trail, Dr. E. B., Berger, Mo.: donor 59
 Train, A. T. & S. F.: photograph, 1872 facing 224
 Trego, Joseph Harrington: diaries of, filmed 59
 Trego county: stage stations, notes on 174
 Tremaine, Acting Asst. Surg. W. S.: at Fort Riley 356
 Triplett, Roger: article on Emporia by, noted 223
 Trotter, Lavina 333
 Tucking, Mrs. Charles, Valley Falls: donor 62
 Turner, J. B.: actor 41
 Turner, J. E., Caldwell 221
 Turner, James, Clyde: records of, noted 59
 Turner, L. E., Clifton: donor 59
 Turnverein: at Atchison, noted 191
 —at Leavenworth, noted 39
 Turon Press: A. B. Bradshaw's articles in, noted 212
 Turrill, Surg. Henry Stuart: at Fort Riley 361
 Tuton, Alice Belle: marriage, noted 107
 12th Tennessee cavalry: in Kansas, noted 163
- U
- Umbach, Mrs. Walter, Ford 222, 445
 Ummethun, George, Leavenworth 42
 "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (play): comment on 48-50, 424-426
 Underground railway: Jackson co. station, note on 140
 Union Pacific railroad: advertising, article on, noted 214
 —Eastern division 202
 United Brethren Church: first in Kansas, note on 126
 University of Wichita Bulletin, The: article in, noted 211
 Unrau, William E.: Fort Larned history by, note on 217
 —notes on 257n, 448
 —"The Story of Fort Larned," article by 257-280
- V
- Valentine, Harry, Clay Center 63
 Valentine, L. F.: articles by, noted 216, 327
 Valley Falls: Piazzek mill, note on 141
 —St. John's Methodist Church 141
 —St. Paul's Lutheran Church, article on, noted 329
 —note on 141
 Valley Falls *Vindicator*: articles in, noted 216, 329
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia 84
 Van Doryn, Lt. A. C.: at Fort Riley, 357
 Vanderhoof, Jack W., Salina 445
 Vanderslice, Daniel: Lecompton const. conv. delegate 239, 241
 Vang, Mrs. Mary 333
 VanLew, Anna, Axtell 213
 Van Velzer, Mrs. Lutie: reminiscences by, noted 57
 Van Wagner, Rev. —, Leavenworth, 379
 Venable-Murphy families, Tecumseh: article on, noted 444
 Verdigris river: massacre of Confederates, note on 157
 Victoria: note on 129
 —railroad depot, article on, noted 214
 —Robert Cox's visit to, noted 214
 —St. Fidelis Church, notes on 129
 130, 448
 —photograph between 144, 145
 —St. George's Church, article on, noted 214
 Viele, George: article by, noted 219
 Vinson, Mrs. Ida M., Chase co. 108
 von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton 82, 84
 Vycital, Frank 108
- W
- Wabauunsee: "Beecher Bible and Rifle" church, article on, noted 441
 —note on 175
 —photograph facing 145
 —founding of, article on, noted 326
 Wabauunsee county: history, in Alma newspaper, note on 326
 Waconda (Great Spirit) Springs: note on 156
 Wade, Mrs. Alice M., Coffeyville 221
 —article by, noted 211
 Wagon Bed Springs: note on 137
 Wakarusa river: ferry, note on 187
 Walker, Rev. F. M., Sedan 219
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton 82, 84
 Walker, Judy Ann, Topeka: donor 62
 Walker, Gov. Robert J. 229
 Walker, William: Lecompton const. conv. delegate 234n, 236, 237, 241
 —notes on 236, 237
 Walker, Capt. William S. 386, 389
 391, 396
 Wallace, John M.: Lecompton const. conv. delegate 234n
 Wallace, Ralph, Larned 268, 280
 Wallace county: articles on, noted 332
 —historic sites, notes on 175, 176
 —stage station, note on 176
 Walnut Valley Times, El Dorado 249
 Walsh, Paddy 192
 Walters, Charles F.: actor 18, 21, 23
 29-31, 33, 39, 40
 Walters, Mrs. Irene 111
 Walters, Jean Clara (Mrs. Charles F.): actress 18, 21-23, 29-38, 41-43, 47
 49, 50, 53, 193, 197, 201
 Wamego: historical booklet on, noted 111
 Wamego Reporter: article in, noted 441
 Wano Plain Dealer: note on 363
 Ward, Annie: actress 816
 Ward, Mary, Ottawa: teacher 443
 Ward, W. A., Ottawa co. 109
 Wark, George H., Caney 84
 Warner, Leslie H., Chicago 6, 7

- Warner, Mrs. W. P., Ford. 222, 445
 Washburn University: Rice Hall, note on 171
 Washington county: Immanuel Lutheran Church, article on, noted. 327
 —stage stations, notes on. 176
 Washington County (Ark.) Historical Society 111
 Waterloo: Mickel House, note on, 152, 153
 Waters, Bvt. Maj. William Elkanah: at Fort Riley 355, 356
 Wathena: centennial celebration, noted 445
 —note on 241
 Wathena Times: centennial issue, noted 441
 Watson, John: article by, noted. 105
 Watson, Mrs. L. R., Altoona: donor. 62
 Watts, Jim: article by, noted. 443
 Waysman home, Tecumseh: article on, noted 444
 Wea Indians 187, 241
 Weatherwax, Lester, Wichita 221
 Webb, James Josiah: letter, 1856, noted 59
 Webber, Asst. Surg. Henry A. 362
 Wedin, Mrs. Paul H., Wichita 110
 Weede, Dr. G. W. 222
 Weichselbaum, Theodore: sutler at Fort Larned 274
 Weir: history, by H. O. Taylor, noted, 444
 Welch, Charles, Pawnee co. 279
 Well, hand-dug, Greensburg: note on 145, 146
 Wells, J. A., Seneca, Mo.: donor. 59
 Wells, Robert, Garden City 221
 Wells, William S.: Lecompton const. conv. delegate 242
 Wellsford, Kiowa co.: article on, noted, 214
 Welsh: in Lyon county, article on, noted 328
 Wessells, Maj. Henry Walton: at Pawnee Fork, 1859. 258, 259
 —family of, at Camp Alert. 391
 —note on 391
 Western Humanities Review, Salt Lake City: article in, noted. 211
 Western Stage Co. 202
 Western Star, Coldwater: article in, noted 106
 Western Times, The, Sharon Springs: special edition, 1957, note on. 332
 Western Trail 207
 Westerner's Brand Book, The, New York: article in, noted. 330
 Westheffer, Mrs. Phoebe. 331
 Westhoff, Margaret Ann: article by, noted 329
 Westmoreland Recorder: articles in, noted 211
 Westport, Mo.: S. N. Wood's comment on, 1854 189
 Wetzel, Christian F.: home, note on. 135
 Weyss, John E.: surveyor 395
 Wheeler, Ban, Leavenworth: actor, 24, 25
 Wheeler, John J. 112
 Whiskey Lake 340
 White, Dr. Allen: R. A. Clymer's comment on 252
 White, Mary Hatten (Mrs. Allen) 252
 White, W. H., Jr., Council Grove: donor 66
 White, W. L., Emporia 153
 White, William Allen: and Henry Allen in Europe, article on, noted. 326
 —comments on T. B. Murdock. 251, 253
 —home, Emporia, note on. 142
 —J. S. Owen's articles on, noted. 326
 —photograph facing 256
 —R. A. Clymer's article on 252, 256
 —"The Story of Squa Pura" by, noted, 215
 White Church, Wyandotte co.: note on 180
 Whitehorn, Dr. Samuel: at Fort Riley, 1855 342
 Whiteside, Nellie Oder: article by, noted 213, 214
 Whitewater Independent: article in, noted 443
 Whiting, Albe Burge: autobiography, note on 219
 Whitridge, Arnold: article by, noted. 219
 Whittenhall, Capt. —: of Second Kansas cavalry 261
 Wichita: article on, noted. 218
 —"Cowtown" project, notes on. 169
 —photograph between 144, 145
 —population, 1875-1890, data on. 11
 Wichita Beacon: articles in, noted. 105
 Wichita Eagle: articles in, noted. 106
 218, 443
 Wichita & Western railroad. 145
 Wichita Historical Museum Assn.: 1957 meeting, note on. 222
 Wichita Natural Gas Co. 120
 Wilcoxson, Mrs. M. J.: lecturer. 374
 Wild Horse, Okla. 209
 Wild horse corral, Greeley co. 137
 Wilder, Daniel Webster: editor. 31
 —quoted 183
 —state auditor 282, 283
 Wildman, —, and wife: actors. 33
 Wilkins, Mrs. Adele. 108
 Willard, Mrs. Millie: actress. 324
 Williams, Archibald, Topeka 372
 Williams, Charles A., Bentley. 84
 Williams, Charles J., Topeka: donor. 62
 Williams, Dick: house, Shawnee, note on 145
 Williams, Fannie E. 222
 Williams, John, Delaware Indian 395n
 Williams, Lt. Solomon: note on. 391, 392
 Williams, W. W., Emporia 407
 Willmore, Jenny: actress. 314
 Wilson, Delaware Indian. 395n, 398
 Wilson, Bruce, Manhattan 109
 Wilson, Elton, Mound City. 446
 Wilson, Hiero: Lecompton const. conv. delegate 241
 Winfield: First Christian church, article on, noted. 329
 Winfield Courier: article in, noted. 329
 Winn, Asst. Surg. —: at Fort Riley, 362
 Winter, Lt. Francis Anderson. 360, 363
 Wintermute, Eva.: reminiscences, noted 443
 Wirth, Conrad L., Washington, D. C. 280
 Wisconsin: L. P. Jorgenson's book on public education in, noted. 112
 Wolf, Capt. Lambert: diary, noted 258, 259
 Wolfe's Camera Shop, Topeka: donor, 62
 Wolff, Mrs. Zella Lamb. 443
 Woltz, Jennie: actress. 314, 406, 417, 418, 427, 428, 435
 Womack, Rev. A. F., Winfield. 329
 Woman's Kansas Day Club: donor. 62
 —1957 meeting, note on. 110, 111
 Wood, George, Cincinnati: theatre manager 22n
 Wood, Paul B., Elmdale, 82, 108, 334, 446
 Wood, Samuel Newitt: Alliance leader, 287
 —biographical data 181, 182
 —comment on 104
 —home, Cottonwood Falls, note on. 121
 —letters, 1854, edited by R. W. Richmond 181-190
 —note on 121

- Woodhull, Lt. Col. A. A.: in
 Kansas 357, 358
 —biographical sketch 357, 358
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka 83
 Woodruff, Capt. Charles Edward: at
 Fort Riley 362
 —biographical note 362
 Woods, Rex, Arkansas City 63
 Woodson county: pioneer recollections
 of, noted 212
 —pioneers, note on 334
 Woodward, Albert G.: claim against
 Pawnees, noted 60
 Wooster, L. D., Hays 446
 World War I: 35th division, W.
 Riegle's address on 70-81
 Wounded Knee, battle of: note on 359
 Wright, John K. 271
 Wright, Gen. William M.: 35th division
 commander 72, 73
 Wulfschlegel, Charles, Topeka: donor .. 62
 Wulfschlegel, Otto J., Frankford 70
 —donor 62
 Wyandot National Cemetery: note on, 178
 Wyandotte county: historic sites and
 structures, notes on 177-180
- Wynkoop, Maj. E. W.: Indian
 agent 265, 267
- Y
- Yancey, William Lowndes, Mont-
 gomery, Ala. 238
 Yates, Abner: biographical sketch,
 noted 334
 Yates Center: F. J. Landes' history of,
 noted 334
 Yerby, William, Leavenworth 48
 Yingling, Dean, Topeka 110
 Yocemento: article on, noted 106
 Yost, Bartley: reminiscences, noted .. 331
 Young, B. F., Winfield: donor 57
 Young, Mrs. Chester, Kansas City 110
 Young, Walker 221
 Young, Willard, Council Grove: donor .. 66
- Z
- Zarah: general store, note on 62
 Zornow, William E.: *Kansas—A His-
 tory of the Jayhawk State*, by, noted, 335

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