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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

NYLE H. MILLER, Managing Editor
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Quarterly

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THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Spring 1960



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THE COVER

A portion of Front street, Dodge City, in the 1880's. "Kansas has but one Dodge City," wrote a Kinsley editor in the summer of 1878, describing it as "The Beautiful, Bibulous Babylon of the Frontier." Part of the sign of the famed Long Branch saloon shows at the right of the second-floor porch railing.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXVI

Spring, 1960

Number 1

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL

INTRODUCTION

OF the thousands of requests for information which come to the Kansas State Historical Society each year, many are for material on famous Western marshals, sheriffs, and gunmen, as well as lesser lights. Letters are received from all parts of the United States, Canada, Europe, and even Australia. Those who write are from all walks of life, and include professional writers, clerks, lawyers, factory workers, housewives, and school boys and girls.

For years James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok was their favorite. Since the coming of television, Wyatt Earp and William Barclay "Bat" Masterson have taken the ascendancy. There is no doubt that TV Westerns have been the cause of a reawakening of interest which, though it has had previous periods of activity, has never before captivated audiences so extensively. Not only have more TV Westerns been scheduled each season, but "factual" Western magazines have made their appearance. Biographies of Western personalities have been written and rewritten, and countless motion pictures have retold with variations stories that have appeared many times before.

It is unfortunate that few of the authors of these scripts, articles, and books have dug deeper than previously published works for their information. Errors, some of which may have been simple mistakes in original publications, become enriched with age and accepted as fact by latter-day writers. Too seldom is there indication that present-day authors have returned to primary source materials for their stories. In fact, it seems at times that a few deliberately reject fascinating fact for not-so-fascinating fiction.

Because of the tremendous demand for information concerning the lives of many of these Western personalities, the State Historical Society is preparing a file which will contain copies of available

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL are members of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

contemporary records on the law and lawless of several of Kansas' more famous cowtowns. Frankly, the collection is expected to reduce the outlandish number of hours members of the staff are having to spend in searching for answers to these numerous requests, many of which are submitted in detail. Also, the cream of this research is now available for publication in this and succeeding issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

Pains have been taken to see that all known contemporary records were examined from each of the towns chosen. Newspapers of the day and official city, county, and state records have been consulted. Manuscript material of the individuals concerned has also been used when available.

The compilers of this series have concentrated as much as possible on primary records. Efforts have been made to avoid undue evaluation or interpretation of the data gathered. Quoted items in most cases speak for themselves. Emphasis has naturally been given to the activities of these individuals in Kansas, although occasionally their careers outside the state receive mention.

Considering the meager material available, a project of this kind cannot be definitive. Therefore, the Society will be the first to admit that it does not have all the answers and never will, for contemporaneous information simply is not available to cover many episodes in the lives of these individuals. It is believed, however, that the following series will be the most accurate and complete chronicle yet published of many of the well-known peace officers and gun fighters of Kansas. Additional evidence of any kind will be enthusiastically received by the Society, especially if it is contemporary with the period.

Eight Kansas cowtowns were chosen for inclusion in this series. There are, of course, others which would qualify, and undoubtedly some readers will feel that the compilers have discriminated and made poor selections. Unfortunately such complaint could be made of any selection less than the whole.

The towns chosen, and their necessarily fluid end dates, are: Abilene, 1867-1871; Caldwell, 1879-1884; Dodge City, 1873-1886; Ellsworth, 1872-1875; Hays, 1869; Newton, 1871; Wichita, 1871-1875; and Hunnewell whenever appropriate information was discovered.

Of these towns, Hunnewell alone had no direct source of information available, and data had to be obtained from extra-local sources. Abilene, Caldwell, and Wichita city records were available. Copies of nearly all the commissioners' journals of the sev-

eral counties involved were consulted. Contemporary newspapers have been searched for all the communities except Hays, Hunnewell, and Newton. For the last-named towns, the Society has no newspaper files for the years concerned.

All persons found serving as police officers at any governmental level have been recorded. However, only those for whom something of special interest has been found, are given separate treatment.

In addition to lawmen, certain others who were either astraddle or outside the law were included. This latter category includes such well-known Western characters as Luke Short, Clay Allison, and John H. "Doc" Holliday. For the purposes of this list, the term "law enforcement officer" means police officer. However, when the same individuals also served in other governmental capacities, those facts occasionally have been mentioned in passing.

As work for this paper progressed interesting discrepancies appeared. The almost standard characterization presented by the movies and television was found to be highly imaginary. For instance, the classic main street chivalric engagement, known as the "quick draw," apparently was not indulged in either by lawmen or "badmen." When police officers "drew," it was to make a quick arrest without gunfire, if possible. When "badmen" resorted to gunplay, it was either deliberate, premeditated murder from a safe vantage point, or "spur of the moment" shooting caused by anger, drunkenness, or fear. It was rare indeed for principals to walk toward each other down the middle of main street at high noon in that dramatic and awe-inspiring manner so often depicted on the screen. Such show business—for real—was far too likely to be fatal, or at least damaging, to a large percentage of the participants. It was natural, then as now, for most to value their lives, so why give the other fellow an even break when he could be disposed of otherwise, with less risk?

It was curious to note, too, what deplorable marksmen many of the gunslingers sometimes were. Classic examples may be found in the Loving-Richardson duel in Dodge City and the Hickok-Coe affair in Abilene.

As one reads the sketches in this series it will be noted that nearly all the more famous police officers were, at one time or another, on the receiving end of the law. Wild Bill Hickok, Bat Masterson, Wyatt Earp, William M. Tilghman, Henry Brown, all were arrested on suspicion, or for infractions of the law in some degree. Certain other lawmen were equally at home on either

side of the fence. But this condition resulted largely as a by-product of the times and, in fairness, each of them should be judged in the light of his existing "cultural" surroundings.

Unfortunately for history, many of Kansas' better lawmen seldom receive due credit, while others bask—some undeservedly—in the warmth and glory of fame. Probably one of the finest peace officers ever to serve in Kansas was Thomas J. Smith, who was chief of police at Abilene during the cattle season of 1870. Other excellent and dedicated peace officers included Charles E. Bassett and Edward J. Masterson of Dodge City and Mike Meagher of Wichita and Caldwell. Three of these men lost their lives because they wore, or had worn, the badge.

The following pages are presented, then, in the hope that some of the inaccuracies of the present may be halted before they go orbiting into eternity, and that deserving lawmen will receive more of the appreciation that is due them. Also, may the reader have some enjoyable moments—overlooking a few items that are gruesome, of course—in reliving the days of the "wild and woolly West."

One final "moment of truth," before permitting the past to speak for itself. Stories of the prowess of Matt Dillon, famed on television and radio today, are not to be found in this compilation. "Matt Dillon, U. S. marshal, Dodge City" though he puts on a good show, simply does not exist in history.

ALLISON, CLAY

(— - —)

Much has been written in various books about Clay Allison's adventures in Dodge City but very little mention of him was found in the town's newspapers. On August 6, 1878, the *Ford County Globe* noted that "Clay Allison, one of the Allison Bros., from the Cimarron, south of Las Animas, Colorado, stopped off at Dodge last week on his way home from St. Louis. We are glad to say that Clay has about recovered from the effects of the East St. Louis scrimmage."

The *Globe*, September 10, mentioned that Allison was again in Dodge on September 5. On March 2, 1880, the *Globe* printed a letter written by Allison in which he defended his reputation and explained the "East St. Louis scrimmage":

A CARD FROM CLAY ALLISON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GLOBE:

About the 26th of July there appeared in one of the St. Louis papers an account of an altercation between myself and one Tisinger, in East St. Louis,

in which account there appeared several gross misrepresentations which I desire to contradict.

1st It was alleged that I was a murderer of fifteen men. In answer to this assertion I will say that it is entirely false, and that I stand ready at all times and places for an open inspection, and any one who wishes to learn of my past record can make inquiries of any of the leading citizens of Wayne county, Tennessee, where I was born and raised, or of officers of the late rebellion, on either side. I served in the 9th Tennessee regiment, Co. F, and the last two years of the service was a scout for Ben McCulloch and Gen. Forrest. Since the war I have resided in Mexico, Texas and Kansas, principally on the frontier, and will refer to any of the tax payers and prominent men in either of the localities where I have resided. I have at all times tried to use my influence toward protecting the property holders and substantial men of the country from thieves, outlaws and murderers, among whom I do not care to be classed.

2nd, It was also charged that I endeavored to use a gun on the occasion of the St. Louis difficulty, which is untrue, and can be proven by either Col. Hunter, of St. Louis, or the clerk of Irwin, Allen & Co. It was also stated that I got the worst of the fight. In regard to this I also refer to Col. Hunter. I do not claim to be a prize fighter, but as an evidence of the correct result of this fight I will only say that I was somewhat hurt but did not squeal, as did my three opponents.

My present residence is on the Washita in Hemphill county, Texas, where I am open for inspection and can be seen at any time.

CLAY ALLISON.

DODGE CITY, Feb. 26, 1880.

St. Louis and other papers please copy.

The final reference to Allison's being in Dodge was this short item in the *Globe*, August 17, 1880: "Clay Allison came up from the Pan Handle Sunday."

BASSETT, CHARLES E.

(—-1895)

The first sheriff of Ford county was Charles E. Bassett. Chosen at a special election June 5, 1873, he was re-elected twice and served a total of about four and one-half years.¹

In early April, 1876, young John Callaham and a stranger named Cole, who was sharing Callaham's camp on Saw Log creek some 15 miles from Dodge City, were hanged by a posse from Sumner county. The posse, pursuing horse thieves, believed that both Callaham and Cole were guilty but later events seem to indicate that John Callaham was the innocent victim of lynch law.²

R. C. Callaham, a Topeka sewing machine salesman and father of John Callaham, conferred with Gov. Thomas A. Osborn and then journeyed to Dodge. He carried with him this letter from

the governor to Sheriff Bassett and the county attorney of Ford county:

April 24[, 187]6

TO THE COUNTY ATTORNEY &
SHERIFF OF FORD COUNTY.

GENTLEMEN:—

This will be handed to you by Mr. R. C. Callaham, whose son, John F. Callaham, was executed by mob violence in your county, on the 8th inst. He visits Ford County for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of all the facts and circumstances attending the death of his son. He claims that there is no doubt of his son's innocence, and if this claim is correct the [word illegible] atrocity of the crime—an utterly law-defying one at the best—certainly demands the attention of all law-abiding people, and more especially of the officers to whom is entrusted the execution of the law and the preservation of the public peace.

I trust that you will extend to Mr. Callaham all the assistance, counsel and encouragement which it may be in your power to extend. There must be an end to mob violence in this state, and local officers exercising vigilance and energy in its suppression and punishment may rely upon the Executive for support and assistance. Let me know in what manner I can be of service in bringing to justice the perpetrators of this recent outrage, and I shall not be slow in responding to any practical suggestion. In the meantime I trust that you will do everything in your power to facilitate the inquiry which Mr. Callaham proposes to institute.

Very Respectfully,
Your Obed't Servant,
THOS. A. OSBORN.³

Shortly after Callaham's arrival in Dodge City, Sheriff Charles E. Bassett wrote to Governor Osborn and reported Callaham's findings as well as his own feelings in the matter:

SHERIFF'S OFFICE,
FORD COUNTY, KAS.,
DODGE CITY, April 28, 1876

THOS. A. OSBORN
Gov. State Kans
DEAR SIR

Mr. R. C. Calleham presented to me your letter of the 24 inst.

I gave the Gentleman all the encouragement I could but as I was ignorant of the facts in the Case, My suggestions as council could be of little benifit to him.

Through what little information I gave him and his own exertions he has ascertained the fact that his son, John Calleham, was at Dodge City, on the 3rd day of April 1876 the day on which we held our municipal election. It appears from the statements made by the Sumner County and other papers that the horses were stolen on the 30th inst., and that the parties in persuit followed the thieves a distance of 300 miles. The theory is that if the deceased John Calleham was here on the 3rd day of April that it would be physically impossible for him to have have stolen those horses. Several Citizens of good standing are willing to qualify [sic] that they spoke with him on

the 3rd of April, at Dodge City. If he was one of the thieves the time given him to travel over 300 miles of ground was 3 days from the night of the 30th of March to the morning of the 3rd of April. I do not hesitate to say that this fete could not be performed by any one horse or horseman in the time given, especially as the ground was so soft, as to leave an impression, so plain that it could be followed at a very rapid gait.

To be brief I am now of the opinion that the man was innocent of the crime alledged, and for which he has suffered death. Mr. Callehman wishes me to go to Sumner County and arrest the parties interested in the hanging, but without the assistance of the executive department I am totally unable to do anything, as I am in a poor fix financially to undertake so lengthy a Journey. And as I have to deal with men who have themselves disregarded the law, I will nesarilly have to take with me three men to assist in making those arrests. This of course will be some slight expense to the State, without which I am unable to opperate.

I hardly think it safe to entrust my business to the Sumner Co Sheriff as I think that possibly he might convey the intilegence to them and thereby give the offenders an oppertunity to escape

Yours Very
Respectfully
CHAS E. BASSETT ⁴

The financial aid which Bassett requested was not forthcoming. On May 1 Governor Osborn's secretary replied:

CHAS. E. BASSETT, ESQ.
Dodge City, Kansas.

DEAR SIR:—

The Governor directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 28th ult. Though he is decidedly anxious that the parties who illegally executed young Callaham should be brought to justice, there is no public fund from which the expense of their re-capture can be defrayed. It is the duty of the local authorities to execute the law, and the Governor hopes that the County Board will provide the necessary means.

Yours Truly,
WARD BURLINGAME,
Private Sec'y.⁵

Further research has not disclosed the outcome of the Callaham case.

Little is known of Bassett's service as sheriff of Ford county from May, 1876, until the spring of 1877, when issues of Dodge City newspapers begin to appear regularly in the State Historical Society's files. The first known newspaper item which credited Bassett with having performed an official duty was in the Dodge City *Times*, March 31, 1877:

A slight horse-thief scare prevaded this morning. From what we learn it appears that twelve horses were missed from Mr. J. W. Miller's cattle camp on Crooked yesterday. Supposing they had been stolen, the authorities were informed, and Sheriff Bassett and Marshal [Lawrence E.] Deger started out this

morning to see what they could find. About three miles west of town they discovered the horses, but no thieves were in sight.

Short items telling of Bassett going after a jewel thief, visiting Harvey county on official business, etc., appeared from time to time but apparently nothing of major importance happened which involved the sheriff of Ford county until September, 1877. On September 18 six men robbed a Union Pacific train of \$60,000 at Big Springs, Neb. It was reported that the bandits were headed south and Sheriff Bassett set out to catch them. Here is the story from the *Times*, September 29, 1877:

IN PURSUIT.

A dispatch was received by Sheriff Bassett last Wednesday from Superintendent Morse, stating that the train robbers had started south and would probably cross the A. T. & S. F. near Lakin. Accordingly Bassett, under-sheriff [William B. "Bat"] Masterson and John Webb went west on the Thursday morning train: but they heard nothing of the robbers and returned Friday morning, thinking it more likely that the robbers would cross near Dodge. A few hours before they arrived news was brought into town that five men had crossed the railroad going south about thirty miles west of here. As soon as preparations could be made, Bassett, Bat Masterson and Webb started southwest on horseback, intending to try to intercept the robbers if possible. Assistant Marshal Ed. Masterson and Deputy Sheriff [Miles] Mix went west the same day to find out what they could about the men who crossed the road. They could learn nothing of any importance except that the men had been seen on Thursday morning, but no one had taken particular notice of them. Masterson and Mix returned the same evening.

Nothing has been heard from Sheriff Bassett and his men since they started from here yesterday morning.

Quite likely the Bassett posse did not catch up with the bandits for no further word of the chase was printed.

Later, Sheriff Bassett was embarrassed by a jail break, as the Dodge City *Times* reported October 27:

OUR BIRD HAS FLOWN.

FORD COUNTY'S ONLY JAIL BIRD PLUMES
HIS PINIONS AND TAKES HIS FLIGHT.

. . . When Sheriff Bassett heard that his bird had flown he looked as sorrow-stricken as if he had lost his dearest friend, and immediately sought to find his prodigal and return him to his keeper, but George was still on the wing at last accounts. The following card shows that the sheriff means business:

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD—BROKE JAIL,

The above reward will be paid for the apprehension of Geo. W. Wilson, who broke jail at this place on the night of October 22d. Wilson is 5 feet 11 inches tall, dark hair, blue eyes, good looking, straight built,

22 years old, small moustache and goatee, has a scar from a pistol shot in his back, wore dark clothes and a wide-rimmed white hat.

CHAS. E. BASSETT,
Sheriff Ford county, Kansas.

In December, while still sheriff, Bassett received an additional law enforcement duty. "Sheriff Bassett has been appointed by Mayor [James H.] Kelley to assist Marshal [Edward J.] Masterson in preserving order and decorum in the city. Mr. Bassett has had thorough training, and is a good man for the place," said the *Times*, December 15, 1877. Bassett's salary in this position was the same as the marshal's, \$75 per month.⁶

Limited by the state constitution, Bassett could not run for a successive third regular term as sheriff. On January 14, 1878, he was replaced by William B. Masterson who had been elected on November 6. One of Bat's first acts as sheriff of Ford county was to appoint Bassett his under sheriff.⁷

In February and March, 1878, Bassett spent much of his time pursuing the men who had attempted to hold up a Santa Fe train at Kinsley on January 27. Since he was, in this episode, the subordinate of Bat Masterson the full account of the pursuit will be given in the section on W. B. Masterson.

Early in April, 1878, three men from George Grant's English colony at Victoria came to Dodge to join Mayor James H. Kelley, Charles Bassett, and James Martin in a buffalo hunt. The party left Dodge April 4 and headed for a spot 75 miles southwest where they expected to find bison. They were gone about a week. When they returned Bassett found that City Marshal Edward J. Masterson had been killed by drunken cowboys. The city council of Dodge lost little time in appointing Assistant Marshal Bassett to the higher position and shortly thereafter he was given a salary increase to \$100 per month.⁸

During the summer of 1878 Deputy United States Marshal H. T. McCarty was shot and killed in the Long Branch saloon; Cowboy George Hoy was shot by the Dodge City police and in September the cross state journey of Dull Knife's band of Cheyenne Indians threw the town into a frenzy of excitement. Toward the end of the cattle season Fannie Keenan, alias Dora Hand, was shot and killed. City Marshal-Under Sheriff Bassett participated in the pursuit and capture of Miss Keenan's alleged murderer, James Kennedy, but this tale, again, properly belongs to the sheriff of Ford county and details of the chase may be found under W. B. Masterson.

In reporting the January term of the Ford county district court the Dodge City *Times*, January 11, 1879, had this to say concerning the efficiency of the county peace officers:

The large criminal calendar suggests the "probability" of an "endeavor" on the part of the officers to do their duty. To an unprejudiced person, somebody has been making things lively. Sheriff Bat Masterson, Under Sheriff Bassett, and Deputies [William] Duffy and [James] Masterson, have evidently earned the high praise accorded to them for their vigilance and prompt action in the arrest of offenders of the law.

On February 15 Bassett, Sheriff Masterson and others were at Fort Leavenworth to pick up seven Cheyenne prisoners from the military authorities. The Indians, members of Dull Knife's band, were accused of committing atrocities during their September, 1878, flight across Kansas and were to be taken to Dodge City for trial. Further details may be found under W. B. Masterson.

April 5, 1879, saw one of Dodge's more famous killings and City Marshal Bassett played a role in the story as reported by the *Ford County Globe* on April 8:

ANOTHER TRAGEDY.

FRANK LOVING AND LEVI RICHARDSON FIGHT WITH PISTOLS.

LOVING COMES OUT WITH A SCRATCH AND RICHARDSON GOES TO HIS GRAVE.

There is seldom witnessed in any civilized town or country such a scene as transpired at the Long Branch saloon, in this city, last Saturday evening, resulting in the killing of Levi Richardson, a well known freighter, of this city, by a gambler named Frank Loving.

For several months Loving has been living with a woman toward whom Richardson seems to have cherished tender feelings, and on one or two occasions previous to this which resulted so fatally, they have quarrelled and even come to blows. Richardson was a man who had lived for several years on the frontier, and though well liked in many respects, he had cultivated habits of bold and daring, which are always likely to get a man into trouble. Such a disposition as he possessed might be termed bravery by many, and indeed we believe he was the reverse of a coward. He was a hard working, industrious man, but young and strong and reckless.

Loving is a man of whom we know but very little. He is a gambler by profession; not much of a roudy, but more of the cool and desperate order, when he has a killing on hand. He is about 25 years old. Both, or either of these men, we believe, might have avoided this shooting if either had possessed a desire to do so. But both being willing to risk their lives, each with confidence in himself, they fought because they wanted to fight. As stated in the evidence below, they met, one said "I don't believe you will fight." The other answered "try me and see," and immediately both drew murderous revolvers and at it they went, in a room filled with people, the leaden missiles flying in all directions. Neither exhibited any sign of a desire to escape the other, and there is no telling how long the fight might have lasted had not Richardson been pierced with bullets and Loving's pistol left

without a cartridge. Richardson was shot in the breast, through the side and through the right arm. It seems strange that Loving was not hit, except a slight scratch on the hand, as the two men were so close together that their pistols almost touched each other. Eleven shots were fired, six by Loving and five by Richardson. Richardson only lived a few moments after the shooting. Loving was placed in jail to await the verdict of the coroner's jury, which was "self defense," and he was released. Richardson has no relatives in this vicinity. He was from Wisconsin. About twenty-eight years old.

Together with all the better class of our community we greatly regret this terrible affair. We do not believe it is a proper way to settle difficulties, and we are positive it is not according to any law, human or divine. But if men must continue to persist in settling their disputes with fire arms we would be in favor of the duelling system, which would not necessarily endanger the lives of those who might be passing up or down the street attending to their own business.

We do not know that there is cause to censure the police, unless it be to urge upon them the necessity of strictly enforcing the ordinance preventing the carrying of concealed weapons. Neither of these men had a right to carry such weapons. Gamblers, as a class, are desperate men. They consider it necessary in their business that they keep up their fighting reputation, and never take a bluff. On no account should they be allowed to carry deadly weapons. . . .

The newspaper then gave the testimonies of individuals who had knowledge of the shooting but since they are so similar we give here only those of Adam Jackson, bartender at the Long Branch, City Marshal Bassett, and Deputy Sheriff William Duffey.

Adam Jackson, bar-tender at the Long Branch, testified as follows:

"I was in the Long Branch saloon about 8 or 9 o'clock Saturday evening. I know Levi Richardson. He was in the saloon just before the fuss, standing by the stove. He started to go out and went as far as the door when Loving came in at the door. Richardson turned and followed back into the house. Loving sat down on the hazard table. Richardson came and sat near him on the same table. Then Loving immediately got up, making some remark to Richardson, could not understand what it was. Richardson was sitting on the table at the time, and Loving standing up. Loving says to Richardson: 'If you have anything to say about me why don't you come and say it to my face like a gentleman, and not to my back, you dam son of a bitch.' Richardson then stood up and said: 'You wouldn't fight anything, you dam—' could not hear the rest. Loving said 'you try me and see.' Richardson pulled his pistol first, and Loving also drew a pistol. Three or four shots were fired when Richardson fell by the billiard table. Richardson did not fire after he fell. He fell on his hands and knees. No shots were fired after Richardson fell. No persons were shooting except the two mentioned. Loving's pistol snapped twice and I think Richardson shot twice before Loving's pistol was discharged.

A. A. JACKSON. . . .

Chas. E. Bassett testified: "When I first heard the firing I was at Beatty & Kelley's saloon. Ran up to the Long Branch as fast as I could. Saw Frank Loving, Levi Richardson and Duffey. Richardson was dodging and running around the billiard table. Loving was also running and dodging around the

table. I got as far as the stove when the shooting had about ended. I caught Loving's pistol. Think there was two shots fired after I got into the room, am positive there was one. Loving fired that shot, to the best of my knowledge. Did not see Richardson fire any shot, and did not see him have a pistol. I examined the pistol which was shown me as the one Richardson had. It contained five empty shells. Richardson fell while I was there. Whether he was shot before or after I came in am unable to say. I think the shots fired after I came in were fired by Loving at Richardson. Richardson fell immediately after the shot I heard. Did not see any other person shoot at Richardson. Did not see Duffey take Richardson's pistol. Do not know whether Loving knew that Richardson's pistol had been taken away from him. There was considerable smoke in the room. Loving's pistol was a Remington, No. 44 and was empty after the shooting.

CHAS. E. BASSETT.

Wm. Duffey testified: "I was at the Long Branch saloon. I know Levi Richardson, who is now dead. I know 'cock-eyed Frank' (Loving) Both were there at the time. I heard no words pass between them. They had fired several shots when Frank fell by the table by the stove. I supposed that he was shot. I then had a scuffle with Richardson, to get his pistle, and threw him back on some chairs. Succeeded in getting his pistol. There might have been a shot fired by one or the other while we were scuffling. Cannot say whether Richardson had been shot previous to that time, but think he had, as he was weak and I handled him easily. Richardson then got up and went toward the billiard table and fell. I can't swear whether any shots were fired at Richardson by Loving after Richardson was disarmed. Don't think Loving knew I had taken the pistol from Richardson. It was but a few seconds after I took Richardson's pistol that he fell.

WILLIAM DUFFEY. . . ."

Five months later City Marshal Bassett again disarmed the victor of a fatal quarrel. The *Ford County Globe* carried the story on September 9, 1879:

A COWARDLY MURDER.

B. MARTIN BRAINED WITH A WINCHESTER

BY A. H. WEBB.

Dodge City has added another item to her history of blood, and rum has found another victim.

Yesterday afternoon B. Martin and A. H. Webb became involved in a dispute in a saloon on Main street. Many complimentary allusions to the parentage, habits and previous history of the parties, usually passed during such scenes in Dodge circles, were freely bandied between the two, ending by Webb knocking Martin down. Martin, who was a remarkably small man, generally inoffensive and timid, made an apology to Webb for some of his strongest epithets, and then went out and sat upon a bench in front of his little tailor shop adjoining Henry Sturm's saloon. Webb seemed to be very little placated by the submission of his little antagonist. He walked up Main street, threatening more vengeance at every step. He went into Zimmerman's hardware store and asked Mr. Connor to loan him a pistol, but he was refused. He then went to his house on the hill, saddled his horse, got his Winchester rifle and returned to Main street. He hitched his horse at Straeter's corner, walked to where

Martin was seated, raised the rifle with both hands and brought the barrel of it down on Martin's head with terrific force. Martin fell like a log and never was conscious afterward.

Webb then jumped for his horse to make off. The murderous blow, however, had been seen by several persons, who ran to prevent the escape. Marshal Bassett seized him and took away his rifle, which was found to be loaded and cocked. He was first taken to the calaboose, but a crowd gathering quickly, among whom were some who favored lynching, the sheriff deemed it prudent to remove the prisoner to the county jail. . . .

On October 21, 1879, the *Ford County Globe* told of another railway robbery:

THE TRAIN ROBBERY.

At 1:45 Wednesday morning, Mr. J. M. Thatcher, Gen'l Ag't Express Co., received a telegram informing him of the express train at Las Vegas having been taken in by masked robbers. With Messrs. [Harry E.] Gryden, Bassett and [Chakley M.] Beeson he immediately left for Las Vegas. From Judge Gryden, who returned this morning, we learn the following particulars.

The night being rainy five men entered the Express car immediately on leaving Las Vegas. Covering the conductor Mr. Turner, the messenger Mr. Monroe, and the baggage master, and compelling the messenger to open the safe "dam quick." The booty consisted of two \$1,000 bills, \$85.50 in C. O. D. packages and \$1,000 in time checks of the A. T. & S. F. R. R., a package of \$245 was overlooked. The three revolvers of the conductor, messenger and baggage master was also taken from them and all the lanterns, the parties then left the train without stopping it. Two of them have through the efficiency of Mr. Thatcher been arrested at Las Vegas, the others are known and will be caught. It was a neat and prompt job; but between Messrs. Thatcher and Judge Gryden they will, we have no doubt, be all landed in the penitentiary.

On November 4, 1879, the *Globe* reported that "Ex-Sheriff Charles E. Bassett returned last week from New Mexico, where he has been for the past ten days in the interest of the Adams express company." The day the *Globe* came out the city council met and appointed James Masterson city marshal to replace Bassett who had by then resigned.⁹

On December 23 Bassett was reported to be in St. Louis, Mo., but by January 6, 1880, when the January term of the Ford county district court convened, he was back in Dodge for duty as deputy sheriff.¹⁰ His name appeared in the newspapers a few times in minor items which stated that he took prisoners to the penitentiary, but apparently nothing of note happened to him for the remainder of his stay in Dodge City. On April 27, 1880, the *Ford County Globe* noted his exit from town: "Ex-Sheriff Chas. E. Bassett, accompanied by Mysterious Dave [Mather] and two other prospectors, started out last week in search of 'greener fields and pastures new.' They went in a two-horse wagon, after the style in the days of '49."

The *Times*, May 1, stated that he was headed for the Gunnison country.

The newspapers of Dodge City did not mention Bassett again for over 16 months. On September 13, 1881, the *Globe* noticed his return in this article: "Charles E. Bassett, ex-sheriff of Ford county, and formerly city marshal of Dodge City—one of the old timers—arrived the city last Tuesday after an absence of a year and a half. Charley looks as natural as life, wears good clothes, and says Texas is suffering from dry weather." On September 8, two days after his return, he was mentioned as a possible candidate for sheriff,¹¹ but two weeks later he was in Kansas City and apparently planning to stay, judging from this item in the *Times*, September 22, 1881: "Hon. C. E. Bassett, a well known cattle man of Kansas and Texas, returned to the city yesterday after a brief stay at Dodge City. He will remain here for some time.—Kansas City Journal. Jim Kelley has charge of Mr. Bassett's herds during his absence."

Another 18 months passed before the name of Charles E. Bassett again appeared in the Dodge City newspapers. The *Ford County Globe* of March 20, 1883, reported that he had been in Dodge City from Kansas City "the first of last week and spent a day or two in our city visiting old-time friends."

Bassett was again in Dodge City in June, 1883, along with several other prominent Western gun fighters, to aid Luke Short in his quarrel with the city authorities. (For further information see the section on Short.)

Twice more, on January 1, 1884,¹² and April 7, 1885,¹³ Bassett was mentioned as being in Dodge City. No further contemporary information has been found on the Dodge City career of Charles E. Bassett.

1. "Ford County, Briefing of Commissioners' Journals" (transcribed by the Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration, in archives division, Kansas State Historical Society), pp. 2, 4, 18. 2. *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, April 21, 1876. 3. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 4. *Ibid.* 5. *Ibid.* 6. *Dodge City Times*, January 5, 1878. 7. *Ibid.*, January 12, 19, 1878. 8. *Ibid.*, April 6-20, May 4, 11, 1878; *Ford County Globe*, April 16, 1878. 9. *Dodge City Times*, November 15, 1879. 10. *Ford County Globe*, December 23, 1879; *Dodge City Times*, January 10, 1880. 11. *Dodge City Times*, September 8, 1881. 12. *Ford County Globe*. 13. *The Globe Live Stock Journal*.

BEAMER, PETER W.

(— — —)

On June 10, 1882, P. W. Beamer was named to the Dodge City police force. The *Ford County Globe*, June 13, 1882, reported the appointment in this article:

THE NEW POLICE FORCE.

We congratulate our city officials in their wise and judicious selection of police officers last Saturday.

P. W. Beamer, as city marshal, is a good selection—in fact one of the best that could be made at this time. Mr. Beamer is one of our best citizens—an earnest, unassuming citizen—temperate in his habits, and a person especially suited for the place. Lee Harland and Clark Chipman, as policemen, are both nerry fellows and are, if we do not misjudge them, the proper men for the positions named.

The mayor has adopted a set of rules for the especial guidance and observance of the police force, which, if carried out, will be an additional incentive to have officers perform their duties. He insists that these rules must be observed or he will speedily remove any officer that violates them.

The rules which Mayor A. B. Webster adopted were printed in the *Dodge City Times*, June 22, 1882:

POLICE REGULATIONS.

1. Each and every member of the Police force shall devote his whole time and attention to the business of the department, and is hereby prohibited from following any other calling. They must at all times be prepared to act immediately on notice that their services are required.

2. Punctual attendance and conformity to the rules of the department will be strictly enforced.

3. Each and every member must be civil, quiet and orderly; he must maintain decorum, command of temper and discretion.

4. They must not compound any offense committed or withdraw any complaint unless authorized by the Mayor.

5. All officers on duty must wear the star or shield on the outside garment on the left breast.

6. No member of the police force while on duty shall drink any intoxicating liquor or allow any to be introduced into the city jail.

7. No member shall leave the city or be absent from duty without permission from the Mayor.

8. They must not render assistance in civil cases except to prevent an immediate breach of the peace, or quell a disturbance.

9. Every member will be furnished with a copy of these regulations and is expected to familiarize himself with the same and also with the city ordinances.

10. The members of the police force will as soon as practicable after making an arrest report the same to the City Attorney and execute, under his directions, the proper papers, and promptly attend the police court at the hour set for trial of causes.

11. Every officer will be held responsible for the proper discharge of his duties; following the advice of others will be no excuse, unless he be a superior officer.

12. The City Attorney will furnish information on legal matters on any officer's request, and will be responsible to the Mayor and Council for their correctness.

13. The presence of any infectious disease must be promptly reported to the Mayor.

14. A memorandum of all property taken from prisoners by the marshal or police, must be handed to the City Attorney, to be by him filed with a note of final disposition in the police court.

A. B. WEBSTER, Mayor.

Less than three weeks after assuming the office of city marshal Beamer quit. "During the past week City Marshal P. W. Beamer handed to Mayor Webster his resignation as City Marshal of Dodge City the same to take effect at once. Just what induced Mr. Beamer to take this step we were unable to learn. Mayor Webster assumes the duties of the office until such time as he may be enabled to fill the office," reported the *Globe* on June 27, 1882.

BEHRENS, JOHN

(1840?- —)

John Behrens' appointment as policeman on the Wichita force was confirmed by the city council on May 6, 1874.¹

On July 24, 1874, he assisted in jailing a prisoner who had overcome his guard while on a street gang. After his recapture another officer began to beat the prisoner but was stopped by Behrens. (For the complete story see the section on William Dibbs.)

In October, 1874, Behrens and Wyatt Earp, at the instance of a Wichita merchant, collected an unpaid bill at gunpoint some 75 miles from the city. (The article reporting this incident is included in the section on Earp.)

Behrens was promoted to assistant city marshal on April 21, 1875, at a salary of \$75 per month.²

In May "Behrens and Earp picked up a horse thief by the name of Compton from Coffey County . . . with the property in his possession," and in July "John Behrens picked up a deserter from the 4th U. S. Cavalry on Friday. . . ."³

Marshal Mike Meagher and Assistant Marshal Behrens were credited with the arrest of three thieves on November 5, 1875. The *Wichita City Eagle*, November 11, reported that "Wm. Potts and two colored men were arrested here last Friday by city Marshal, Mike Meagher and Assistant John Behrens, charged with

stealing eight yoke of cattle and two wagons at Fort Sill, which property was found in their possession. The parties were lodged in jail." The *Wichita Beacon*, gave Wyatt Earp and Meagher credit for this arrest.⁴

Also in its issue of November 11, 1875, the *Eagle* reported that "Ed. Hays was arrested and confined in jail Monday evening by Assistant Marshal Behrens, on information received by letter from Great Bend. Hays is charged with passing counterfeit money." The *Beacon*, omitting mention of Behrens, gave Marshal Meagher credit for the Hays arrest.⁵

The *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, on November 17, 1875, reversed itself on who arrested Potts and Hays while complimenting Behrens for his efficiency:

While we are not aware that Deputy Marshal Behrens cares a fig for official honors, yet when he is justly entitled to credit it is due him to have the same. Far be it from us to withhold from so efficient an officer what belongs to him, much less give the praise to others. We say this much without the knowledge of Mr. Behrens, in order to set ourselves right in the matter of several arrests made last week; one of them Ed Hays, the other Bill Potts and his two associates. Deputy Marshal Behrens spotted all these parties, arrested Hays, himself; and traced the others to their lair, assisting Mike Meagher in the arrests.

The *Eagle*, on January 27, 1876, reported that:

Mr. John Behrens, deputy marshal, arrested two men on Tuesday afternoon, charged with stealing 136 skunk skins, one cow hide and one coon skin, from Messrs. Hale & Co. of Hutchinson. They started from Hutchinson with an ox team, but left it with a farmer on the road whom they hired to bring them with their plunder to this city. They gave their names as Smith and Kirkpatrick.

In the list of salaries paid for the month of April, 1876, John Behrens' name does not appear although he had received a full month's salary for March. At a meeting of the city council on May 22, 1876, that body heard a recommendation of the police committee that "Script of W. Earp & John Behrens be with held, until all moneys collected by them for the City, be turned over to the City Treasurer. . . ." ⁶ How this was settled is not known since this was the last contemporary item found concerning John Behrens.

1. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, p. 376. 2. *Ibid.*, Journal B, pp. 44, 55, 62, 66, 71, 75, 78, 85, 90, 96, 100; *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, April 28, 1875. 3. *Wichita City Eagle*, May 6, 1875; *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, July 28, 1875; *see, also*, section on Wyatt Earp. 4. November 10, 1875; *see* a reprint of this article in the section on Wyatt Earp. 5. November 10, 1875; *see* a reprint of this article in the section on Mike Meagher. 6. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal B, pp. 100, 112, 115.

BELL, HAMILTON B.

(1853-1947)

"Ham" Bell was appointed deputy United States marshal for Ford county about May 22, 1880, succeeding W. B. Masterson.¹ There are contemporary records of his reappointment about May 30, 1882, and again about November 5, 1885.² At least one person, however, held the position between these latter dates.³

Only two references were found concerning his performance of the duties of the federal office. The first appeared in the *Ford County Globe* on April 11, 1882:

ON THE TRAIL.

April 1st, 1882.

. . . We are sorry to learn that a controversy has arose between Mr. Teasing and Mr. Shrader with regard to a tree-claim near "The Trail." It seems that Mr. Teasing filed on aforesaid claim about four years ago, and not complying with the requirements of the law (having skipped the country in advance of Bat Masterson's six-shooter), Mr. Shrader jumped said claim and did plow and sow to wheat ten acres. Then comes Mr. Teasing, and refusing to compromise, plowed under the ten acres of wheat and planted the same to trees. The latest reports are that Mr. Teasing skipped the country again, between two days, in fear of U. S. Marshal Bell. How this will terminate we do not know. Teasing, what is the matter with you; can't you behave yourself any more?

The second is from the *Globe* of October 23, 1883:

—Deputy U. S. Marshal H. B. Bell, of this city, returned Friday morning from Buffalo Park, Kansas, where he arrested Charles Ellsworth, better known as "Arkansaw," who it is supposed murdered Ellsworth Schuttleman in the latter part of August, who at the time was employed by Mr. Johns. "Arkansaw" was at the time employed at the V— ranch. It is also supposed that he was the party that stole a horse from J. W. Carter on the Saw Log, as the horse was found and had been sold by "Arkansaw," and the bill of sale is now in the hands of H. B. Bell.

1. Dodge City Times, May 22, 1880. 2. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1882; *Ford County Globe*, May 30, 1882; Dodge City Times, November 5, 1885. 3. Fred Singer was appointed about October 8, 1885. See the section on Singer.

BETTS, C. F.

(—-—)

C. F. Betts was appointed city marshal of Caldwell on June 30, 1880,¹ apparently as an interim appointee while the city officials of Caldwell, including Mayor Mike Meagher and Marshal William Horseman, were under arrest for suspected complicity in the murder of George Flatt who had been killed June 19. Betts must have served only until about July 8 for on that date the Caldwell

Post reported that the "old police force resume their former places and everything is quiet." (See the section on Mike Meagher for the complete story of the arrested officials.)

1. *Caldwell Post*, July 1, 1880.

BOTTS, SAMUEL

(1829—)

The *Wichita City Eagle*, June 11, 1874, reported that "Mr. Botts has been added to the police force, which business he understands, having been deputy marshal of Jacksonville, Illinois."

In July, while attempting to arrest a man for carrying a gun in the city, Botts was set upon by a dozen or more armed men and his would-be prisoner released. However, a secret citizens' police came to the rescue and all the gun toters were arrested. The *Wichita City Eagle* reported the event on July 9, 1874:

A little episode occurred upon our streets on Monday evening which we hope will serve to teach certain roughs and would be bullies who infest this town, a lesson. Sam. Botts, one of our policemen, in attempting to enforce the law which says "that no firearms shall be carried within the city," was braved by some twelve or fourteen fellows who pulled their weapons upon him and prevented him from arresting a man whom he just disarmed. The police alarm was sounded and in a shorter time than it takes to write this, forty or fifty citizens armed with well loaded shot guns and Henry rifles, rushed to the aid of the officers. In the mean time the roughs had taken refuge in hotel. Of course they were arrested, and of course they were taken before the police judge and fined, just as they would have been had there been a hundred of them. We have a secret police force, all sworn and armed, numbering, we shall not say how many, which was organized in view of an outrage committed by the above class this spring in broad day light upon a principal street, and had it not been just at supper time these defiers of law would have been surprised at the array of armed and determined men that would have confronted them. As it was, but forty or fifty appeared, but they were from among our best and most substantial citizens, many of whom were officers of rank in the late war and who consequently know how and dare to use arms when it comes to sustaining the majesty of the law. There is no use talking or caviling about the matter, the laws of this city will and must be enforced and they shall be respected, whether our authorities feel able to so enforce or not. The past two years Texas dealers, cow boys, roughs and gamblers have obeyed our laws and regulations and respected our citizens; and, if they would avdoid trouble, it would be well for them to continue to do so. There are no better class of people in the world than our permanent citizens—quiet, orderly, law abiding and moral, but they will not be run over and have their laws and rights trampled under foot, though it become necessary to clear the town of every vestage of the cattle trade upon half a day's notice.

On July 24, while taking a prisoner, who had attempted to escape, back to jail, Botts beat him over the head until he was stopped

by Policeman John Behrens. (The article reporting this is reprinted in the section on William Dibbs.)

Apparently Botts made some remonstrance against what Milton Gabel, the editor of the *Beacon*, had said of his conduct in this matter for in the August 5, 1874, issue of the *Beacon* Gabel printed this:

. . . With regard to the conduct of Samuel Botts . . . it is claimed by him that he did not strike McGrath, yet he admits that he "chucked him about roughly," and says that under the excitement—coming up as he did after the shooting had begun, and while McGrath was shooting at Dibbs the second time—thinking that Dibbs was fatally wounded, &c., and, in his overzealous efforts to save him, etc. etc., he treated McGrath more roughly than he intended to, and, under the excitement, and what he considers aggravating circumstances, more so than he otherwise would have done, and thinks that should at least partially excuse the rough treatment, which we characterized brutality, and of which we made mention in Wednesday's article. This may in a measure palliate the offense, but it shows inefficiency, and even this I think will not justify the mistreatment of a prisoner disarmed, and on the way to the calaboose, and I will not alter my judgment on this matter as heretofore expressed. I gave the facts as they came under by own observation, together with the evidence of others, the truth of which can be substantiated by sworn statements of at least seven witnesses. . . .¹

The last contemporary mention found concerning Samuel Botts was the payment of \$42 for his services as policeman for "part of April," 1875.² At the rate which other policemen were being paid (\$60 per month) this would indicate that Botts was on the force for about 21 days in April, 1875.

1. A full report on this incident will be found in the section on William Dibbs. 2. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal B, p. 55.

BRATTON, CHARLES G.

(—1874)

Charles G. Bratton served four days as a special policeman on the Wichita police force, probably in February, 1872. For this work he was paid \$8.00 on February 21.¹

On December 22, 1874, while assisting the city marshal of Burlingame to take a drunken butcher to jail, Bratton was stabbed and killed. The following article appeared in the *Wichita City Eagle*, January 7, 1875:

Charley Bratton, a former policeman of Wichita, under Mayor Allen, was brutally murdered at Burlingame last week, by a butcher named Dan Wortz. Wortz was drunk and abusing his wife, Bratton, who was a city officer, interfered, when he was stabbed twice, both wounds being severe enough to produce death. The weapon used was a butcher knife. One stab severed a rib and sank deep into the kidney. Young Bratton was a quiet boy. He came

to Burlingame with his parents, when quite a small boy. The murderer is in custody and will go up for life.²

1. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, p. 148. 2. See, also, the *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, December 27, 1874.

BRIDGES, JACK L.

(1839?—)

The earliest mention yet found of Jack Bridges as an officer of the law was in a letter from Maj. George Gibson of Fort Hays to Gov. James M. Harvey, dated October 3, 1869. Gibson stated that Deputy United States Marshal Bridges and his assistant had arrested one Bob Connors for the murder of a drover near Pond City and had lodged their prisoner in the fort's guard house to protect him from mob violence in Hays City. (A copy of the letter is reprinted in the section on James Butler Hickok.)

The 1870 United States census listed Bridges as being a deputy United States marshal in Hays. Reporting as of June 25, the census showed Bridges as 31 years old, holding real estate valued at \$1,800. He was born "at sea."

Bridges next turned up in Wichita in February, 1871. He arrived there well reinforced to arrest J. E. Ledford. Resistance was offered and Ledford was killed. Here is the story from the *El Dorado Walnut Valley Times*, March 3, 1871:

HORRIBLE AFFAIR AT WICHITA.

We have just learned the particulars of an unfortunate affair that occurred at Wichita on Tuesday afternoon the 26th of February, at about four o'clock. It seems that Deputy U. S. Marshal Jack Bridges, and Lee Stewart, a scout, with a party of 25 soldiers under command of Capt. Randall of the 5th U. S. Cavalry, from Fort Harker, came to Wichita to arrest J. E. Ledford, the proprietor of the Harris House at that place, on the charge of resisting a U. S. officer.

The troops came into town with a rush and immediately surrounded the hotel. Ledford seems to have had an idea that they were there to arrest him and secreted himself in an out building. Bridges, Lee Stewart and a Lieutenant, discovered Ledford in the out building and advanced to the door with their pistols in hand; Ledford seeing them advancing immediately threw open the door and came out; both parties immediately commenced firing, after emptying their revolvers at Ledford the three persons, Bridges, Lee Stewart, and the Lieutenant, turned and ran; Bridges, being badly wounded fell fainting; Ledford walked across the street into Dagner's store, mortally wounded. Dr. Hilliard immediately examined Ledford's wounds and pronounced them mortal, he being shot twice through the body and twice through the right arm. He was carried into the hotel parlor and lived about a half hour. In a difficulty last summer between Ledford and Bridges on the line of the Kansas Pacific railroad, Ledford gave Bridges a sound threshing, and Bridges

is said to have threatened to shoot him on sight. The fatal wound received by Ledford was given him by Lee Stewart, who being behind him shot him in the back.

Ledford has had the reputation heretofore of being a wild and reckless man but had recently married a fine young lady at Wichita, and seemed to have settled down and was gaining the good will of all at that place. Deputy U. S. Marshal Walker, who is also Sheriff of Sedgwick County, had recently arrested Ledford on the same charge for which these men proposed to arrest him, and Ledford had given bail for his appearance at the next term of the U. S. Court at Topeka. Our informant was an eye witness of the affair and we are satisfied that the statements are as near substantially correct as one can give them witnessing so sudden and exciting an affair, the whole of which transpired in a few moments time. This is the first instance of bloodshed by violence in the streets of Wichita since its organization all reports to the contrary notwithstanding.

Unfortunately the issue of the *Wichita Vidette* (then the town's only newspaper) which reported the shooting is missing from the files of the State Historical Society. However, the *Vidette* of March 11, 1871, stated that:

The *Walnut Valley Times* and the *Emporia News* both publish accounts of the "Wichita Murder," in which they give substantially the same statement of the affair as published by us. . . . The *News* says: "The impression prevails that there was no occasion for the arrest of Ledford, and that the pretext of arresting him was only a cloak for the premeditated intention of killing him.

Jack Bridges disappeared from the pages of the cowtown newspapers until June 29, 1882, when the *Dodge City Times* announced that "Jack Bridges, well-known by old timers, will receive the appointment of City Marshal of this city. He is now in Colorado, and has telegraphed Mayor Webster that he will accept the appointment, and will be in Dodge City about July 10th." Bridges was sworn in on July 8, 1882. The *Dodge City Times* commented on his appointment in its issue of July 13, 1882:

Jack Bridges was installed as City Marshal on Saturday last. Marshal Bridges was for a number of years Deputy U. S. Marshal in Western Kansas. He is a cool, brave and determined officer, and will make an excellent city marshal. Jack's friends speak highly of him and of his integrity and bravery. He has done some fine service for the government, and upon every occasion acquitted himself with honor. He is a pleasant man socially, and has courage for any occasion.

At about the same time Bridges assumed the office of city marshal the police force of Dodge City doffed its frontier clothing and donned newly acquired blue uniforms. "There is a metropolitan air in their manner," said the *Times*, July 13, 1882.

Bridges' appointment caused many to reminisce about the Led-

ford shooting. On July 20, 1882, the *Times* brought the subject up in this article:

LEDFORD'S LEAGUE.

Early settlers remember Ledford, the chief of a gang of horse thieves, counterfeiters and desperadoes that traversed the wild regions of Kansas, the Indian Territory and the Panhandle. Jack Bridges, City Marshal of Dodge City, at that time was Deputy U. S. Marshal. He caused the breaking up and arrest of the gang, and in the capture of Ledford a desperate encounter took place. . . .

There were some, however, who felt that Dodge had made a poor choice for city marshal. One of these was the editor of the *Caldwell Commercial* who published this attack, which the *Ford County Globe* reprinted on July 25, 1882:

The *Times Dodge City* says that Jack Bridges has been appointed City Marshal of that town. Jack, like Wild Bill and Bat, Masterson, belongs to the killer-class and it is only a question of time when he will lay down with his boots on. Jack might have made a respectable citizen at one time, but he got to running with a psalm-singing U. S. Marshal Jim Lane and Sid Clarke, shoved off upon Kansas at one time, and learned some of the said Marshal's pious tricks. He has never been worth a straw since. Still, if the Dodge folks think they have found a treasure in Jack, it isn't for us to find fault.—*Caldwell Kansas Commercial*.

Yes we need him in our business [the *Globe* added].

Then the *Dodge City Times*, on July 27, joined in with a vigorous counterattack:

Caldwell, through her newspapers, is jealous of Dodge City. The latest exhibition of jealousy appears in the *Caldwell Commercial*, edited by W. B. Hutchison. It is a scurrilous attack on Jack Bridges, City Marshal of Dodge City. Caldwell is incapable of self-government. Three city marshals have been cowardly slain in that city. Yet Hutchison animadverts on Dodge City. A friend comes to the rescue of Bridges, and furnishes us with the following:
FOR THE TIMES:

That the venom of the reptile, the sliminess of the toad and the odoriferous qualities of the skunk cling to them till death, was never more clearly illustrated than in the case of W. B. Hutchison and his article on the City Marshal of Dodge City. We happen to know the why and wherefore of this attack on Jack Bridges; we can now look back to the year 1867-8, when the said Hutchison, a Justice of the Peace, was the recognized backer, go-between and supporter of the infamous horse thieves of Ellis county. We remember to, how Jack Bridges, almost single handed, drove them from the country; how Ledford, Black and Strapp, attempted to assassinate him and almost succeeded; how at last they fled from the country accompanied by their companion Mr. Hutchison. How Bridges exterminated the gang, except Mr. H., whose Uriah Heap nature and tactics shielded him from Bridges and the law, and then we do not wonder after all that Hutchison's natural traits of character assert themselves and that he makes this scurrilous attack upon him. Jack is here and should Mr. H., mourning his friends and companions, wish

to interview him, he can readily find him. The old citizens of Ellis county, many of whom are here, well remember the gang, their dressing as Indians while making a dash on a herd of horses, and the fact that Hutchison was one of the boys.

LEX.

Apparently all the editors concerned felt it was time to let well-enough alone, for the matter disappeared from the pages of the press.

In September, 1882, Bridges was involved in this interesting case on which the *Globe* reported, September 12:

AN ELOPEMENT.

On last Thursday a gentleman presented himself at the Wright House and asked for board and lodging for himself and wife; a room was assigned to him, and he left for a few minutes to bring in the woman he claimed as his wife. While he was gone Mr. Lybrand selected the room and noted on the register, Mr. and Mrs. _____ and noting the number of the room. When the person returned he registered after the Mr. and Mrs., 'H. G. Petty,' the couple were shown to their room and remained there until Sunday, after the arrival of the three o'clock train, which brought with it a person by the name of F. Ruble, who at once made his mission known, saying he was in search of a recreant wife who he had reason to believe had come to this city in company with some other person. He closely scrutinized the hotel registers and failed to find anyone registered in the name he was looking for, but finally on making inquiries at the Wright House concerning certain individuals he was assured by some of the employees that a couple were occupying rooms there that answered the description he gave. This afforded enough clue for him and at once ascended the stairs and proceeded to said room and knock[ed] for admission. It appears that his approach had been noticed by the occupants and the door was barred against him. The loud talk brought Mr. Lybrand to the scene, who demanded to know the cause of all this disturbance. Mr. Ruble explained and told the landlord that his wife was in the room and that he wished to see her. Mr. Lybrand informed him that he would send for the city marshal and have the whole outfit arrested. At the same time preparations were going on inside for a hasty exit through the window. Sheets and quilts were tied together and the fellow made his descent and landed safe and sound, after which he made hasty steps across the hill, hotly pursued by the city marshal [Bridges] who brought him back to the city and took him before his honor Judge Burns, before whom a complaint was made against the individual for disturbing the peace and quiet of the city.

Court was convened (although Sunday) and all the parties were brought face to face, all being charged alike. The court was promptly opened and the charge made, and the court prefaced his remarks by saying "that on account of its being Sunday he could enter no plea from either of said parties except the plea of guilty." Mr. Petty's case being the first called he plead guilty as charged, and the court before passing sentence insisted on knowing some few facts and proceeded to examine witnesses, and finally assessed a fine of twenty-five dollars and cost against number one. This he said he would not pay, but rather than to be further annoyed paid the fine. The other two

Mr. Ruple and his supposed wife were called on to plead, both of whom answered not guilty, and their cases were continued to Monday, both being required to give bond in the sum of one hundred dollars each, which bonds we learn were readily given.

Monday morning when court opened the lone and deserted woman was the only one of the trio to make their appearance in court, who was fined fifteen dollars and cost. What became of Ruple and his case we cannot say. Petty took the first train out of town, and the only one remaining is the woman, who is still here and disclaims being the wife of either.

In the spring of 1883 Bridges was caught in the middle of the "Dodge City War." Being city marshal he was directly responsible to Mayor L. E. Deger who was one of the protagonists in the affair. Finally Bridges declared that he was "as much the marshal for one party as the other"¹ and seemingly was content to remain astride the fence. The full story of that "war," including the role of Jack Bridges, may be found in the section on Luke Short.

On July 6, 1883, the city council of Dodge City increased the marshal's salary. The *Globe*, on July 17, 1883, reported the change in this article:

The City Council on the 6th inst. passed an ordinance which gives the City Marshal a salary of \$150 per month and the assistant marshal \$125 per month, and on the following day they considered it a retractive ordinance and instead of allowing the salaries as prescribed by the old ordinance \$100 per month for marshal and \$75 for the assistant marshal, they allow them each two months' increase salary as prescribed by the new ordinance.

The Nickerson *Argosy* noticed the salary hike and mentioned some fringe benefits in this item which the *Globe* copied on July 24, 1883: "Dodge City pays her marshal \$150 per month and the assistant marshal \$125 per month. Besides this each of them is entitled to kill a cow boy or two each season."

The Dodge City *Times*, October 4, 1883, reported that "On Monday a lot of drunken cowboys had another hurrah at Coolidge, shooting through doors, windows, etc., and making things lively generally. [Under Sheriff] Fred Singer and Jack Bridges arrested one of the leaders and placed him in jail Tuesday morning."

Frontier judges could also huff and puff as this article from the *Ford County Globe*, October 23, 1883, clearly shows:

The case of the State of Kansas vs. Charley Heinz was continued on account of the absence of Jack Bridges, witness for the State, who left for Pueblo the day before the day of trial was set. The court was very indignant and ordered Marshal Bridges to be arrested and brought before His Honor if he returned before court adjourned; and if he made his appearance after court adjourned he was to be arrested and incarcerated in the jail of Ford county and held there until next term of court, and further stated that no writ of habeas

corpus would let him out. He wanted it distinctly understood that there was one court in Ford county that could not be trifled with.—Bridges is back, but as yet not under arrest.—Ed.

Later.—We learn that the court revoked the order before leaving.

Apparently Marshal Bridges' salary was reduced to its former level in the fall of 1883. In reporting the November 9 meeting of the city council, the *Dodge City Times*, November 15, 1883, listed his salary as \$100 per month.

No further mention of Jack Bridges was found.

1. *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 17, 1883.

BROOKS, BILL

(1836?-____)

Bill Brooks, marshal of Newton in 1872, was wounded by cowboys in a June melee. On June 14, 1872, the *Wichita City Eagle* reported the fracas:

Bill Brooks, marshal of Newton, formerly a stage driver between that point and Wichita, was shot three times, on Sunday night last, in an attempt to arrest a couple of Texas men. As near as we can get at the facts, the Texas men were on a spree, and, as a consequence, making it hot for pedestrians. Brooks had run them out of the town, when they turned and fired three shots into him, with what effect may be judged, from the fact that he continued his pursuit for ten miles before he returned to have his wounds dressed. One shot passed through his right breast, and the other two were in his limbs. We learn from a driver here that he will recover. Bill has sand enough to beat the hour-glass that tries to run him out.

The Kansas Daily Commonwealth of Topeka, June 15, 1872, said that a "party of Texans, fresh from the trail, had corralled the proprietor of a dance-house with their six-shooters, and were carrying things on a high hand, when Marshall Brooks, being sent for, endeavored to preserve the peace. While thus employed, one of the party by the name of Joe Miller, fired at him, the ball striking the collar bone, but inflicting merely a trifling wound. . . ."

No further mention of Brooks as a police officer has been found. However, the *Wichita City Eagle*, on March 20, 1873, recorded that "Billy Brooks, the whilom Wichita stage driver, is not dead, as was reported, but is on duty in Dodge City." Whether the *Eagle* meant employment as a police officer or stage driver has not been determined.

BROWN, GEORGE S.

(1854?-1882)

The *Caldwell Commercial* of November 3, 1881, reported that George Brown, as well as Mike Meagher and Dan Jones, had been

offered the position of Caldwell city marshal. Each declined so John Wilson was finally appointed.

Mike Meagher was killed on December 17, 1881. At the corner's inquest George Brown was one of the witnesses. The proceedings of this inquest, which the *Caldwell Post* reported on December 22, will be found in the section on Meagher.

By March, 1882, Brown had apparently accepted the marshalship of Caldwell. The *Commercial* on March 9, 1882, stated that "Since Geo. Brown has been acting as City Marshall, \$216 in cash have been collected for fines by the Police Court."

According to the Caldwell police docket, which for 1882 begins with April, Marshal Brown was required to perform his duties mostly upon drunks, gamblers, madams, and prostitutes. In his brief tour of duty no record was found that he encountered more serious crimes until he was shot and killed by cowboys on June 22 in a most gruesome manner. The *Caldwell Commercial* of June 29 carried the details:

ANOTHER MURDER IN CALDWELL.

THE CITY MARSHAL SHOT DOWN IN COLD BLOOD.

ESCAPE OF THE ASSASSIN.

About half past nine o'clock on Thursday morning of last week, the city was alarmed by the report that Geo. Brown, our city Marshal had been shot dead at the Red Light. Proceeding up street, we learned that the killing had occurred but a few moments before and that the parties engaged in it had barely rode past the *COMMERCIAL* office which is located on the lower part of Main street, on their way to the Territory, the refuge for every fiend who perpetrates a crime upon the southern border of Kansas.

On going to the Red Light, we found the body of George Brown at the head of the stairs, his face covered with a clot of blood and his brains spattered on the wall and floor of the building, while the gore dripped through the floor to the rooms below. Dr. Hume had been called in and was engaged in washing off the blood in order to ascertain the nature of the wound which had caused Brown's death.

It is useless to give the various stories told as to how the murder occurred, and we shall only state the facts as made up from the statements of different parties.

Shortly after 8 o'clock in the morning, three men, two of them brothers going by the name of Steve and Jess. Green, and another whose name has not been ascertained so far, went to the Red Light. Brown at the time was on Main street, engaged in obtaining signatures to a couple of petitions in reference to voting bonds. Some one informed him (as near as can be ascertained) that a man had gone down there armed, and Brown requested Constable [Willis] Metcalf to go down with him, as he (Brown) did not want to go alone. Arriving at the Red Light Brown and Metcalf proceeded up stairs, the former in the lead. On reaching the top of the stairs they found three men,

one of whom had a pistol in his hand. Brown laid his hand on the man with the pistol and told him to give it up. The latter replied "let go of me," when Brown grasped hold of the fellow's arm and pressed it against the wall. Meantime another man grasped Metcalf by the throat and backed him up into the corner, at the same time telling him to hold up his hands, the order being enforced by another who held a pistol at his head.

Just then another man jumped out of a room across the stairway and to the right of where Brown and the man he was holding stood, and called out "Turn him loose." This seems to have attracted Brown's attention momentarily, but that moment was most fatal to him, for the man whom he held turned his wrist and fired, the ball from the weapon crashing through the Marshal's head, and he fell to the floor dead, without a struggle or a groan.

The man who shot Brown and the other who held Metcalf then ran down stairs, while the fellow who had drawn on Metcalf guarded the retreat. The two former proceeded on up Fifth street to the alley in the rear of the Opera House, followed the alley to a passage between the buildings fronting on Main street, went through the passage, down Main street to the front of the Hardesty corner, where they mounted their horses and rode on down the street toward the Territory.

Fully ten minutes transpired before it was known that Brown had been shot, but as soon as the fact was ascertained and that his murderer had escaped, several citizens mounted their horses and started in pursuit.

It is needless to detail the operations of the pursuing parties. Suffice it to say that J. W. Dobson, who was among them ascertained that on reaching Bluff creek the murderers turned down the stream, crossed over Wm. Morris' farm, thence north across the creek and through E. H. Beal's place thence down the line to a point east of Cozad's place, where they turned into the bottoms of Bluff creek and probably remained there until towards evening.

When the pursuing party started out nothing was known or could be ascertained as to who the two men were, or whose herd they belonged to, although, as subsequent investigation showed, one or more persons knew all about them, but refused to give any information, fearing, perhaps, they might lose six bits worth of trade if they "gave away" a cowboy, no matter what crime he might commit. But it was learned before noon that the men belonged to Ellison's outfit, camped on Deer creek, and that of the others who were with them at the time of the murder, one was McGee, the boss of the herd, and the other two were herders. No effort seems to have been made to take in the Greens in case they went to camp, which they did about 6 o'clock, obtained fresh horses and ammunition, and then started off in a southeasterly direction. Up to the present writing the men have not been captured, and if any efforts have been put forth in that direction, the fact is kept a profound secret.

Geo. Brown, the murdered officer, was a young man about 28 years of age. He has resided in this city about two years, and has borne a good character. There was nothing of the bully or the braggart about him, but in the discharge of his duties he was quiet and courageous. It is not known that he

had an enemy, therefore his murder would seem to be an act of pure fiendishness, perpetrated solely from a desire to take human life.

Of the Greens, Steve and Jess., we are informed that they are brothers, French Canadians by birth, and came originally from the vicinity of Collingwood, Ontario. They have been employed as herders for several years, and have visited Caldwell every season for the last three years. McGee, Ellison's foreman, says they came to the herd, and were employed by him, on the trail south of Red River; that they were desperate men, who did not seem to care for danger, but rather coveted it, but that they were good hands, doing their work faithfully and well. It is probable that they are outlaws, all the time fearing arrest, and constantly on the alert to prevent being taken alive. If not taken or killed for their last crime, it is only a question of time when they will yield up their lives in much the same manner in which they have taken the lives of others besides George Brown.

George Brown was a single man, resided on Fifth street, east of Main, his sister, Miss Fannie Brown, keeping house for him. When the terrible news was brought to her that her brother, her supporter and protector, had been cruelly shot down within a stone throw of his own door, the poor girl could not realize it at first, but when the truth forced itself upon her mind, she gave way to the most heart rending screams. Kind and sympathetic friends did everything in their power to solace her, but notwithstanding all their efforts it was feared at one time that she would not be able to survive the terrible blow. But nature, ever kind, came to her relief, and by Friday the intensity of her grief had given way to a calm resignation. Word was telegraphed to their father at Junction City, but owing to railroad connections he did not arrive until Saturday. George was buried on Friday afternoon, the funeral being largely attended by our citizens. All the business houses in the city closing out of respect for the deceased during the funeral.

A coroner's jury was summoned by J. D. Kelly, Esq., and an inquest began on Thursday afternoon. The inquest was not concluded until Monday afternoon, when a verdict was rendered that the deceased came to his death from a gun shot wound at the hands of J. D. Green.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREENS.

J. D. or Jess Green as he is called, is a man about five feet ten inches in height, strong built, weighed about 180 pounds; full, broad face, dark complexion; hair black, coarse and straight, mustache and imperial colored black, but naturally of a sunburnt color. Had on dark clothes, leggings, and new white felt hat with a leather band around the crown.

Steve Green is about five feet six or eight inches high, heavy built, coarse black hair, mustache and imperial dyed, broad face, very dark; dressed about the same as his brother, save that his hat was not new. As stated above, the men are brothers, and from their appearance would be taken for Mexicans. When last heard from they were traveling west, evidently intending to make for New Mexico.

Shortly after Brown's death the sheriff of Sumner county, in which Caldwell is situated, wrote the governor of Kansas and asked that he offer a reward for the capture of the Greens.

Office of
J. M. Thralls
Sheriff Sumner County.

WELLINGTON, KAN., June 1882

GOVERNOR J. P. ST. JOHN

DEAR SIR—

On the 22nd day of March [June] 1882 the City Marshal at Caldwell George Brown was killed— by one of two men giving their names as Jeff and Steve Green "Cow boys" The circumstances are about these— Brown went up to one of them & asked him for his revolver he said he did not have any— When Brown and an assistant took hold of him he jerked loose and shot Brown through the head killing him instantly— Now are you not authorized to offer a reward of \$500 apiece for their arrest and delivery to the Sheriff of Sumner Co We are having so much of this kind of work it does seem as tho the State should offer a good reward for some of these "Texas killers" and outlaws— This is the fourth murder within the last year at Caldwell and Hunnewell and no reward offered by State for any of them—

Yours truly J M THRALLS
Sheriff

Please answer ¹

Within days Gov. John P. St. John responded with this proclamation:

GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION.
\$1000 REWARD!

STATE OF KANSAS,

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, TOPEKA, July 6, 1882

WHEREAS, "JEFF. GREEN AND STEVE. GREEN" stand charged with the murder of George Brown, City Marshal of the City of Caldwell, in Sumner County, Kansas, on or about the 22nd day of March [June], 1882, and are now at large and fugitives from justice:

NOW THEREFORE, I, JOHN P. ST. JOHN, Governor of the State of Kansas, by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, do hereby offer a reward of FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS each, for the arrest and conviction of the said Jeff. Green and Steve. Green of the crime above stated.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and [L. S.] affixed the Great Seal of the State, at Topeka, the day and year first above written.

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

By the Governor:

JAMES SMITH,
Secretary of State.²

The shooting of George Brown prompted at least one out of town newspaper to censure Caldwell's city officers. Wellington's *Sumner County Press*, June 29, 1882, claimed that all of Caldwell's troubles

were caused by men who had been "fired to evil by bad whiskey and prostitute women, both of which were placed within their reach only by means of flagrant violations of the laws of the state, through and by the sanction of the city governments of Caldwell and Hunnewell. . . ."

These charges were not taken lightly by the *Caldwell Post* which answered in its issue of July 6, 1882:

WHISKY, PROSTITUTES, MURDER.

Under the above caption the *Sumner County Press*, of last week, proceeds to read the citizens of Sumner county, and officers of Caldwell and Hunnewell a lecture on morality and immorality. The editor states what he is pleased to call facts, what in reality is a string of falsehoods or mistakes. In the first place, he says there has been forty murders committed in Sumner county in the last ten years, all traceable to whisky and lewd women, and that only three of the murderers have been brought to justice, namely, Jackson, Chastain and Carter.

In the three cases above, the city of Caldwell had nothing whatever, to do. Jackson killed his man for money—was tried, convicted and allowed by his guards to escape them while they were playing cards. The guards were leading citizens of Wellington, and were not drinking whisky at the time.

If we remember right, the citizens of Wellington murdered three or four men in an early day, that was not decidedly traceable to mean whisky. A murder was committed in London township, and the murderer was tried and not convicted. The murder was not committed while either of the men was under the influence of whisky nor prostitutes.

The murder of two men in the early days of Caldwell was not traceable to either whisky or prostitution. One was hanged by the citizens for his cursedness, and the other was committed by an outlaw just for the fun of the thing, who was chased by the citizens and killed.

George Flat was killed to satisfy a grudge. Frank Hunt was killed for the same reason and not on account of either women or whisky.

George Spear was shot by citizens or officers while assisting the Talbot gang to escape.

Talbot shot Mike Meagher in a riot, not caused by whisky or women, but from a supposed insult. He was an outlaw, and the officers nor citizens were not responsible for his actions no more than the city of Wellington. He was killed in Texas about two weeks ago.

George Brown was shot in the discharge of his duties. The men who did the killing were not under the influence of whisky or lewd women. One of them had taken two drinks and the other had not taken any. They were outlaws and would have made the same play had they been anywhere else in the State. They would give up their arms only after they were past using them.

The *Press'* fine-spun theory in the above named cases is decidedly at variation with the truth.

George Woods was killed by a man who had not touched whisky in two years, and was the outgrowth of a feud and supposed insult, but was, we are willing to admit, brought about through prostitutes.

Rare cussedness has been the cause of nine-tenths of the murders committed in the county, and not whisky and public sentiment, as the *Press* would have one believe. The city authorities are no more responsible for the murders that are committed in Caldwell, than is the President of the United States, and it is a base slander for any one to make such a statement.

Sheriff Joseph Thralls, who was instrumental in having a state reward offered for Jesse and Steve Green, added \$400 to the amount, according to the *Commercial* of July 13, 1882.

Out-of-town newspapers were still taking pot shots at Caldwell in November. Again the *Post* defended the town's honor in its issue of November 9, 1882:

GIVE THE DEVIL HIS DUES.

The cowboys have removed five city marshals of Caldwell in five years.—*Dodge City Times*.

We most emphatically deny the charge made by the *Times* that the cowboys removed five city marshals. The fact is, the cowboys have "removed" but one city marshal, and that one was George Brown. His murder[er]s were escaped convicts from the Texas penitentiary, and were only making the profession of herding cattle a cover to their outlawry and cattle and horse-stealing operations. Jim Talbot killed Mike Meagher, assisted by cowboys, some of them being in a row of that class for the first time. Mr. Meagher was not a city marshal at the time of his death, nor was his murderer a cowboy at that time. The other marshals spoken of by the *Times* were not killed by cowboys, but by male prostitutes, to put it mildly.

It looks to us as though the charge contained in the item quoted from the *Times* comes with very bad grace from a man whose entire support—bread and butter, as it were—comes from men whose chief patrons are cowmen. The cowboys of our acquaintance are not the class of men that commit murders and raise riots simply because they can. They are, as a majority, well-educated, peaceable and gentlemanly fellows. The day of the wild and woolly cowboy is past, in this section, at least, if it is not in such ungodly towns as Dodge City. If the Dodge City editors would visit us once, and see what kind of people live here, we think they would not be so rash in their assertions.

On November 7, 1882, Sheriff Thralls reported the deaths of the Greens:

Office of
J. M. Thralls
Sheriff Sumner County.

WELLINGTON, KAN., Nov 7" 1882

GOVERNOR J. P. ST. JOHN

DEAR SIR:

You doubtless remember having offered a reward about July 1st for the arrest and conviction of the murderers of City Marshal George Brown of Caldwell— I had issued cards describing them as minutely as possible and sent them to every P. O. in the I. T.— N. M.— Colorado— and the western half of Texas— besides getting them into the hands of all Officers possible—

The result was the Officials of Wise County Texas— got after them had a fight with them— on Monday Oct 9th/82 when they whiped the constables' posse— and escaped with one of them carrying a Winchester ball in his right side— which disabled him from traveling much. They were again overtaken on the following Wednesday morning— When asked to surrender they replied with a Shot gun and Revolver— The posse replied killing one instantly— and hitting the other 12 times— 2 Winchester balls and 10 Buck Shot— entered his body— but did not disable him so badly but what we could bring him to this County. his right side was paralyzed so he could not handle himself— We have had him in our Jail since— until today— last Saturday he was taken suddenly ill and became unconscious all at once and died Sunday morning— The Post mortem examination showed that our Buck Shot, of small size, entered his forehead— and passed through the lower part of his brain— and stoped near the back part of head— Then had puss formed along the course of the ball— which caused his death. That ends the course of the two murderers of George Brown— Now what is necessary for us to do to get the State reward— which goes to their captors in Texas— We can give you several affidavits of his own admission to killing Brown The one that died in our Jail is the one who fired the fatal shot while the other, his bro— was present and assisted by keeping off Brown's Deputy— and came near shooting him— He told the boys in Jail (5 of them) the circumstance of their flight after the murder—

If you will indicate in what way we can get the State reward— I think we can fully satisfy you as to their identity and guilt— If you will appoint some attorney— in this section of the country we will furnish him the witnesses— as to Identity and guilt, or any attorney from any where so it is not too Expensive to us— We are asking this for the Texas Officers who have done good work in the case— And what was dangerous work, in good faith, and at some expense, now I would like to see them rewarded to make our part of the contract good

Hoping to hear from you soon I remain

Yours Respectfully,

J. M. THRALLS,³

1. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.
2. *Ibid.* 3. *Ibid.*

(To Be Continued in the Summer, 1960, Issue.)

Cotton Whigs in Kansas

THOMAS H. O'CONNOR

A LARGE part of the eternal fascination of history is derived from the strange paradoxes which are to be found in its pages. There are few stranger paradoxes in the ante-bellum period of American history than the sight of old Boston's staid gentlemen of property and standing suddenly converted to rabble-rousing fire-eaters over the slavery issue, spending half their time and fortunes sending free-soilers westward to save Kansas. "We went to bed one night, old-fashioned, conservative, compromise, Union Whigs," related Amos Adams Lawrence, one of the most prominent financiers in the North, "and waked up stark mad Abolitionists."¹

Whatever could have caused such a startling metamorphosis? That such a change did take place is frequently mentioned in most studies of the ante-bellum decades. The story of the Emigrant Aid Company has often been told, its techniques studied and effects calculated. But what of the motives behind the decision to populate Kansas with free men? Why did the so-called "Cotton Whigs" of Boston wait until now to actively intervene in the slavery issue? Had these men suddenly changed their political and constitutional principles—or had they rejected them completely? Had Yankee businessmen given up all hope of saving the Union and maintaining the peace, or was this an 11th hour attempt to stave off what some were beginning to regard as an "inevitable" conflict?

The answer to many of these questions goes much further back into American history than Senator Douglas, the Kansas-Nebraska act, or the Compromise of 1850. An appreciation of the deadly dilemma with which the conservative elements of the Bay State were faced must necessarily begin about 20 years earlier, when a man by the name of William Lloyd Garrison ran off the first edition of a newspaper called the *Liberator*.

When Garrison started his Abolition crusade in 1831, he found the solid citizenry of the city of Boston ranged against him, and the early issues of his paper caused hardly a ripple upon the smooth surface of the town. "Suspicion and apathy" were the only re-

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1. Amos A. Lawrence to Giles Richards, June 1, 1854, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," Mss., Massachusetts Historical Society (hereafter cited as "M. H. S."), v. 2.

actions to his movement, and even when apathy gave way to curiosity and Boston did sit up and take notice, the results were anything but encouraging. Looked upon generally as agitators, cranks, and crackpots, Abolitionists were simply not socially acceptable.

Boston's men of property and standing had their own ideas regarding the perplexing problem of slavery and its eventual solution—and they did not include what they considered the fanatical proposals of Garrison and his friends. If a Christian gentleman felt the need of putting his moral opposition to slavery into some tangible form, the "colonization" program of the American Colonization Society offered a reasonable solution. The opportunity to donate sufficient funds to send a Negro off to Africa made it possible for a gentleman to assist the individual Negro, without involving himself in an unsavory controversy regarding the nature of the institution itself. Harrison Gray Otis, mayor of Boston and a heavy investor in cotton textiles, even went so far as to publicly support a program of federal colonization which would provide an annual appropriation to indemnify the slave owners and allow each plantation state to devise its own method of colonization.²

The Abolitionists, however, were quick to condemn what Garrison sneeringly labeled "that popular but pernicious doctrine of gradual abolition." They went out of their way to attack the policy of colonization which was known to have the active support of prominent Bostonians, and charged the colonization society with being nothing more than a secret agency for slaveholders.³

Before long, conservative Bostonians began to drop their attitude of indifference and became worried about the unsettling effects which Garrison and his followers were producing. The cotton textile interests of the Bay State, in particular, were genuinely alarmed concerning the possible repercussions which Garrison might have on the Cotton Kingdom. Already there were ominous rumblings from the South, as outraged planters threatened all sorts of economic reprisals unless Northerners put an end to Abolitionist agitation. "The people of the North must go hanging these fanatical wretches if they would not lose the benefit of Southern trade," growled the Richmond (Va.) *Whig*; and when a demonstration of pro-Abolitionist sentiment broke out among the workers

2. Boston *Daily Atlas*, December 23, 1835; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis, Federalist, 1765-1848*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1835), v. 2, pp. 288, 289. Also, see J. K. Douglas to Amos Lawrence, August, September 10, 1846, "Amos Lawrence Letters," Mss., M. H. S., v. 7; Stephen Fairbanks to Amos A. Lawrence, June 16, 1851, *ibid.*, v. 9.

3. William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization* (Boston, 1832), *passim*.

in the Lowell Mills, the South became even more apprehensive. Lamenting the fact that Abolitionism had been allowed to make such inroads into the ranks of the workers, Southerners threatened a boycott which would cause Lowell to "wither or be forced to expel the Abolitionists." A prominent Louisiana planter hastened to tell a leading New England textile manufacturer of the dangers brewing below the Mason-Dixon line. "There will be strong measures taken in this state during the winter . . . which will be alarming to the people of the North," warned the planter, "and I fear the late Lowell affair will cause some resolutions which will be acted on, aimed at her manufactures."⁴

Boston manufacturing and shipping interests sought some way out of this awkward situation. The businessmen of Massachusetts were inextricably bound up with the fortunes of the Cotton Kingdom—and the South knew it! American factories were already using over 100 million pounds of Southern cotton, and Northern mills depended upon a steady flow of this cotton upon which to base their profits. Northern bankers who grew rich by extending liberal (but risky) credit to Southern planters against next year's crops, insisted on good relations and a stable economy. Northern shippers looked forward to the increasing raw cotton production of the South as their principal item of export, while depending upon the busy looms of Lawrence and Lowell to provide one of the most important media of the Yankee carrying trade. The result was that the economic interests of the otherwise disparate sections had gradually drawn both parties into an unusually tolerant, friendly, and cordial relationship. Commercial and professional contacts between the enterprisers in the North and the plantation owners in the South were augmented by personal correspondence and frequent visits. Southern planters vacationed at Boston hotels as they might at summer resorts, while Northern manufacturers were hospitably received into the best private homes in the South. Young Southern gentlemen with dashing manners and generous allowances courted the young ladies of Boston, attended dinners and parties in Beacon Street homes, and reported regularly on their marks and deportment at Harvard to the heads of Boston's first families, who promptly relayed the information back to their fathers in the South.⁵

4. *Niles Weekly Register*, Baltimore, v. 49 (October 3, 1835), pp. 72-80; William Sparks to Amos Lawrence, October 17, 1835, "Amos Lawrence Letters," v. 4. Also, see Philip Foner, *Business and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, 1941), p. 4, and Bernard Mandel, *Labor: Free and Slave* (New York, 1955), pp. 74, 75.

5. Robert Means, Beaufort, S. C., to Amos Lawrence, March 10, 1823, May, 1824, "Amos Lawrence Papers," Mss., M. H. S., Box 1; Henry A. Bullard, New Orleans, to Lawrence, January 28, 1832, April 5, 1838, "Amos Lawrence Letters," v. 3; John L. Toomer, Charleston, S. C., to Lawrence, June 24, June 28, 1840, *ibid.*

A complementary economic system between the North and the South, a tolerant regard for the rights and the privileges of the other side, and a warm social relationship to augment close economic ties—these were the valuable contributions to national unity and harmony which many conservative Bostonians felt were now being jeopardized by the immoderate demands and dangerous threats of the Abolitionists. The only solution which they could see was to publicly reassure their Southern friends that the disturbing element was only a small lunatic fringe which was not at all representative of the Northern point of view. Constantly the "Cotton Whigs" of Boston pleaded with their Southern brethren to make a sharp distinction between the Abolitionist and the remainder of the North—particularly the Whigs. "The Whigs were the first to denounce the Abolitionists," the Boston *Daily Atlas* pointed out, and asked the Southland not to associate Abolitionists like Garrison and Tappan with the Whig party.⁶

In virtually all his appeals to the South, the Northern businessman emphasized the fact that any solution to the slavery problem was to be accomplished only in accordance with the wishes of each of the Southern states. This was one of the most significant points of the conservative argument against Abolition. Slavery, the average Northern Whig would readily concede, was an integral part of the American historical process, given specific sanction by the terms of the constitution of the United States. While he might personally deplore the institution of slavery on moral grounds, he felt that any political solution of the issue was only constitutionally possible by and with the consent of the respective states.⁷

Petitioners from various parts of the North proceeded to flood congress with memorials publicly denouncing Abolitionism, and in Boston a huge mass meeting of some 1,500 citizens met in Faneuil Hall on August 21, 1835, to display the good intentions of Boston's men of property and standing toward the South. An audience composed of a number of prominent slaveholders from all parts of the nation heard Harrison Gray Otis warn that Abolitionism was waging war against the lives, the property, the rights, the institutions, the pride, and the honor of the Southern states. Even the most skeptical visitor from the South must have been satisfied

6. Boston *Daily Atlas*, September 30, October 10, 17, 1835.

7. Amos Lawrence to Robert Barnwell Rhett, South Carolina, December 12, 1849, in William R. Lawrence, *Extracts From the Diary and Correspondence of the Late Amos Lawrence* (Boston, 1855), pp. 274-276; Harrison Gray Otis to Benjamin Hunt, October 17, 1831, Morison, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 262, 263. Also, see Arthur B. Darling, *Political Changes in Massachusetts, 1824-1848* (New Haven, 1925), p. 152.

with this meeting in the "Cradle of Liberty"; and the Boston *Atlas* took pride in reprinting a New Orleans editorial which praised the speech of the former mayor of Boston and reported that his words were hailed throughout the South as welcome evidence that the insidious movement had been brought to a halt.⁸

The pressure of local reaction against Garrison reached its celebrated climax in October, 1835, when the Abolitionist leader was manhandled and almost lynched in the streets of Boston. Of the nature of the mob which attacked him, Garrison had no doubt. "It was planned and executed," he insisted, "not by the rabble, or the workingmen, but by 'gentlemen of property and standing from all parts of the city.'" Wendell Phillips, who had been a nonpartisan witness to the event, later gave a classic description of the attack being conducted by the "gentlemen" of the city—in "broadcloth and in broad daylight"; and James I. Homer, editor of the *Commercial Gazette*, described the mob as "gentlemen of property and influence." The conservative character of the rioters is further confirmed by a visitor from Baltimore, T. L. Nichols, who chanced to see the historic outburst as he walked through the city and saw the "merchants and bankers of Boston, assembled on 'Change in State-Street'" come swinging around from State street onto Washington street to put an end to the Abolitionist proceedings.

Although the evidence is still largely circumstantial, there would seem to be little doubt that some persons close to Boston's leading merchants and businessmen had decided to demonstrate their good will to their Southern brethren by deeds as well as by words. By the first of the following year, young Amos A. Lawrence could write back to his father from the nation's capital, his opinion that the attacks against the Abolitionists had achieved their purpose. He himself had heard Thomas Hart Benton declare proudly on the floor of the senate that the "indignation manifested at the North during the last summer" was proof that Northerners were as hostile to Abolition doctrine as any "reasonable Southerner could wish."⁹

Despite efforts of conservative Northerners to suppress and destroy the Abolitionist movement, however, national events dur-

8. Boston *Daily Atlas*, August 22, October 17, 1835; Benjamin Curtis to George Ticknor, August 23, 1835, Benjamin R. Curtis, *A Memoir*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1879), v. 1, p. 72; Morison, *op cit.*, v. 2, pp. 271, 272.

9. Wendell and Francis Garrison, eds., *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879: The Story of His Life Told by His Children*, 4 vols. (New York, 1885), v. 2, p. 30; Wendell Phillips, *Speeches, Lectures and Letters* (Boston, 1892), p. 214; T. L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861* (New York, 1937), pp. 84-88; Amos A. Lawrence to Amos Lawrence, January 8, 1836, "Amos Lawrence Letters," v. 1.

ing the 1840's forced the issue of slavery more and more into the forefront of political debate. The surge of westward expansion, the rebellion in Texas, the war with Mexico, all served to focus the eyes of the nation upon the complexities of Negro slavery and its constitutional right to exist and to expand.

While the gentlemen of Boston might repeatedly assure their friends in the South that they would not lift a finger to interfere with the peculiar institution where it already existed under the sanction and protection of the constitution, most of these same "Cotton Whigs" were strongly opposed to territorial expansion, particularly when they felt such expansion would foreshadow the simultaneous expansion of slavery. The Northern businessmen would never interfere with the guarantees of the constitution in protecting slave property in the Southern states, but the same men were quite adamant in refusing to allow slavery to be brought "where it is not now under the Federal Government." Since the question of territorial expansion was regarded as completely outside the original constitutional provisions which had insured the security of slavery in the states, men like Abbott Lawrence, Amos A. Lawrence, Nathan Appleton, Rufus Choate, Edward Everett, and Robert C. Winthrop felt that the South could have no possible grounds for thinking that her constitutional rights and prerogatives were being assailed. It was with this clear-cut constitutional theory in mind, then, that conservative elements of Boston consistently opposed the admission of Texas to the Union. All other questions of the day were "insignificant in comparison" to this infernal "hum-bug" which constituted the most dangerous threat to the Union since the days of the constitution.¹⁰

When they were unable to prevent the annexation of Texas, the "Cotton Whigs" next tried to stave off the war with Mexico which they regarded as the inevitable outgrowth of slavocracy's greed for empire. Reluctant to endanger their sensitive economic relations with the Cotton Kingdom, and still very careful not to embarrass their Southern Whig friends, the "Cotton Whigs" of Massachusetts nevertheless opposed the war with Mexico on constitutional principles. While Daniel Webster was accusing President Polk of having usurped the constitutional powers of congress, Sen. John Davis, a "Cotton Whig" choice from the Bay State, pro-

10. S. G. Brown, ed., *The Works of Rufus Choate With a Memoir of His Life*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1862), v. 2, p. 274; Hamilton Hill, *Memoir of Abbott Lawrence* (Boston, 1883), p. 21; Amos Lawrence to Jonathan Chapman, November, 1844, Lawrence to a friend in South Carolina, June 12, 1852, Lawrence, *Diary*, pp. 192, 317, 318; Henry A. Bullard, New Orleans to Amos Lawrence, January 25, 1837, "Amos Lawrence Letters," v. 2.

vided one of the two negative senatorial votes against the war. Governor Briggs of Massachusetts stolidly refused to commission officers of a company of volunteers unless they promised not to march beyond the state boundaries, and old Amos Lawrence, noted merchant and philanthropist, sneered at the state volunteers as "the most miserable, dirty and worn-out wretches that can be scraped up this side of the infernal regions!" Congressman Winthrop summed up the conservative position quite well when he said: "So far as we have power—constitutional or moral power—to control political events, we are resolved that there shall be no further extension of the territory of this Union subject to the institution of slavery."¹¹

These voices of restraint and moderation, however, were drowned out by the almost hysterical chant of Manifest Destiny which ended only when the United States relieved Mexico of about two-fifths of her lands. The "Cotton Whigs" were appalled at the enormity of the act, and suspected that this victory over Mexico was only the signal for all Western lands to be opened to Negro slavery. Determined to head off such a possibility, the gentlemen of Boston prepared to control as much of the national political power as they could by putting the "right" kind of Whigs into office in 1848. Behind the glamorous figure of the military hero, Gen. Zachary Taylor, and with Millard T. Fillmore as a last-minute substitute for Abbott Lawrence in the second position, the Whigs marched to victory and took immediate steps to secure their hold. Sen. John J. Crittenden of Kentucky saw to it that only moderate, pro-Taylor Whigs were admitted to the magic circle. Clayton of Delaware, Meredith of Pennsylvania, Johnson of Maryland, Preston of Virginia, and Crawford of Georgia were cabinet appointees whose views were consistent with the conservative Whig tradition; while Abbott Lawrence, the famous textile industrialist, left Boston to take up residence at the Court of St. James.¹²

Firmly entrenched, the Whigs waited for the shooting to start when the 31st congress assembled in December, 1849. They did not have long to wait. It took all of 63 ballots just to elect a speaker of the house, and by the time that the explosive issues

11. Abbott Lawrence to John J. Crittenden, April 5, 1844, "Crittenden Mss.," United States Library of Congress; Fletcher Webster, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, 18 vols. (National Edition, Boston, 1903), v. 4, pp. 31, 32; Amos Lawrence to Mark Hopkins, July 19, 1848, "Amos Lawrence Letters," v. 9; Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop* (Boston, 1897), pp. 58, 59.

12. Amos Lawrence to Abbott Lawrence, February 28, March 3, March 5, 1849, Lawrence, *Diary*, pp. 266, 267; Nathan Appleton to Millard Fillmore, February 6, 1849, "Nathan Appleton Mss.," M. H. S.; Robert C. Winthrop to Nathan Appleton, January 2, 1849, Winthrop Mss., M. H. S., v. 36.

created by the Mexican war came up for discussion, tempers had been filed down to a hair trigger. Flare-ups were common and fist fights were frequent, as taunts, jeers, charges, and counter-charges reverberated through the chambers. "Upon the whole," confided Robert C. Winthrop to Nathan Appleton, "a seat in Congress is a most undesirable possession."¹³

It was against this background of debate and furious recrimination that the elderly Henry Clay rose slowly in his place in the senate to offer a solution which might salvage some semblance of national unity and restore some measure of sectional harmony. Clay's famous plan was a compromise, pure and simple, designed to appeal to as much of the moderate sentiment of all parties as possible. Peace and conciliation were the basic ingredients of the Compromise of 1850, and all that was needed was for some leading political figure to second the proposals of Clay.

On March 7, 1850, Sen. Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, defender of the Union, statesman of national renown, and spokesman of the interests of tradition, property and respectability, rose to speak. In the last great speech of his life, the aging senator gave an eloquent defense of the proposals of Clay, pleaded for peace and reconciliation, and promptly brought down upon his head the violent indignation of the antislavery elements of the Bay State.

But to the New England business community as a whole, to a majority of the men of wealth and property and standing, Webster was the man of the hour. Having appreciated the seriousness of the national crisis in 1850, and having realized how close the South had really been to secession ("the future historian will pause with astonishment and terror when he comes to record it," prophesied Rufus Choate), the merchants and the businessmen of the North had been prepared to clutch at almost any plan which offered any reasonable measure of national peace. This was by no means the best solution, most of them agreed, but it was far better than disunion and war. Webster's stand, commented the conservative *Advertiser*, was a "monument of his power of analyzing public affairs, and of his devotion to the interests of the Union, and the defence of the Constitution that is the heart and life of that Union."¹⁴ All through the state "Union Meetings" were organized

13. Winthrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 92; Winthrop to Nathan Appleton, January 6, 1850, "Winthrop Mss.," v. 36. Also, see Holman Hamilton, "'The Cave of the Winds' and the Compromise of 1850," *Journal of Southern History*, Lexington, Ky., v. 23 (August, 1957), pp. 331-353.

14. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 12, 1850; Brown, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 313; Robert C. Winthrop to Edward Everett, March 17, 1850, "Everett Mss.," M. H. S.; Winthrop to George Morey, March 10, 1850, "Winthrop Mss.," v. 36; Susan Loring, ed., *Selections From the Diaries of William Appleton, 1786-1862* (Boston, 1922), p. 143.

in support of Webster and the compromise, and 800 of the most prominent citizens of the city promptly rushed to add their well-known signatures to a public letter to Senator Webster. Merchants such as Lawrence, Appleton, Perkins, and Amory; lawyers such as Choate, Lunt, and the Curtises; scholars such as Ticknor, Everett, Prescott, and Sparks—all added their voices to the paeans of praise for a statesman who had “pointed out to a whole people the path of duty,” and who had “convinced the understanding and touched the conscience of a nation.”¹⁵

As far as the “Cotton Whigs” of Massachusetts were concerned, the Compromise of 1850 had solved those political nightmares which had almost driven the country into a state of national hysteria. Basking in the warm glow of local prosperity and national progress, Boston’s men of standing relaxed in the firm belief that the possibility of sectional conflict had passed. In theory, the compromise had appeased the South by admitting its constitutional privilege to let slavery follow the flag. In practice, however, the Yankee reflected, it was not practical for slavery to expand into the western prairies; and so, *de facto*, the freedom of the West was assured. “Since . . . the whole of the vast territories hereafter to be admitted as States are to be free,” wrote Amos A. Lawrence in obvious complacency, “it seems most unwise to be quarreling about abstractions.”¹⁶ Despite certain features of the compromise which they personally found distasteful (such as the Fugitive Slave act), the “Cotton Whigs” of Boston held tightly to this contract which offered present intersectional accord with the promise of future liberty. The Union was indivisible, the constitution was infallible, and the Compromise of 1850 was indissoluble—this was the creed of those New Englanders who wanted to expunge the moral turpitude of slavery without endangering the social and economic relations they maintained with the South.

And then it happened. On January 4, 1854, the beautiful dream ended, and the “old fashioned, conservative, compromise Union Whigs,” were transformed into “stark mad Abolitionists.” On that day Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois reported a bill into the senate (the Kansas-Nebraska act) calling for the organization of new territory above 36° 30'. He then went on to propose that

15. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 3, 1850.

16. Amos A. Lawrence to Samuel Eliot, January 20, 1851, Lawrence to J. E. Tyler, February 12, 1851, “Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook,” v. 1; Robert C. Winthrop to John C. Warren, August 16, 1851, “Warren Mss.,” M. H. S., v. 29. Also, see R. N. Ogden and Henry A. Bullard, New Orleans, to Amos Lawrence, December 29, 1850, January 25, 1851, “Amos Lawrence Letters,” v. 10.

this territory be opened to popular sovereignty, and that when prepared to enter the Union should do so "with or without slavery" as determined by its constitution at the time.

As expected, leading antislavery elements immediately led the attack upon the measure as further proof of an insidious conspiracy to extend the slave empire into the west. But among the groups in the North which set themselves against this "Nebraska infamy" none were more outraged and resentful than the "Cotton Whigs" of Massachusetts. Convinced that they had demonstrated their own good faith by having upheld the institution of slavery where it was sanctioned by the constitution, they expected that the South, in return, had guaranteed that the territories would remain free. Assured that the Compromise of 1850 had ended the issue of slavery once and for all, they were now furious at this inexcusable demonstration of bad faith. On February 23, 1854, some three thousand of the "solid" men of Boston, headed by Abbott Lawrence, Robert C. Winthrop, and Samuel Eliot, held a great meeting at Faneuil Hall to protest the way in which they had been cheated and ridiculed by what they considered to be the machinations of cheap demagogues.¹⁷

Business interests, which had always deplored public antislavery agitation, now began to add their mighty influence to the groundswell of public opinion—and curse themselves for having to do it. "If I could have prescribed a recipe for reinflating Free-Soilism and Abolitionism, which had collapsed all over the country," sputtered Robert C. Winthrop in utter frustration, "I should have singled out this precise potion from the whole *materia medica* of political quackery." His friend Amos A. Lawrence agreed, and condemned the political stupidity which reopened the issue of slavery and split North and South again. After all, if the wealthy merchants and the "retired gentlemen who go into State Street for an hour or two every day" were now going over to the anti-slavery cause, then who else was left? "These constitute pretty much all the 'slave power' in this community," he confided to a friend, "and if *they* give up the Compromises and say that they have been cheated, we all know that sympathy for the South and their 'Institution' must be gone."¹⁸

17. Boston *Daily Advertiser*, February 23, 1850; Boston *Times*, February 23, May 30, 1854; Amos A. Lawrence to George S. Park, January 23, 1857, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," v. 4.

18. Winthrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 166; Edward Everett, Mss. "Diary," M. H. S., May 27, 1854; Amos A. Lawrence to Samuel Walley, May 12, 1854, Lawrence to Mr. Andrews, May 26, 1854, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," v. 2.

The first object of the "Cotton Whigs" was to defeat Douglas and destroy his nefarious bill. While the gentlemen of Boston pleaded with their Southern friends not to upset the peace established by the Compromise of 1850, they urged their political representatives in Washington to "pour in the vollies of red hot shot" upon the Nebraska bill and make sure that "Douglas' day is over."¹⁹

But the consummate political skill of Senator Douglas proved more than a match for the irate protestations of his Whig opponents in the North. Borne along by the energies of young Douglas, supported by administrative approval from the White House, and sustained by jubilant Southerners of all parties, the Kansas-Nebraska act swept aside its opponents and was signed into law by President Franklin Pierce on May 30, 1854.²⁰

With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the "Cotton Whigs" of Massachusetts found themselves in a peculiar dilemma: As realistic men of business and capital, the Yankee manufacturers felt obliged to retain the faith and good will of a Southern plantation economy upon which their own substantial fortunes were solidly based. As men of political principle, the New England Whigs felt constrained to preserve the Union which Marshall had defined, Webster had defended, and which the Whig party had labored so hard and long to maintain. But as men of honor and integrity, the keepers of the "Puritan Conscience" felt themselves consumed by righteous wrath at what they considered to be the selfish designs of unscrupulous politicians who had gambled with national unity for the sake of railroad ties and caucus votes.

Nowhere, perhaps, is the startling metamorphosis of the Boston businessman so well demonstrated than in connection with the seizure of the Negro, Anthony Burns, on May 26, 1854. So great was the opposition of Boston to this application of the Fugitive Slave law that it was necessary to use the entire city police force plus federal troops to escort Burns to the wharf. Amos A. Lawrence angrily told the mayor that he would prefer to see the courthouse burned to the ground than have Burns returned to slavery; and when he was forced to witness the victim's march to the docks, he told his brother that only the immense display of military power "prevented the total destruction of the U. S. Marshal and

19. Amos A. Lawrence to R. A. Crafts, New Orleans, March 7, 1854, Lawrence to Hon. Samuel H. Walley, May 12, 1854, Lawrence to Hon. J. W. Edmonds, March 16, 1854, *ibid.*

20. Robert W. Johannsen, "The Kansas-Nebraska Act and Territorial Government in the United States," *Territorial Kansas* (Lawrence, University of Kansas Social Science Studies, 1954), pp. 17-32.

his hired assistants.”²¹ These were the words of a man who only two years earlier had offered his personal services to the U. S. marshal in Boston to aid “in any capacity” in carrying out the very same law.²² “The commercial class of the city have taken a new position on the great question of the day,” reported the *Boston Times*, and noted that a number of prominent merchants “who have never before given their influence on the anti-slavery side,” had just signed a public petition to have the Fugitive Slave act repealed.²³ It seemed, indeed, as if the conservative gentlemen of Boston had become “stark mad Abolitionists” overnight, and all they needed was some means of converting their sentiments into action.

As “Cotton Whigs” they had repeatedly pledged their word that they would never interfere with the South or with any of her institutions where the constitution provided sanctions; but they had also gone on record as opposing the extension of that “peculiar institution” beyond those prescribed constitutional limits. So, by God, Douglas or no Douglas, bill or no bill, if population was the determining factor in deciding the fate of Kansas, these Yankees would see to it that there would be a flood of “free citizens” to Kansas, the like of which had not been seen since the waters of the flood overflowed the earth. “The North was on fire,” exclaimed Edward Everett Hale, and prophesied that a gigantic wave of emigration like nothing since the days of Moses would soon be passing into the valleys of the Nebraska and the Kansas like the crusaders of old under Peter the Hermit. This was no old “anti-slavery warhorse plan,” maintained Hale. This was a plan to “meet the South on its own terms” by sending emigrants to Kansas in accordance with a plan which “the whole providence of God demands, and which is made easy by the wonderful arrangement of His wisdom.”²⁴

“Anger hath no mercy nor fury when it breaketh forth. And who can bear the violence of one provoked!” states the Book of Proverbs. With all the fervor of an evangelistic crusade, the New England conscience went to work, with the battle cry of William Seward ringing out: “God give the victory to the side that is

21. Amos A. Lawrence to William Lawrence, June, 1854, “Amos A. Lawrence Letter-book,” v. 2.

22. Amos A. Lawrence to Marshal Charles Devens, February 17, 1851, *ibid.*, v. 1.

23. *Boston Times*, May 30, 1854.

24. Edward E. Hale, Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1917), v. 1, pp. 248, 256, 257.

stronger in numbers as it is in right," and with Amos Lawrence answering: "We shall beat them!"²⁵

The earliest response to the Kansas challenge centered about the "Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company" which had been created early in the spring of 1854 while the Kansas-Nebraska act was still pending. The work of Eli Thayer of Worcester, a member of the Massachusetts legislature, the plan proposed to mix philanthropy with profit. Thayer planned to sponsor whole villages of free settlers to develop the fertile soil of Kansas, and then divide up the profits between the homesteaders and the investors. On April 26, 1854, the governor of Massachusetts signed a charter authorizing a capital stock of \$5,000,000, and Thayer was off to New York to convince other subscribers of the fabulous opportunities involved in making Kansas free.²⁶

Back in Boston, however, hardly a month had passed before Thayer's project began to be labeled as a crass, money-making scheme, and the motives of its membership ascribed to selfish greed masquerading behind the glittering façade of humanitarianism. Amos A. Lawrence, now a leading merchant and financier, prominent in the Emigrant Aid movement, was disturbed by the ugly rumors which he himself had heard. Hard pressed by many of his influential colleagues and investors who had suddenly become fearful of the great amount of liability which they had incurred in Thayer's "harum scarum" scheme, Lawrence now demanded that Thayer reform the company or lose the support of his Boston subscribers.²⁷

Learning of these developments in New York City, Thayer rushed back to Boston after hastily obtaining a charter of corporation from the state of Connecticut apparently in order to hold together his New York subscribers. Thayer's attempts to fight the Boston men proved fruitless. Lawrence was adamant, and threatened to withdraw his name and his money if a change were not forthcoming. Thayer yielded, and on July 24, 1854, a "voluntary

25. Amos A. Lawrence to William Lawrence, June 20, 1854, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," v. 2.

26. Amos A. Lawrence to Moses Grinnell, New York, June 21, 1854, *ibid.* Also, see Samuel A. Johnson, "The Genesis of the New England Emigrant Aid Company," *New England Quarterly*, Portland, Maine, v. 3 (January, 1930), pp. 95-122, and R. V. Harlow, "The Rise and Fall of the Kansas Aid Movement," *American Historical Review*, Richmond, Va., v. 41 (October, 1935), pp. 1-3.

27. Patrick Jackson to Amos A. Lawrence, June 10, 1854, "Amos A. Lawrence Letters," v. 11; Eli Thayer to Lawrence, June 22, 1854, *ibid.* See, also, Robert E. Moody, "The First Year of the Emigrant Aid Company," *New England Quarterly*, v. 4 (January, 1931), pp. 149, 150, and Eli Thayer, *A History of the Kansas Crusade* (New York, 1889), pp. 25-30.

association" was formed by which the subscribers associated themselves together into a noncorporate joint stock company to be known as "The Emigrant Aid Company." Management was vested in three trustees, Amos A. Lawrence, J. M. S. Williams, and Eli Thayer, with Dr. Thomas H. Webb as secretary, and Lawrence acting as treasurer.²⁸

In February of the next year, the members of what was now commonly referred to as "The New England Emigrant Aid Company" applied to the Massachusetts legislature for a charter, and on February 21, 1855, Governor Gardner signed the act authorizing corporation "for the purpose of directing emigration Westward and aiding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their places of destination. . . ." On March 5, a meeting was held, the charter accepted, and the organization crystalized which would operate in the struggle for Kansas during 1855-1856. John Carter Brown of Providence was elected president, Eli Thayer and J. M. S. Williams chosen as vice-presidents, Amos A. Lawrence continued in his post as treasurer, and Dr. Webb was kept on as secretary.²⁹

The new company was now established as a purely local organization, separate and distinct from similar emigrant organizations in other states, with wary investors assured of limited liability under the careful hand and expert eye of Mr. Lawrence. From now on "aid" would consist of free information and a 15 per cent reduction in railroad and steamship fares through quantity purchase. No political questions were to be asked of the emigrants, since the avowed purpose of the organization was to get people to Kansas, and there let them make their own free choice—to oppose the establishment of slavery "by all legal and constitutional means." In this respect Lawrence went out of his way to make it clear that the reorganized company was not a speculative venture for profit. Although some members, especially Eli Thayer, continued to expect fabulous returns on their investments, Lawrence himself never expected that the company stock would pay dividends or even that the stockholders would ever see their money again. He was quite upset when the free settlers named their capital "Lawrence," fearing that his motives in sponsoring the Emi-

28. Amos A. Lawrence to Eli Thayer, July 5, July 6, 1854, "Amos A. Lawrence Letter-book," v. 2; Thayer to Lawrence, July 15, 1854, "Amos A. Lawrence Letters," v. 11. See Moody, "The First Year," *New England Quarterly*, v. 4, pp. 152, 153, and Johnson, "Emigrant Aid Company," *ibid.*, v. 3, p. 100.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-107.

grant Aid Society would be interpreted as an attempt to promote his own influence and "celebrity."³⁰

Writing to Sen. Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, Lawrence denied that the funds of the company were used for any other purpose but to provide for the basic needs of the emigrants and insisted that the stock was worthless. Furthermore, continued Lawrence, these emigrants were not Abolitionists. "So far as we know, not one known to be of that stamp has gone in our parties," he wrote. "They are free to vote and do as they please. The society has no agreement with them nor pledge, nor are they asked any questions."³¹ When two of the trustees proposed to buy real estate in Kansas, to the amount of 28 million dollars, Lawrence vetoed the idea. Such a purpose, he wrote in a memorandum, "is for the purpose of speculating, to make a profit; and it is not necessary in order to accomplish the objects for which the Society was formed." The Emigrant Aid Society was created for the purpose of promoting freedom—not money.³²

With the company reorganized, Lawrence not only received the additional backing of such men as his prominent uncle, Abbott Lawrence, and of William Appleton and Joseph Lyman, but was contacted by such leading New York merchants as Moses Grinnell who sought to join forces with the New England group.³³ Collecting money, writing letters, encouraging friends, and denouncing foes, Lawrence demonstrated the enthusiasm which motivated many Northern Whigs to work so zealously for a free-soil Kansas. He had letters sent to every minister in New England, explaining the nature and purpose of the Emigrant Aid Society and soliciting their support. "We beg you," he urged, "to consider with your most influential and patriotic parishioners and townsmen, and with them take such measures as shall carry forward this undertaking to a successful issue."³⁴ So convinced was he of the righteousness of his cause that Lawrence told Governor Gardner that if he were a member of the Massachusetts legislature, he would go so far as to

30. William Lawrence, *The Life of Amos A. Lawrence: With Extracts From His Diary and Correspondence* (Boston, 1888), p. 84; Amos A. Lawrence to Charles Robinson, September 30, 1854, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," v. 2; Lawrence to the Rev. S. Y. Lum, Lawrence, Kan., November 28, 1854, *ibid.*

31. Amos A. Lawrence to Thomas Hart Benton, January 2, 1855, *ibid.*, v. 3.

32. Memorandum to Messrs. Williams and Thayer, August 26, 1854, *ibid.*, v. 2; Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (Lawrence, 1898), p. 182. Also, see Johnson, "Emigrant Aid Company," *loc. cit.*, pp. 100, 112-115, for a good comparison of the ideas of Thayer and Lawrence regarding the proper objectives of the company.

33. Amos A. Lawrence to Eli Thayer, July 31, 1854, Lawrence to Hon. John Goodrich, August 2, 1854, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," v. 2.

34. Letter to be sent to every minister in New England, dated September, 1854, *ibid.*

vote "in favor of placing at the disposal of the Governor and Council a liberal sum to be used in case an attempt is made to drive our people from the Territory [Kansas] by force."³⁵

With great satisfaction, Lawrence and his friends saw hundreds of free settlers start off from the East, make their way to Kansas City, Mo., and then set off along the Santa Fe trail into Kansas. All in all, a total of some 600 such homesteaders had settled either in Lawrence, or in nearby settlements as Osawatomie, Manhattan, and Topeka, by the time the freezing winter of 1854 closed in. Assuming that there was no question as to the legitimate status of the free-soil inhabitants of Kansas, Lawrence formally requested the President of the United States to recognize the free settlers as the legally constituted government of Kansas.³⁶

The New Englanders, however, reckoned without the hostile attitude of the Proslavery settlers just across the border in Missouri. Angered at what they considered to be an unwarranted interference in the normal course of events, Missouri border men, including bull-whackers, buffalo hunters, and Indian fighters, prepared to take whatever steps were necessary to prevent free-soil Yankee imports from creating an artificial free state. The first opportunity for such action came in the fall of 1854 when the governor, Andrew Reeder, called for the election of territorial delegates. Into Kansas swarmed a roaring horde of Missouri "ruffians" to stuff the ballot boxes in favor of slavery. When Reeder called for the election of a territorial legislature the following March, the Missouri once again overflowed its banks.³⁷

Outraged at what he considered to be an unfair and illegal interference with a perfectly constitutional procedure, Amos A. Lawrence wrote directly to Franklin Pierce. Informing him of the activities of these Missouri agitators, Lawrence warned the President that if the United States government did not take immediate steps to protect the free settlers, they would have to take matters into their own hands. Against the current accusations that the free-soil emigrants were traitors because they refused to recognize the new territorial government of Kansas, Lawrence condemned this government as fraudulent, and flatly denied that the emigrants would ever resist or even question the laws of the United States—when executed by "the proper officers." But, he

35. Amos A. Lawrence to Governor Gardner, March 7, 1856, *ibid.*, v. 3.

36. Amos A. Lawrence to President Pierce, April 17, 1855, *ibid.*

37. *National Intelligencer*, Washington, June 22, 1854.

concluded, the free-soil settlers would never recognize the present Proslavery legislature, "nor its enactments, nor its officers."³⁸

Lawrence also took time to write Senator Atchison and demand of the gentleman from Missouri that he see that the contest be conducted according to the rules of fair play. The Kansas-Nebraska act had decreed that the future of Kansas was to be dependent on the factor of population, and it was to be a wide-open race—so let the best man win! These New England settlers, Lawrence pointed out to the Western railroad magnate, were not Abolitionists, but continued interference on the part of the Proslavery elements, he warned, "may make them abolitionists of the most dangerous kind."³⁹

Even as he wrote, threatened and argued, Lawrence came to the apparent conclusion that stronger measures would have to be taken in order to provide adequate protection for the emigrants. Charles Robinson, the free-soil leader in Kansas, had been pleading for guns ever since the spring elections. "Cannot your secret society send us 200 Sharps rifles as a loan till this question is settled?" he begged Eli Thayer on April 2, 1855; and a few days later sent a letter off to Edward Everett Hale, urging that 200 rifles and two field pieces be sent to Kansas. Not content with merely waiting, Robinson sent George Washington Deitzler to New England to obtain as many weapons as possible for the free-soil cause.⁴⁰

A month later, Robinson was in possession of a letter signed by Thomas H. Webb, secretary of the Emigrant Aid Society, acknowledging the arrival of Deitzler, and assuring Robinson that one hundred "machines" were on their way. The first shipment of "machinery" arrived at Lawrence, Kan., in the middle of May; and when the emigrants tore open the crates variously stamped "hardware," "machinery," or "books," they found themselves in possession of a hundred of the latest and most advanced type of breech-loading weapon—the Sharps rifle. With increased fire-

38. Amos A. Lawrence to President Pierce, July 15, December 10, 1855, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," v. 3. Also, see Lawrence, *Amos A. Lawrence*, pp. 95, 104.

39. Amos A. Lawrence to Hon. David Atchison, March 31, 1855, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," v. 3.

40. Charles Robinson to Eli Thayer, April 2, 1855, Robinson to Edward Everett Hale, April 9, 1855, W. H. Isely, "The Sharps Rifle Episode in Kansas History," *American Historical Review*, v. 12 (April, 1907), pp. 551, 552. Because Eli Thayer flirted with the Know-Nothing movement in Massachusetts for about a year, the question may well arise as to whether Robinson was referring to the Emigrant Aid Company or the Know-Nothing organization when he mentions a "secret society." Since Thayer's affiliation was brief, however, since Edward Everett Hale was violently opposed to the Know-Nothing movement, and since it was Dr. Webb who sent out the first shipment of rifles, the present writer is inclined to feel that Robinson was referring to the Emigrant Aid Company which had been working quietly as a voluntary joint-stock company during the early months of 1855.—See Edward Everett Hale, *Letters*, v. 1, p. 260, and George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, 2 vols. (New York, 1903), v. 1, p. 189.

power and accuracy, the free-soil settlers of Lawrence were, for the first time, in a position to offset the numerical superiority of the hostile Missourians across the border, most of whom were still armed with antiquated muzzle loaders and buffalo guns.⁴¹

Up until recently, Amos A. Lawrence had refused to consider the idea of sending weapons to the emigrants, but after learning of the fraudulent elections and the attacks of the "border ruffians" he changed his mind. Writing to Robinson, Lawrence told him of his decision. "You must have arms, or your courage will not avail," he admitted. "We must stir ourselves here tomorrow and see what can be done." But Lawrence did not wait for the next day to "stir" himself, for on the same day he sent out a letter to the secretary of the Emigrant Aid Company, ordering: "Write to Hartford and get their terms for one hundred more of the Sharps rifles at once." As far as the industrialist was concerned, the course was clear—"when farmers turn soldier, they must have *arms*." "Up to this time," he wrote to President Pierce accusingly, "the government has kept so far aloof as to force the settlers to the conclusion that if they would be safe, they must defend themselves; and therefore many persons here who refused at first (myself included), have rendered them assistance by furnishing them means of defence."⁴²

Undoubtedly encouraged by the extraordinary encouragement and assistance they were now receiving from their patrons in the East ("It has a wonderful effect upon our Mo. neighbors to hear that men are enrolling, & money is being raised in the North," Robinson told Salmon P. Chase), the free settlers of Kansas took things into their own hands. They elected delegates to a constitutional convention at Topeka in October, 1855, and proceeded to draw up a Free-State constitution. Submitted to a totally free-soil electorate, the constitution was adopted, Charles Robinson was named governor, and a free-soil legislature was elected. The congress of the United States was now formally requested to admit the territory of Kansas to the Union as a free state.⁴³

41. Thomas H. Webb to Charles Robinson, May 8, 1855, Isely, "Sharps Rifle," *loc. cit.*, pp. 552, 553; Lawrence, *Amos A. Lawrence*, pp. 97, 98. See, also, W. O. Smith, *The Sharps Rifle: Its History, Development and Operation* (New York, 1943), pp. 11-16.

42. Amos A. Lawrence to Charles Robinson, July 20, 1855, Lawrence to Dr. Webb, July 20, 1855, Lawrence to President Pierce, July 15, 1855, "Amos A. Lawrence Letter-book," v. 3. See, also, Lawrence to Professor Packard, July 13, 1855, *ibid.*

43. Charles Robinson to Salmon P. Chase, February 22, 1856, "Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1902*, Washington, v. 2, pp. 475, 476. See James C. Malin, "The Topeka Statehood Movement Reconsidered," *Territorial Kansas*, pp. 33-69, for a recent reappraisal of the complex factors which went to make up the demand for statehood.

The question had been thrown back into the collective lap of official Washington to decide. Which was the lawful government of Kansas? Which votes were legitimate and which were fraudulent? Who should make the final decision? These questions tied the federal lawmakers into knots. President Pierce denounced the free-soilers, Senator Douglas denounced the President, and the congress was not certain whom to denounce. By the spring of 1856, tempers had been brought to a white-hot heat and the furious debates on the Kansas issue reached their climax with the famous attack upon Sen. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts by Congressman Brooks of South Carolina.

Events in Kansas, however, were not to quietly await the decision of Washington. Even as the debates in the halls of congress had reached their celebrated crisis, the situation among the factions in Kansas had degenerated from the opposition of legislatures and constitutions to the crack of rifle fire and the thud of bowie knives. The day before Sumner was sent crashing to the floor of the senate, a Proslavery "posse" of about a thousand men came riding into the "Boston abolition town" of Lawrence, Kan., to arrest "treasonous" Free-State leaders and sack the town. Three days later, a "ranger" named John Brown struck at Pottawatomie creek, cutting down five Proslavery settlers to avenge the five free men already killed. The lid was off, and the "little civil war" was on.⁴⁴

Quite obviously the conservative members of the Emigrant Aid Company, "hunkers" like Amos A. Lawrence and J. Carter Brown, would have preferred to avoid violence and bloodshed altogether.⁴⁵ As a matter of fact, Lawrence had been hoping that a political compromise could be worked out so that the Kansas issue would be removed from the area of political conflict as well. Appalled at the swift rise of the Republican party which had come in the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska act, Lawrence saw a political *quid pro quo* as the only effective means of checking the progress of this new "sectional" party. Kansas should either be admitted to the Union right away, or the issues compromised to the satisfaction of both sides as soon as possible. If this could be accom-

44. See James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, 1942), for the most exhaustive historical analysis of the operations of John Brown in 1856.

45. Amos A. Lawrence to Charles Robinson, July 10, 1855, Lawrence to Giles Richards, December 15, 1855, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," v. 3. Also, see Lawrence to Sen. John Crittenden, May 24, 1856, *ibid.*, for an expression of Lawrence's desire for mutual concessions between the North and the South even after the attack by Brooks upon Senator Sumner of Massachusetts.

plished, the Republicans would no longer have any distinctive platform upon which to campaign.⁴⁶

Much to Lawrence's disgust and discouragement, no political compromise was forthcoming, as congressmen showed more interest in feathering their own political nests and "laying down grand principles" with one eye on the coming elections of 1856, than in working out a solution to a grave national crisis.⁴⁷

With compromise an impossibility, and the situation in Kansas having erupted into fierce and ruthless civil war by the summer of 1856, there seemed only one thing left to do. The backers of the freedom struggle back in Boston shipped out more rifles, wrote more checks, called for more action—and gave only one final warning: avoid trouble with the federal authorities! Kick Calhoun "and his adherents" out of the territory, "put an end to their operations at once," don't let your "boys" permit a "handful of scoundrels" to embarrass the government and breed ill will throughout the country, urged Mr. Lawrence from Boston. *But*—and this was a large "but"—this violence must be employed by "volunteers" who have no connection with the Free-State government; and never, under any circumstances, must it be directed against the federal authorities. Lawrence repeated this point again and again in his personal correspondence with "Governor" Robinson. "We would be pleased to hear of their expulsion in any *informal* way," he wrote the Free-State leader. "But it is very important that they should be the action of independent corps of men and not of the free state Government or any of its members." Lawrence seemed resigned to sanction any activity as long as it did not impugn "the direct authority of the Federal Government." For this eventuality, Lawrence could see no excuse or apology. Any attempt to weaken the national government would only destroy the "moral force of the party or organization which favors it," he warned Robinson, and pleaded with the doctor to use "prudence, forbearance and decision" in planning his strategy.⁴⁸

So obvious had this program become that Governor Shannon reported to Washington in April, 1856, that he found himself faced with "a more systematic and dangerous organization to defeat and

46. Lawrence to Robinson, November 4, 1854, Lawrence to S. G. Haven, April 7, 1856, Lawrence to John Carter Brown, April or May (undated), 1856, *ibid.*, vols. 2, 3.

47. Lawrence to Robinson, July 24, 1856, Lawrence to S. N. Simpson, August 7, 1856, Lawrence to S. G. Haven, October 10, 1856, Lawrence to G. W. Brown, December 11, 1856, *ibid.*, v. 3.

48. Lawrence to Robinson, August 16, December 17, 1857, January 2, 29, February 3, 1858, "Robinson Manuscripts," archives, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Folder 3.

baffle the due execution of the "Territorial laws" than at any time in the past. Whenever an officer, whether United States marshal, sheriff, or constable, attempted to execute a writ or process, if he were aided by a posse of United States troops he would be "evaded, but not openly resisted." If a similar attempt were made without United States troops, Shannon observed, he would be "resisted by force at all hazards." It would seem that a great number of the free-soilers in Kansas were following the same distinction between federal troops and territorial forces as the directors of the company back in Boston.⁴⁹

The only danger that Lawrence could see in this respect was the unpredictable and irresponsible actions of John Brown, whose campaign of terror had made him notorious, and he warned Robinson to keep a close watch on this "ranger." These two men had met about 12 years earlier, when Brown was a wool merchant and young Lawrence was still traveling around learning the textile business under the guidance of his father and his uncle. When Brown's four sons later sent for their father to join them in Kansas, Brown sought out Lawrence, who was then a prominent business man and treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Company.⁵⁰

Lawrence was held in a spell of almost hypnotic fascination by the old warrior whom he called the "Miles Standish" of Kansas; and he constantly praised his heroism, his puritanism and his resolute determination in the cause of freedom. At the same time, however, the Yankee was shrewd enough to realize that when he was "aroused," this old man became a "dreadful foe"; and when Robinson reported that Brown would just as soon shoot down a United States officer as a border ruffian, Lawrence's worst suspicions were confirmed. Make sure that Brown reports to you regularly, the New Englander cautioned Robinson. "It is bad policy to have a ranger like him with money and arms at his disposal and only accountable to people here." John Brown, to be sure, would be useful to the cause of freedom in Kansas, but needed "some controlling power near him."⁵¹

Even in the midst of bloodshed and civil war, Amos A. Lawrence continued to cling steadfastly to the strict constitutionality

49. Correspondence of Governor Geary, *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 4 (1886-1888), pp. 404-408, cited in Malin, *John Brown*, pp. 79, 80.

50. Lawrence, *Amos A. Lawrence*, p. 122.

51. Amos A. Lawrence to Charles Robinson, March 31, August 16, 1857, "Robinson Mss.," Folder 3. Also, see Lawrence, *Amos A. Lawrence*, pp. 123-125. John Brown had no official connections with the Emigrant Aid Company. "On the contrary," says Professor Malin, "it would appear that he was taking his own line . . . and telling Thayer about it afterwards."—See Malin, *John Brown*, p. 64.

of the true Whig position—as he saw it. A man was free to act on slavery in the territories, as long as he did not transgress the authority of the national government or infringe upon the rights of the Southern states where they were protected by the constitution. It was the only way to obey the letter of the Compromise of 1850 and still prevent the territorial expansion of slavery. This was a supreme effort to make freedom in Kansas consistent with the national unity of the states.⁵² It was in this same spirit that William M. Evarts of New York contributed one thousand dollars to the Emigrant Aid Company. A well-known “Hunker Whig” lawyer who, like Lawrence, had struggled to maintain the Fugitive-Slave Law during the early 1850’s, Evarts now thanked Eli Thayer for the opportunity “to contend successfully against slavery without violating the laws or sacrificing the Constitution and the Union.

”⁵³

The final constitutional threat to the “Cotton Whig” position came after the election of James Buchanan, in the fall of 1856. Anxious to quiet the fearful Kansas uproar, President Buchanan appointed Robert J. Walker of Mississippi governor of Kansas, and Walker immediately made an appeal to both factions for a bipartisan constitutional convention. When the suspicious free-soilers abstained, the Proslavery group was able to formulate what became known as the Lecompton constitution, which gave legal recognition to slavery but permitted a vote on its further extension.

“Cotton Whigs” in the East were loud in their condemnation of the Lecompton “fraud” which they said had been perpetrated by “renegades,” and Walker himself had to be recalled because of his open denunciation of “a base counterfeit and a wretched device to prevent people from voting.” While President Buchanan continued to insist on the Lecompton constitution as the final settlement of the Kansas question, Senator Douglas broke with the administration and openly denounced the President’s position as a flagrant violation of the principle of popular sovereignty. Conservatives applauded his stand and that of Senator Crittenden who labeled the constitution as a “gross violation of principle and good faith.”⁵⁴

52. See James C. Malin, *On the Nature of History* (Lawrence, 1954), p. 201. Amos A. Lawrence, writes Professor Malin, “understood the issue of federal nationalism and advised the free state men repeatedly against any course in Kansas that would compromise their position of loyalty to federal nationalism.”

53. Thayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 204.

54. Amos A. Lawrence to John W. Geary, March 19, 1857, Lawrence to Sen. John J. Crittenden, May 4, 1858, “Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook,” v. 4; Lawrence to Charles Robinson, January 2, 29, February 3, 1858, “Robinson Mss.,” Folder 3.

The deadlock that followed was broken only by a house-senate compromise known as the English bill, which called for a new vote on the Lecompton constitution. If a majority accepted it, Kansas would enter the Union immediately; if not, Kansas would have to wait until her population was large enough to justify admission. The obvious expectation was that the Kansas voters would be so desirous of Union status that they would swallow the otherwise unpalatable features of the document—but this did not prove true. In August, 1858, Kansas overwhelmingly rejected the compromise and voted to remain a territory. Although slavery continued to be legal for the time being, the free-soilers held control of the legislature and it was apparent to all that slavery would be abolished as soon as Kansas achieved statehood on its own terms.⁵⁵

For all practical purposes, the battle for Kansas had been won, and the "Cotton Whigs" of New England congratulated themselves upon the fact that by their prompt action they had made a significant contribution to a complete moral and political victory in the territories without either impugning the authority of the federal government or infringing upon the constitutional rights of the Southern states.

The leading participants in the struggle to make Kansas free were fully convinced that they had done more than any other party or organization to preserve the Union through the agency of their Emigrant Aid Company. Eli Thayer was fond of recalling a meeting with Congressman Henry J. Blow in 1862 when the Missourian introduced himself and enthusiastically hailed the consequences of the battle for Kansas. "Your success in making Kansas a free state has kept Missouri in the Union," said Blow, pumping the New Englander's hand. "If she had seceded, Kentucky and Tennessee would have gone also. . . . Your Kansas work has made it possible to save the Union!"⁵⁶

In reviewing the success of the free-state movement, Gov. Charles Robinson claimed that "the people of Kansas almost made the Republican party. They have furnished most of the material to make it what it is now. . . ." Robinson was especially expansive in his praise of the role of Amos A. Lawrence, without

55. Amos A. Lawrence to Charles Robinson, May 3, 4, 6, 1858, *ibid.*; John C. Underwood to Eli Thayer, "Thayer Manuscripts," v. 1, John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

56. Undated manuscript, *ibid.*

whose name "the Emigrant Aid Company would have been a cipher."⁵⁷

Lawrence, too, felt confident that the crisis of the Union was over and that the work for which the Republican party had been formed had already been "effectually accomplished" by his Emigrant Aid Company. As Lawrence saw it, Robinson, Thayer, and all the other Free-State leaders in the Kansas crusade had "in reality carried off the day, and all real danger of the extension of slavery had passed."⁵⁸ From now on, all Kansas politics was strictly of local interest and the "great question" was finally settled. "Now," said Lawrence, "we must be magnanimous to the South."⁵⁹

In terms of the political and constitutional development of American thought, the involvement of the "Cotton Whigs" in the Kansas crusade is worthy of more attention than it has hitherto received. This was not merely an off-hand, emotional gesture of futile anger by Northern business men protesting against the activities of Douglas and his Southern supporters. This was a well-planned and seriously organized attempt by political conservatives to stop the spread of slavery into the territories without causing the disruption of the Union.

The Kansas crusade was a great experiment as far as the "Cotton Whigs" were concerned. It was an attempt to maintain the Compromise of 1850 by continuing to uphold the constitutional privilege of slavery but making its actual expansion a practical impossibility. In this respect, the "Cotton Whigs" continued to adhere rigidly to the political tenets of the old Whig party. They did not turn "abolitionist," for they constantly assured their correspondents that they had no intention of interfering with slavery in the Southern states. Neither did they turn Republican—for they insisted upon regarding their actions as entirely *extra-political*. Leaders like Amos A. Lawrence were adamant in their refusal to permit anti-slavery planks or policies (even concerning the territories) to be written into the platform of the Whig party.⁶⁰

The "Cotton Whigs" did not feel that in sponsoring the Emigrant Aid Society they had altered their fundamental constitutional prin-

57. Speech by Gov. Charles Robinson of Kansas in favor of the election of Hon. Eli Thayer, delivered in Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Mass., November 3, 1860, *ibid.*; Lawrence, *Amos A. Lawrence*, pp. 112, 113.

58. Speech of Amos A. Lawrence in support of the election of Eli Thayer, November, 1860. Written half in pencil and half in ink, this manuscript is in the archives of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

59. Amos A. Lawrence to the Rev. E. Nute, July 18, 1857, "Amos A. Lawrence Letterbook," v. 4.

60. Amos A. Lawrence to Moses G. Cobb, July 8, 1857, Lawrence to Charles Robinson, August 1, 1858, *ibid.*; Robinson to Lawrence, August 16, 1858, "Amos A. Lawrence Letters," v. 17; Winthrop, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

ciples one iota. They were not infringing upon the rights or privileges of the South because they were operating only within territorial limits. They were not impugning the authority of the federal government because they were abiding by the letter of the Kansas-Nebraska act and assiduously avoiding all contact with forces of the United States government. In short, the "Cotton Whigs" considered themselves completely free to act in what appeared to be a political no man's land—free to follow any action which did not violate the constitution, the rights of the South or the prerogatives of the national government. And by 1858 these men rejoiced that their great experiment had succeeded—the Union had been saved.

Some Notes on the Comanche Cattle Pool

MARY EINSEL

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTORY NOTE

For several years following the Civil War, Texas cattle dominated the American meat-packing industry. In those days it was easy enough to sell the tough, half-wild, longhorn steers to a meat-starved Eastern market. Within a few years, however, some of the more perceptive cattlemen and promoters realized that as soon as the Eastern buyer received an ample quantity of meat he would begin demanding an improved quality. Improving the quality meant the establishment of ranches for fattening and cross breeding programs for improved strains.

Many early Kansas ranches were stocked with Texas longhorns. It is a seldom-noted fact that of all the cattle trailed north from the Lone Star state, only about 25 per cent were immediately shipped to Eastern markets. The remainder were kept in Kansas or driven on to states north and west to stock new ranches. Range cattle in Kansas numbered only 93,455 in 1860; 373,967 in 1870, but jumped to 1,533,133 by 1880.

The men who owned these new ranches were generally old trail drovers, Eastern farmer-stockmen, or complete newcomers to the cattle business. In a sense they were all novices, for operating a cattle ranch was entirely different from trailing herds and raising farm cattle. It was a new industry in nearly every state outside of Texas. While most owners had past experience with cattle, the business of grazing them on a fixed range presented many new problems with which they were on the whole unfamiliar. For instance, being largely unattended, range cattle were more susceptible to predatory animals, thieves, prairie fires, etc. The Eastern cattleman found that Kansas ranching sometimes required four to six times the amount of land needed to graze each head adequately as it did in, say, Missouri. As breeds improved, their adaptability to climatic extremes decreased. Hence for protection and care the ranchers found they needed large ranges, big crews, and, of course, large sums of money.

It wasn't long before many ranchers realized that these problems could be more profitably overcome through co-operative effort. Not only could expenses be cut but protection could be increased. The result was the formation of a cattle pool.

In forming a pool, several local ranchers would combine and agree to graze their herds communally. They would hire pool cowboys, a foreman, and an accountant, and share all expenses according to their holdings. The pools were conducted along the line of joint stock companies, each head of cattle being one share of stock. The unusual thing,

MRS. RALPH (MARY) EINSEL, who attended the University of Wichita, now lives on a ranch near Coldwater, in former Comanche pool territory.

however, was that most pools allowed each member only one vote at business meetings no matter how much stock he held. Generally a governing board of directors, consisting of a president, secretary, and treasurer, was elected to serve without pay. The board was empowered to act for the company between quarterly and semiannual meetings of the pool. Major decisions were made at general meetings.

The only property actually owned by the pools, besides a small quantity of land, were horses, wagons, and equipage. All the cattle on a pool's range were the individual property of members who were responsible for their own purchases and sales.

While some of the grazing land was deeded to the pool, most of it was public domain—open range. Though no one had authority to monopolize public domain, local residents generally recognized certain areas as the exclusive range of such-and-such a pool, and avoided it as though it were private property.

In Kansas, one of the first and possibly the largest of the pools was the Comanche County Cattle Pool. Formed in April, 1880, it covered parts of Barber county and the Cherokee strip as well as most of Comanche county. Business offices were maintained in Medicine Lodge and operating headquarters at Evansville, a now extinct settlement in southeast Comanche county.

In the five years of its Kansas operation the Comanche pool had remarkable success in lowering the per capita cost of producing beef. At the end of its days the cost was only 71 cents to graze one head a whole year. It was a leader in experimentation with cross breeding, its members purchasing fine Black Galloway, Hereford, Durham, Polled Angus, and Shorthorn bulls for inclusion with the herd. It indirectly fostered the growth of cities and it made rich men out of many of its members. But the Comanche County Cattle Pool was destined to an early end; it could not exist in a land given over to grangers.

Beginning in 1884 a series of setbacks plagued the pool. In May, E. W. Payne, one of the leading members of the pool and its perennial treasurer, was shot and killed in the attempted holdup of the Medicine Valley bank at Medicine Lodge. Payne, the bank's president, was shot while defending his trust against a small gang led by Henry N. Brown, the city marshal of Caldwell, on leave!

About this same time market prices began to drop and profits fell off sharply. In 1884-1885 a worse than usual winter preceded the terrible blizzards of 1886. Snow, cold, sleet, and winds covered the buffalo grass, drifted cattle, and finally froze them. In some areas near the pool range losses were as high as 42 per cent. But the fracturing straw was the rapid settlement of the range area in 1884 and 1885.

At a semiannual meeting of the pool in April, 1885, the members decided to evacuate the Kansas area of operations. Though some of the members voted to continue in the Cherokee strip on land leased from the Cherokee nation, many returned to small ranching or dropped from the business entirely. Headquarters were moved from Evansville to a site on the Red fork in the Indian territory. All the bulls were sold off and only the cattle kept on the southern range. Pool land was to be divided among the members according to the holdings of each.

"This change," said the *Barber County Index*, of Medicine Lodge, on April 10, 1885, "is necessary by reason of Commanche county being so completely settled up that ranging cattle there will no longer be profitable. . . . The pool will, at the roundup this year, count out everything, take a new start, and, we hope, enjoy the continued prosperity that has heretofore attended them."

By the middle of June the pool had all its cattle in the territory and in July the accountant, Maurice Royster, went to Medicine Lodge to prepare for the final distribution of the pool's 11,000 acres of deeded land. This final act was accomplished on October 7, 1886.

Though the Comanche pool continued to operate for a short time in the Indian territory, it was gone forever in Kansas. It was the offspring and subsequently the victim of its era. Born in a time when land was plentiful and free for the taking, it could not exist when the horizons closed in and the sod was plowed under.

SHORTLY after the Civil War, during a 19-year period, over five million cattle from Texas were trailed north to Kansas.¹ These huge herds were sold in Abilene, Newton, Ellsworth, Wichita, Caldwell, and Dodge City. Before being shipped, the cattle were fattened on the rich grasses which grew in what is now northern Oklahoma and southern Kansas.

At the time of these trail herds, Medicine Lodge was the only town of any size in Barber and Comanche counties.

On February 6, 1880, Medicine Lodge's newspaper, the *Cresset*, published the following news item which was to affect greatly the handful of ranchers who were living in that area:

Jess Evans, of the firm of Evans, Hunter & Evans, predicts that the herds, . . . ranging in Barbour and Commanche counties, will not be troubled by the Texas drive the coming season. He has been informed that the Indian authorities at the new post known as Sheridan's Roost, are unwilling to allow the cattle to pass through on the old trail. As a consequence, it will be turned either east or west so far that it will not endanger the herds ranging south of here.

Evans visualized the potentiality for fattening large herds of local cattle on the grass that would be left idle by the nonexistent Texas drives. Three other businessmen, Richard W. Phillips, Wylie Payne, and Maj. Andrew Drumm also recognized the remarkable ranching opportunity. They discussed a plan with the small ranchers who were already drifting cattle in the vicinity.

The idea of banding together, as the best way to utilize the grass, was decided upon. The outgrowth of this idea eventually became the largest cattle ranch ever established in Kansas.

1. Joseph Nimmo, "Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States," *House Doc. No. 7, Pt. 3, 48th Cong., 2d Sess. (1884-1885)*, p. 122.

It was called the Comanche pool. Cattle under its control reached the 80,000 mark.² Al Jennings, Oklahoma outlaw, and Frank Eaton, author of *Pistol Pete*, were both on the payroll. The story of the Comanche pool parallels the history of Kansas' last free open range.

The idea of the pool was for members to go in together and to range their cattle as one great common herd. The expenses incurred and the profits received were in direct ratio to the number of a particular rancher's cattle to the total number of the whole herd.³

The pool started business with 26,000 head. In the *History of the State of Kansas*, published by A. T. Andreas, it is stated that: "The increase of this monstrous herd is about 15,000 annually."⁴

On January 6, 1881, an official roster bearing the charter names of the Comanche pool appeared in the *Barbour County Index*. All told there were 17 men: Jesse Evans, Robert Hunter, A. G. Evans, R. Kirk, C. W. James, R. W. (Dick) Phillips, Fred Taintor, George Cutrif, Wylie Payne, J. B. Doyle, John Wilson, J. A. McCarthy, W. R. Colcord, Tom Doran, J. M. Rawlins, C. D. Nelson, and William Blair. The paper went on to say: "This is certainly the biggest thing ever attempted in southern Kansas."

The first board of directors was comprised of Evans, Phillips, and Payne, with Payne acting as treasurer.⁵

The region used by the Comanche pool included some of the best grass to be found. From their winter horse camp near present Waynoka, Okla., the pool's western boundary followed the Cimarron river 30 miles upstream. Heading on north its territory in Kansas took in the heads of Salt fork, Bluff creek, and Mule creek, the three main streams of the area. Going east, the line ran along the Medicine river within a few miles of Medicine Lodge, the eastern boundary, then veered back south towards Waynoka.

Mr. Sampson, a bookkeeper from St. Louis, Mo., was hired to set up the books. He drew up balance sheets showing individual holdings and presented them to members every six months.⁶

The main ranch house and corrals were built 30 miles southwest of Medicine Lodge. What started as headquarters for the Comanche pool soon grew to be a small town called Evansville. Here a warehouse was provided to store wholesale goods sent out from

2. "Reminiscences of Charles F. Colcord," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 12 (March, 1934), p. 7.

3. Coldwater *Western Star*, September 28, 1951, from the *Barbour County Index*, January 6, 1881; *Medicine Lodge Cresset*, November 24, 1881.

4. Page 1523.

5. *Barbour County Index*, April 14, 1881.

6. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1880.

Kansas City by Maj. Andrew Drumm. Although Drumm's name did not appear on the list of pool owners, he is often spoken of as having a part in it.⁷ Whenever he arrived at the ranch on an inspection tour, his surrey was always driven by a Negro valet.

In addition to the ranch headquarters at Evansville and the line camps, three principal horse camps were maintained. One, called Big Timber, which had a log cabin, was established at the pool's southern point along the Cimarron river not far from Waynoka, Okla. This was the wintering headquarters for most of the horses. Frank Lockert, Coats, Kan., describes it as follows: "They fenced in a strip $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide up and down the river. The horses wouldn't cross the river because it was boggy. Grass stayed green down by the river all winter and when spring came those horses were generally fat."

"Wildcat" was another camp. It lay 25 miles north of Big Timber near the Oklahoma-Kansas border. "Salt Fork" was located 20 miles west of Evansville along the Salt Fork creek.

The outer boundary of the ranch was constantly patrolled by cowboys who kept the cattle shoved back on their own range. This was no small task, for the pool covered approximately 4,000 square miles. These line camp riders lived on the prairie in dugouts or "soddies," which were built a day's ride apart.

Drinking and card playing were strictly forbidden in pool territory. As one editor put it: "We are informed that on the Pool range there is not a euchre deck to be found. Card playing and drinking is prohibited and the cowboys do not disobey the order." The directors had ruled thumbs down on the ground that it caused trouble among the riders.⁸

During the spring of 1881 about five hundred head of pure bred young bulls were shipped in from the east, many of which were for the improvement of the pool herd. They came by train to Harper, 68 miles from Evansville.⁹

Jesse Evans owned one third of the pool in 1882. That summer he sold his interest to A. G. Evans and Robert Hunter for \$175,000. The sale included, among other things, 27,000 head of cattle and the Evansville Merchandise Store.¹⁰

The pool's roundups were such large affairs that notices were published in the papers. Small ranchers, "parties," could have their

7. Letter from E. E. Dale to author, September 22, 1955.

8. *Barbour County Index*, December 30, 1880.

9. *Medicine Lodge Cresset*, June 3, 1881.

10. *Barbour County Index*, July 21, 1882.

strays gathered by sending their brands to ranch headquarters. Extra cowboys were hired during this time and the outfit was split up into several crews. The territory was also divided and riders worked the range in sections. A calf was branded according to the brand carried by the mother cow. Tally records were kept as each calf was marked.¹¹ After the roundup each member was responsible for the disposition of his own beeves.

Jeff Long of Medicine Lodge said: "I knew some of the Pool riders. I never worked for them myself, but I was on what the outfits called a general roundup. Cowboys came from as far away as the Colorado line. It looked like an army camped on the prairie."

One pool rider was to become better known than the rest of the men. In a letter from Tarzana, Calif., where he spent the later years of his life, he wrote: "I know the country well. I worked on the Comanche Pool in the Cherokee Strip south of Coldwater in 1885." The letter was signed Al Jennings.¹² He was an unsuccessful Oklahoma train robber. Another pool rider, Frank Eaton, author of *Pistol Pete*, wrote: "While I was a trouble-shooter for them a long time I asked no questions. A man lived longer if he kept his eyes and ears open and his mouth shut."¹³

Mrs. Frank Gordon, Lake City, Kan., recalls that pool cowboys preferred to do their celebrating in Kiowa. "They were generally good boys. I remember how they came riding into town one day and bought all the paper flowers the stores had. They gave some to every lady on the street."

One of the biggest undertakings of the pool was the fencing of their range. Fencing did not mean one continuous, unbroken line. The south and western range was marked by the natural barrier of the sandy bars along the Cimarron, and to the north and west drift fences were built along the high ridges. The Medicine Lodge *Cresset* reported:

The chief topic of interest among the members of the Pool is the range fence, which has been determined upon. This thing of building a fence one hundred and eighty miles in length, which will require nearly 60,000 posts, and 240,000 pounds of wire, is an undertaking which would tend to astonish a man. . . . After the fence is built, a rider will be appointed for about every thirty miles of fence. The cost . . . will be in the neighborhood of \$30,000.¹⁴

Part of that wire is still used today. It can be found on ranches

11. Medicine Lodge *Cresset*, November 24, 1881.

12. Ruby Basye, "Outlaw Proved to Settlers He Was Man of His Word," *Wichita Sunday Eagle Magazine*, November 20, 1955, p. 2.

13. Letter to author, October 13, 1955.

14. May 25, 1882.



Crew of cowboys, Comanche cattle pool, 1884.

Cowboys employed by the pool, at Medicine Lodge, 1884. From left to right: Joe Bowers, Bud Snow, Frank King, Mike Cavanaugh, and Barney Armstrong. The sixth (at the right) has not been identified.





Bill Hill

An employee of the Comanche
cattle pool, 1886.



William (Billy) Blair

One of the leaders of the pool
and a major stockholder.

All photos courtesy Mrs. Ralph Einsel.

located in the vicinity, and is easily identified by its coarse thickness and many-sided prongs.

When the total expenses for the pool were figured by Sampson, it was learned that it took \$1.00 per year or nine cents a month to keep each head of stock. Short items concerning their expenses were: an advertisement by the treasurer, E. W. Payne, for 5,000 bushels of corn at highest market prices,¹⁵ and "D. W. Phye came in from Harper last Sunday with two car loads of horses for the Comanche pool."¹⁶

Operations had been going for two years when the newspapers began to paint the outline of a wealthy picture. In April, 1882: "It is estimated that 20,000 beeves will be shipped from the Comanche County Pool this year."¹⁷ In October: "The Comanche County Pool will brand in the neighborhood of twelve thousand calves this year."¹⁸ The following year: "This range [Comanche pool] supports something over 50,000 cattle—from a thoroughbred Texan to the thoroughbred Durham, Hereford, Polled Angus and Galloway. . . . The shipments . . . this season have been 9,800 head of three-year-old and over. . . ." ¹⁹

Since the pool covered such a large territory many drovers crossed its range on the way to the market at Dodge City, 70 miles northwest. Disputes developed when the pool claimed drovers got off the trails, moved too slowly, and used up the grass. The *Kansas Cowboy*, the cattleman's paper of Dodge City, reported:

Colonel Benedict, Indian inspector has been stopping at the Southwestern since Monday. He has been looking over the cattle trails across the Indian territory with a view to investigating the troubles of the drovers in getting through that country. He has examined the Chisholm and the Western trails, and will report them all right and amply sufficient for the needs of the drive on those trails.²⁰

In 1884 and 1885 the town of Coldwater sprang up at the northwest corner of the pool. One of the first acts of the commissioners of newly organized Comanche county was to declare the herd law in force in the county. After June 1, 1885, it was unlawful for anyone to permit cattle, horses, mules, asses, swine, sheep, or goats to run loose in the county under penalties prescribed by the laws of the state of Kansas.²¹ But in Barber county, where some of the pool

15. *Barbour County Index*, November 24, 1882.

16. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1883.

17. *Medicine Lodge Cresset*, April 27, 1882.

18. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1882.

19. *Barbour County Index*, November 30, 1883.

20. *Caldwell Journal*, reprinted in the *Kansas Cowboy*, Dodge City, July 19, 1884.

21. *Barber County Index*, May 8, 29, 1885.

range was also located, the herd law was not accepted without opposition. The editor of the Medicine Lodge *Index* spoke out bitterly against it: ". . . there are indications of a herd law fight brewing in this country; . . . we want to [be] put on record as opposing the adoption of a herd law. It will be to the disadvantage of every citizen."²²

The steady influx of homesteaders, filing on what had been open range, created pressure on the pool. The cowmen were unjustly accused of starting Indian scares in hopes of driving settlers away; although some did add fuel to the fire by passing the rumors on. But contrary to popular belief, the *first few* settlers were welcomed by the cattlemen. They helped stop prairie fires, killed wolves and coyotes, and their small scattered homes made the plains a little less lonely.

The pool was also faced with another problem: that of taxes. Records in Medicine Lodge show: "The Comanche County Pool still object to giving in their property for taxation. The commissioners, on the other hand, have ordered the levy made. The matter, of course, can only be settled in court."²³

An old abstract unceremoniously acknowledges the pool's death. The members dissolved partnership with each one receiving a designated part of the pool range. For instance, the amount of land given to Dick Phillips was determined by the fact he owned an 8,766/50,327th interest in the pool. In 1886 the 12 Comanche pool owners signed over their undivided interests to William Blair, including 50,527 head of cattle. The Comanche Land & Cattle Company was the largest single owner at that time with 29,986 head. According to the abstract, each owner, through Blair, received title to certain tracts in fee simple, determined by each one's ratio to the whole.²⁴ A Comanche county map, created by Register of Deeds Mrs. Wilma Lewis, shades the land taken over by pool owners. Sections along the creeks obviously were the most popular.

Many of the cattle died during the hard winter of 1885 and the still harder winter of 1886. Although Evans and Hunter continued to hold some pool cattle on leased Indian land in the strip, even these were taken out, with Frank King as foreman, when "Old Oklahoma" was opened for settlement.

The era of the pool is gone—but the old-time cowman's stamina and courage is not easily forgotten.

22. *Ibid.*, reprinted in the *Kansas Cowboy*, July 5, 1884.

23. *Medicine Lodge Cresset*, August 2, 1883.

24. Abstract of title of the R. W. Phillips ranch now in possession of Dillman Shaw, Medicine Lodge.

Business and Agricultural Conditions in Kansas, 1871-1888

AS REPORTED BY A NEW ENGLAND MORTGAGE BROKER

GLENN H. MILLER, JR.

DURING the 1880's, Kansas, along with the rest of the Western frontier, underwent a boom in agricultural lands, town lots, and railroad building and manufacturing. The first two were financed principally by real estate mortgages, the third to a great extent by the issue of municipal bonds. It was these mortgages and bonds that facilitated the movement of money from the East (and from Europe) to the capital-deficient West. This was done through the establishment of a great number of land mortgage companies. Of these, there were several types: individual brokers, private mortgage companies, and corporations issuing debentures backed by land mortgage security.

One such mortgage broker who did a considerable business in Kansas was Charles M. Hawkes of Portland, Maine, and New Haven, Conn. The business and some personal letters written by Hawkes from December 11, 1871, to January 20, 1888, are contained in 14 letter-press books preserved by the Kansas State Historical Society. Hawkes spent the years 1854-1858 working in the West, in Chicago, and in Davenport, Iowa. After several years as a partner in a New England import-export firm he entered the Western bond and mortgage brokerage business in late 1871. He concentrated on Missouri municipal bonds for a few years, but by 1875 had shifted his major interest to Kansas urban and rural land mortgages. At the Kansas end, Hawkes operated through correspondents who examined the property of potential borrowers and forwarded applications to him. His major sources of funds in the East were (1) personal acquaintances, generally from the middle classes (often in the professions or retired), and (2) several colonies of the "United Society called Shakers" in New York and New England. These societies were Hawkes' most important sources of loanable funds, his business acquaintance with one group dating back to 1859.¹

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1. Further discussion of Hawkes' lending operations may be found in my unpublished master of arts thesis, University of Kansas, 1954, entitled "Financing the Boom in Kansas, 1879 to 1888, With Special Reference to Municipal Indebtedness and to Real Estate Mortgages," and in an article published in the *Business History Review*, Cambridge, Mass., Autumn, 1958, pp. 293-310.

Hawkes expected to visit the West at least once each year, usually in the fall, spending from six weeks to three months (principally in Kansas). These trips were made primarily to "keep familiar with the values of farms there and visit large numbers of my loans each trip."² Further time was spent "in looking over the country and talking over and arranging with competent men whom I deem entirely trustworthy to examine the property upon which borrowers apply for loans, and make their reports to me thereon thus aiming to secure reliable knowledge of the property offered as security. . . ."³

Hawkes had barely launched his Western bond and loan business when the panic and depression of 1873 overtook the country. Writing from Portland in September, 1872, he explained to a Kansas City firm why it was that bonds were selling slowly.

The present stringency in the money market affects this city more than usual and my customers get disappointed in collecting and Banks are pressed very hard. I have trades already made but hanging solely in consequence of the temporary stringency at the Banks preventing the parties from realizing their funds, which would put me in funds, for this as I have the Bonds laid aside for delivery soon as they can raise the money.⁴

Money continued tight through December and into 1873, and customers remained slow in taking bonds off Hawkes' hands. In February he reported that "investors appear scarce hereabout, and I have still \$6,000 of the Sedalias on hand. . . ."⁵

By October, when he was predicting that money would remain scarce for some time, Hawkes was beginning to feel the pressure personally.

. . . It is impossible to raise money these times on any kind of security without sacrifice. . . . The only thing at my command that could be forced off in the present state of the market . . . is the \$1,000 Govt Bond now about 9% pr. ct. lower than when it was bought, owing to the changed condition of the money market. This I may be compelled to sell to take care of some payments I have to make. . . ."⁶

General financial conditions had become noticeably better in December, 1873 (although not in the lending business), when Hawkes wrote: "Business here in investments is dull but our business community find money accessible for their needs,"⁷ and by the next February he commented that "money is gradually easing up with us."

2. C. M. Hawkes to Elder Simon Atherton, Ayer, Mass., January 8, 1881.

3. Hawkes to W. F. Foster, Norway, Maine, February 18, 1882.

4. Hawkes to J. G. Watkins and Co., Kansas City, Mo., September 23, 1872.

5. Hawkes to Col. A. D. Jaynes, Sedalia, Mo., February 26, 1873.

6. Letter of October 20, 1873, addressee not known.

7. Hawkes to Bartholomew Lewis and Co., St. Louis, Mo., December 19, 1873.

Hawkes' business was fully recovered by 1877, when he made one of his regular autumn visits to Kansas, reporting back to Elder Vance, trustee of the Alfred Shaker Society, that "Kansas corn beats all that I have seen so far. There is a remarkably heavy emigration into this state—largely to Edwards Co. on the A. T. & S. F. R. R. . . ." ⁸ Upon returning to the East Hawkes wrote to another investor as follows:

I reached home yesterday after an absence of five weeks in Kan. where I found the people cheery under return of prosperity. Business there seems to have recovered mostly and I think the east is feeling the good results of it. Loan business in Kan however is dull as there is comparatively little money wanted. On the other hand the supply has steadily increased and now money is offering to the farmers below 10% and in some cases as low as 8% but with restrictions in the latter case to suit the whims of the strange investor such as near proximity to the Capital, etc. Crops abundant and the wheat prospect very fine throughout the west—especially in Kansas. ⁹

By May, 1880, money was offering "so freely to Kansas that Applications come in very slowly." When Hawkes reached Kansas the following autumn he discovered that the year had not been a good one for the state.

I prolonged my stay in Kan a few days visiting the western part of the state which has suffered considerably this season from the drought so prevalent all over the north and west. Those relying upon sod crops and some others lost their crops & the former many of them new settlers were used up. Many however got fair to good crops of corn. In some locations the drought & chinch bugs which are so apt to accompany a drought swept nearly all the wheat. On the other hand many found their wheat threshed out much better than the short stalks promised & on the whole Kan is in good condition with money in most parts (especially the east half of the state) plenty and new settlers taking lands in more easterly counties instead of the great tide to the western counties which are some of them losing population this fall. . . . ¹⁰

But Hawkes' confidence in Kansas was not shaken.

. . . another year will see their places occupied either by themselves or others for Kansas is too promising to be retrograde. Prices of both farm & town property in the eastern half & much of the western advance steadily, and money is generally plenty there and the state developing wonderfully. ¹¹

The year 1881 was better, Kansas faring "rather better than the average state west from N. Y. state I think but many have poor crops," ¹² especially on the uplands which "felt the drought in most places severely, but the corn on the bottom lands will turn out

8. Hawkes to J. P. Vance, Alfred, Maine, October 9, 1877.

9. Hawkes to Rebecca Clarke, Norridgewood, Maine, November 6, 1877.

10. Hawkes to H. J. Wheeler, Woodford, Maine, November 13, 1880.

11. Hawkes to Rebecca Clarke, Norridgewood, Maine, November 13, 1880.

12. Hawkes to Lydia Hawkes, Portland, Maine, October 4, 1881.

pretty well.”¹³ “Enough have fair to good crops with the high prices to give really a good result as to money—so the Bankers all tell me. . . .”¹⁴ Hawkes found the lending business too active to suit him. “Loans are overdone,” he wrote to his brother, “too much money pressing on Mtges. so that farmers are borrowing too much & too easy.” And, he added, at too low an interest rate—seven per cent. The situation inspired Hawkes to contact his chief investor, Elder Vance. “I want to have a good chat with you and Elder Otis soon on the Loan business which is having its full share of *boom* so that too much money is wanted or too poor security offered—both bad.”¹⁵

But it was not easy to dampen Hawkes’ enthusiasm about Kansas, especially after the state embraced prohibition. In August, 1882, he was “glad to get so good reports as are coming from all parts of Kansas. With such *fine crops & prohibition* the money lenders occupation will be reduced to close figures in Kan.” Hawkes was thoroughly happy as he wrote the next day to his cousin. “Kansas is prospering finely—fine crops wheat & other small grain & good prospect for corn & prohibition is strong enough to nominate my friend Gov. St. John for a *third* term, . . . the issue was the endorsement of his strong prohibition ground.”¹⁶ His annual fall trip in no way changed Hawkes’ impressions of the summer, for he wrote his wife in November that “Kansas is in very prosperous, hopeful condition as well as temper and I am well satisfied with my business and prospects.” By the next February the New Haven broker was inspired to write in the following manner.

Have sold more Kan property and had more inquiry this winter than ever before & my sales have been at an advance above prices of a year ago for the same property, and considerably more above those of two years ago. Indeed the improvement in the demand has been very steady for five or six years. Kan. has now reached a position that precludes doubt about its success in future.¹⁷

And in August he wrote: “. . . from all sections where I have business I receive accounts of prosperity, new arrivals and buyers of real estate at advanced prices.” After viewing Kansas in the fall his description was just as glowing: “. . . the 1883 crops [were] very good and the winter wheat green & beautiful—very promising so Kan is having an era of decided prosperity and land & city property generally advancing.”¹⁸

13. Hawkes to Otis Sawyer, Alfred, Maine, October 6, 1881.

14. Hawkes to the Rev. W. J. Alger, Auburndale, Mass., October 15, 1881.

15. Hawkes to J. P. Vance, Alfred, Maine, December 23, 1881.

16. Hawkes to the Rev. W. S. Hawkes, South Hadley Falls, Mass., August 12, 1882.

17. Hawkes to A. J. Gleason, Alma, February 12, 1883.

18. Hawkes to Sarah Clarke, Norridgewood, Maine, August 5, November 21, 1883.

The panic of 1884 temporarily checked this prosperity. In May Hawkes acknowledged the "flurry" but insisted that his business would not suffer and sincerely hoped that neither would that of his Kansas correspondents. Faith in Kansas was expressed to Vance at the same time.

As you see by the papers, there seem no futher troubles as yet, but I fear the troubles are not all over. I find solid comfort nowadays in Kan R Est. & Mtges. Wish I had every dollar *invested* in them, but will feel my way to good investments I think. No doubt there is money to be made on Wall St. now, but glad I am not troubled with such speculations—the *bank* risks are all I want. My Bk. here & N. Y. seem to be all right so far.¹⁹

Hawkes claimed to remain unaffected by the panic during June. "I have not suffered any by the late financial troubles in N Y C & my business is good & *Kansas* prosperous & happy—especially with a chance to vote for her pet J. G. Blaine. I like the man."²⁰ Upon visiting Kansas, however, Hawkes discovered a slowing down in lending, and interest payments: "Business in the loan line is a little dull and there is a temporary lull in conditions. . . . This country is prosperous however and remittance will come fast enough soon."²¹

In writing to his sister on the same day, Hawkes said that good crops had kept the farmers happy in spite of low prices and that "farm lands [are] steadily advancing in price." Slightly less optimism was present in his comment to his brother that "business [is] generally pretty dull, I believe all over the country and considerable complaint in Kansas," although the advancing price of land continued to be emphasized. Finally in November, Vance was told that "just now business seems dead save the coup remitt'ces, but I look for an improvement and opportunity for good loans & so a good winter in my line."²² But winter came and with it this terse comment: "Money has not been so scarce with me before and the complaint is general. . . ." ²³ Late the next January, Hawkes apologized to Vance for having no applications available, blaming the severe weather. At the same time, he was eagerly requesting applications from his Kansas correspondents "to reach money ready in the Bank." The presence of ready money awaiting placement was mentioned again in April, 1885, when there was "more money offering than ever." Commenting on the continued lull in business

19. Hawkes to J. P. Vance, Alfred, Maine, May 21, 1884.

20. Hawkes to the Rev. W. S. Hawkes, South Hadley Falls, Mass., June 10, 1884.

21. Hawkes to J. P. Vance, Alfred, Maine, October 27, 1884.

22. Hawkes to *ibid.*, November 29, 1884.

23. Hawkes to C. B. Hawkes, Topeka, December 18, 1884.

activity, Hawkes mentioned the possibility of war as a stimulant to the idling economy.

As to business hereabouts "generally" there has been much complaint & there is still of dullness—and the uneasiness about tariff does not seem to be dispelled—but there seems a waiting. I think there will be improvement right along unless something in the new administration acts or utterances prevents. War in any of the fields now threatening would benefit business in this country. . . .²⁴

By late spring Hawkes' volume of business had picked up, as had the general level of activity. Kansas was provided with an abundant corn crop and Hawkes was again able to report as follows: "Kansas is prosperous and having a large immigration chiefly to the western portion of the state which years ago was supposed not to have sufficient rain but which is producing fine crops."²⁵

From this point, Hawkes' reports on Kansas conditions lack the buoyancy and easy optimism of the earlier years, as crops declined and the boom began to reach new heights, bringing unprecedented competition in the lending business. In October, 1886, Hawkes informed Vance that "light crops and low prices make general business dull here. Just at this point too much eastern money is pressing now & too large loans making on the securities." To another lender he pointed out that although Kansas crops were light and prices low, there were being made "more public and private improvements than ever before."

The arrival of boom conditions brought a new set of problems. Hawkes bitterly denounced the many loan agents who were (he implied) undermining the business of the more cautious operators.

The West is full of real estate agents, dickering in Real estate—exchanging etc. until it is too much like horse jockeying business. The agents displaying no more regard for the character of what they handle and careful only to secure their commissions.²⁶

In reply to an apparent proposition from his son that he take part in the Topeka town lot boom, Hawkes wrote the following letter, "In re 'Boom'":

Thanks for yours of 26 inst. with invitation, but taking your quotation of prices as sample I must be left out—far out—in this great Kansas enterprise so far as regards adding anything to my Kan. Real Estate of which I have plenty and fear to have more from foreclosures at prices way below those that the high jumping, optimistic, cheery boomer boometh. Just measure the territory involved in the boom and estimate when all these "Lots" can be sold to be built upon & so the length of time that the "Lambs" buying will have to hold

24. Hawkes to C. W. Pickard, Portland, Maine, April 4, 1885.

25. Hawkes to Anna A. Nettleton, Guilford, Conn., October 19, 1885.

26. Hawkes to Elder Elijah Myrick, Ayer, Mass., December 7, 1886.

or take their chances of finding equally sanguine (or sanguinary) ones to unload upon—and then with me you will get your enjoyment of the boom largely as a spectator. . . . I would greatly enjoy seeing you & visiting you and have too considerable that I could do in Kan. but not in buying R. Est. at present. If I live ten years hence I shall look with complacency upon the few who are raised from small to large estate by their boom—few as compared with the poor multitude who will “get left.”²⁷

By July, 1887, Hawkes had accepted, in a more resigned manner, the fact that competition had made the rates “rather low in some places” at the same time making the loans “rather large for the security in very many cases.” He stated, however, that he was still getting “good loans at fair rates in various places,”²⁸ and in October wrote to his sister, Lydia: “Crops poor but my business prosperous. Will have some good loans for you.”

Unfortunately, there is no way to tell from the available letters (which reach only to about the peak of the boom) how the subsequent waves of foreclosures, business failures, and agrarian protest affected Hawkes and his mortgage brokerage business.

27. Hawkes to S. N. Hawkes, Topeka, March 29, 1887.

28. Hawkes to John M. Brumbaugh, Concordia, July 9, 1887.

The Annual Meeting

THE 84th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in Topeka on October 20, 1959.

For the second year a meeting was held in the Memorial building in the morning designed to aid persons interested in local museums and historical societies. The meeting was called for 10 A. M. Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary of the State Historical Society, presided and Stanley D. Sohl, museum director, discussed museum record-keeping and administrative problems. County organizations in many parts of the state were represented.

The meeting of the Society's board of directors was held concurrently in the newspaper reading room. Called to order by President Richard M. Long, the first business was the report of the secretary:

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 20, 1959

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

Three members of the Society's board of directors have died since the last meeting. Mrs. Jean S. Reser of Hamilton succumbed unexpectedly at Boulder, Colo., on November 19, 1958. A devoted student of Kansas and Greenwood county history, Mrs. Reser and her husband assembled an unusually fine collection of historical mementoes and antiques, some of which she lent for display in the Society's museum. One of her last projects was the preparation of a history of Greenwood county which was published in the *Eureka Herald* in September and October, 1955.

Mrs. Jane C. Rupp of Lincolnville, another long-time friend, died January 2, 1959. She had been a life member of the Society since 1929, and even earlier had contributed a listing of tombstone inscriptions in Hillcrest cemetery in Florence which was published in volume 17 of *The Kansas Historical Collections*. She was also the donor of three Marion county scrapbooks to our library.

Judge Karl Miller died July 12, 1959. A resident of Dodge City from childhood, he was at various times a practising attorney, county attorney, member of the legislature, and from 1926 until his retirement in 1955 was judge of the 31st judicial district. He also served as state pardon attorney in 1955-1956. He was coauthor of a history of the Southwest Kansas Bar Association which was prepared in 1956.

The loss of these friends will be deeply felt.

APPROPRIATIONS AND BUDGET REQUESTS

During the present fiscal year the Society is operating on a tight budget, as are most other state agencies. This is not to imply that our budget is not

always tight, for it is, but this year it is a little tighter than usual. With a close eye on the pennies, however, we shall manage to survive, barring additional expensive incidents such as an unforeseen elevator repair bill of \$500 last month.

The 1959 session of the legislature appropriated \$15,000 for completing air conditioning on the fourth floor and extending it to offices on the third floor. It also increased by \$1,150 a previous appropriation for installing a fire protection system. No other capital improvement requests were approved, but \$5,000 was added to the Society's budget for the purpose of erecting a memorial to Kansans who participated in the campaigns before Vicksburg during the Civil War.

Budget requests for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, were filed with the state budget director in September. Permission was requested to employ an additional janitor, to change one part-time position to a full-time job, and to increase the number of part-time employees. No new capital improvement requests were made, but those denied last year were repeated, including the sandblasting of the Memorial building, construction of a suspended ceiling in the museum, installing a new elevator, and—with emphasis—the remodeling of the G. A. R. hall area on the second and third floors. The latter also provides for air-conditioning for the remaining offices and reading rooms.

Early this month supplementary budget schedules were filed with the budget director to cover salary increases authorized by the state finance council. The council also approved establishment of the position of archaeologist on the Society's staff.

Except for these changes operating expenses are expected to remain at about the present level both for the Society proper and the historical properties which it administers.

PUBLICATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

The 1959 volume of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* begins with the presidential address of Alan W. Farley on the Union Pacific railroad in Kansas. Letters written by the Rev. S. Y. Lum in Kansas during 1854-1858, edited by Dr. Emory Lindquist, appeared in the Spring and Summer issues. Dr. James C. Malin's contributions this year consist of a story on William Sutton White in the Spring and Summer issues, and articles on Eugene F. Ware scheduled for the Autumn and Winter numbers. A story of particular interest for the Summer and Autumn magazines was the history of the U. S. Army and Air Force flight installations in Kansas. Religion in Kansas during the Civil War is the subject of an article by Dr. Lindquist, to appear in the Autumn and Winter numbers.

The four issues of 1959 will comprise volume 25 of the *Quarterly*, and volume 42 of the *Collections*. Approximately 2,600 copies of each issue are mailed to members of the Society, to Kansas newspaper publishers, schools, and libraries.

Now in its fifth year, the bimonthly *Mirror* continues to give members of the Society current news of developments, plans, and activities. Since its publication was begun this little newsletter has been especially helpful in calling attention to items needed in the museum and other departments, and the response from readers has been prompt and generous.

Weekly releases are still sent out each month to the Kansas press, presenting articles from Kansas newspapers of a hundred years ago. Many publishers

over the state use this material regularly. The *Johnson County Herald* editor wrote last month: "We newspaper men don't get many thanks for things we do, and have to assume that if we get no kicks, things are O.K. So . . . just a word of thanks and appreciation to you folks who mail us the Kansas 100 Years Ago material. I enjoy reading it and I know *Herald* subscribers do also." The Society will continue to issue these releases as long as they are so well received.

This month a special release was sent out, to weekly newspapers only, at the suggestion of President Long. The subject selected, Abraham Lincoln's visit to Kansas late in 1859, should be timely and interesting. Possibly such stories can be released from time to time, especially in connection with the Kansas centennial, if ways and means of paying for the necessary "mats" can be worked out.

Today is the official publication date of the long-awaited *Comprehensive Index to Publications, 1875-1930* on which Louise Barry, of the Society's staff, has been working for several years. It is a great satisfaction to make this announcement, and if this 515-page volume proves as useful a reference tool as everyone expects, the time and labor expended on its production will be well worthwhile. It is also a pleasure to report that Miss Barry has already started indexing the *Quarterly* series, which began in 1931. This second *Comprehensive Index* volume will be published as soon as her work can be completed.

Texts for seven new historical markers have been prepared. One for the Kansas Turnpike Authority features "Lawrence and the Old Trails." The other six are: "Land of the Plains Indian," erected in Clark county; "Opening of the Mid-Continent Oil Field," to be erected at Neodesha; "The Bloody Benders," near Parsons; "Alcove Springs and the Oregon Trail," east of Blue Rapids; "Montgomery County," east of Independence; and "Land of the Buffalo," west of Kingman.

Work is underway in earnest on a pictorial history of Kansas which it is hoped can be published by January, 1961. Plans have been made for a 300-page book containing about 550 pictures, some in color with colored maps. The accompanying text will tell briefly the exciting story of Kansas. This is designed to be a book with wide popular appeal, not for the scholar but for the person who likes his history in a nutshell and who enjoys looking at interesting illustrations. The Kansas Centennial Commission has included production costs of the book in the budget which it will present to the 1960 legislature. If all goes well, this will be the Society's major contribution to the centennial observance.

The generosity of Robert Baughman, one of our directors, in establishing the Robert Baughman Foundation, has made it possible to begin work on two special research projects. One is a compilation of all Kansas post offices with dates of establishment and discontinuance, names of postmasters and dates of their service. The second is a descriptive listing of Kansas maps, atlases, and plats. Funds have been given to the Society by the Foundation to pay the salaries of the two research workers employed on these projects and to purchase the necessary supplies and equipment.

There are many projects in Kansas history which are worthy but may never be accomplished except for aid of this kind. And it is redundant to report

here that the Society considers it a privilege to be able to co-operate with Mr. Baughman in this fine work. May others, who have Kansas history interests, be inspired to come and do likewise.

ARCHAEOLOGY

During July and August the Society conducted archaeological excavations on the George Hart farm in the area of the Pomona reservoir, Osage county. Cosponsors were the National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution. The site was located in 1958 during a preliminary archaeological survey, and surface materials indicated an occupation dating 600 to 800 years ago. A report of this survey, which also included the proposed Melvern reservoir, was published by the Society last November.

Probably the most interesting result of the summer's work, supervised in the field by Roscoe Wilmeth, the Society's assistant museum director, was the discovery of the remains of a house quite different from the Plains earth lodge which might normally have been expected. It was apparently ovoid in shape, measured 18 x 14 feet, and had a roof made of grass and twigs plastered with mud. It showed influences derived presumably from the "Caddoan" area of eastern Oklahoma and Texas, and is significant because it shows the connection between prehistoric Indians of this area and the more elaborate cultures to the southeast.

Plans have already been made for a survey this winter in the area of the John Redmond reservoir in Lyon and Coffey counties, and for a "dig" next summer at the Milford reservoir in Clay county. Meantime the artifacts found at Pomona will be studied and a formal report will be prepared.

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>
Administration, Department of, Accounts & Reports Division	Fiscal Records	1951	12 vols.
Agriculture, Board of . . .	Abstracts of Agricultural Statistics	1956, 1957	212 vols.
	Statistical Rolls of Counties, 1952		1,719 vols.
	Population Schedules of Cities and Townships . .	1958, 1959	8,835 vols.
Governor's Office	Correspondence Files	1955, 1956	5 bxs.
Insurance Department . .	*Annual Statements	1951, 1952	936 vols.
	*Record of Agents' Licenses, 1945-1952		87 vols.
	*Applications for Agents' Licenses	1934, 1939-1952	63 vols.

(* To be microfilmed and originals destroyed.)

Annual reports were received from the Board of Basic Science Examiners, Board of Healing Arts, Board of Podiatry Examiners, Livestock Sanitary Commissioner, and Workmen's Compensation Commissioner for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and from the Corporation Commission for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959. A biennial report from the Office Building Commission for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and a report of the Old Age

and Survivors Insurance program, issued by the Department of Administration for the calendar year 1958, were also received.

Records of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, were moved into the archives division from the old office space of the G. A. R. during the past year. Fiscal and reunion records, 1879-1936, have been microfilmed while letters and papers of the organization, totaling 18 manuscript volumes and 14 document boxes, have been arranged and shelved.

In 1952 the Society received from Johnson county a large quantity of original records dating from 1857 to 1930. The bulk of this material has now been microfilmed on 14 reels. With the consent of the Johnson county commissioners, most of the originals have been destroyed although four document boxes of manuscripts have been retained.

A special project, to microfilm the statistical rolls of counties for the years 1919 and 1937-1952, is currently underway. When it is completed, about the end of this year, filming of abstracts of agricultural statistics and population schedules of cities and townships will begin.

LIBRARY

The total number of library patrons for the year was 4,508. Of this number 2,236 worked on Kansas subjects, 1,395 on genealogy, and 877 on subjects of general interest. In addition to queries from Kansas patrons, the correspondence included letters from 38 states, Germany, Ireland, and England. These out-of-state requests were chiefly concerned with Kansas people, places, or events. Nearly 200 packages of loan file material were sent out.

One of our most valuable collections is the material on churches. It includes clipping volumes, periodicals, histories of several individual churches, and proceedings of annual conferences for the major denominations. Some of the conference records date from the territorial period. Records of some of the early congregations were kept carelessly, if at all, so these conference reports are useful in answering requests for information about a particular church. This is especially true now, when many churches are celebrating their centennials.

The library's file of histories and sketches of individual churches, usually written on the occasion of an anniversary, is far from complete. Last summer 51 letters were written to churches which had celebrated either 75th anniversaries or centennials during the years 1957 and 1958, asking for copies of any printed materials issued in connection with the anniversary. Twenty-three replies were received. It is apparent from these figures that the help of our members and friends is needed.

In the clipping department one year's issues of nine dailies and 14 weeklies were read in addition to the seven dailies which are regularly read and clipped. New clippings totaling 6,320 were mounted and 15 worn scrapbooks, comprising 3,643 pages, were remounted.

A microcard reader was purchased and microcards of 105 genealogies and local histories, now out-of-print, were purchased. The cost of microcards is only a fraction of the cost of original books, particularly out-of-print books offered by rare book dealers. Thus far only genealogical materials have been purchased, but many other books are now being reproduced on microcards and some will be purchased in the future.

Several Kansas authors have donated copies of their books during the year and an unusually large number of genealogies have been received from out-of-

state authors. Paul Popenoe, Mr. and Mrs. John F. Amos, and J. Frank Dobie are among those who contributed collections of books and pamphlets. Biographical sketches of Kansas governor's wives came from the Woman's Kansas Day Club which each year does research on a Kansas subject and files the papers written with the Historical Society's library. The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the state of Kansas has established a special fund, the interest from which is given to the Society's library each year for the purchase of genealogical material. The past year county histories of Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana were purchased from this fund. Mrs. Virginia McArthur donated the membership list and index of ancestors of the *National Society Daughters of Colonial Wars, 1950-1958*. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Helm gave money for two reels of microfilm. The Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of American Colonists, and several separate chapters donated volumes of typed records as well as money to apply on the purchase of the 1850 federal census of New York state.

Typed copies of the following theses were donated by the authors: "Persuasive Techniques in Selected Speeches and Writings of John R. Brinkley," by Anita Grim Taylor, and "A Congressman and His Constituents: Jerry Simpson and the Big Seventh," by M. C. Scott. Mr. and Mrs. Harrie K. Mueller gave a copy of "The Initiation of Mail Distribution and Communication in Eastern Kansas, 1828-1870," by Mrs. Jean De Masters Folsie.

Kansas Doctor; A Century of Pioneering, by Thomas Neville Bonner, and *A Frontier State At War: Kansas, 1861-1865*, by Albert Castel, were outstanding Kansas books of the year. A third book deserves to be mentioned, *Concerning Kansas by Richardson*, edited by D. von R. Drenner, which won an award for design and craftsmanship last spring. This book, published by the Zaubenberg Press at Coffeyville, was put together entirely by hand, printed with a mixed-to-order ink on a special all-rag paper from France, and hand bound with Shizuoka Vellum for the spine. It is a beautiful example of fine printing.

Library accessions, October 1, 1958-September 30, 1959, were:

Bound volumes

Books

Kansas	225
General	1,090
Genealogy and local history	118
Indians and the West	53
Kansas state publications	54
Total	1,540
Clippings	14
Periodicals	229

Total, bound volumes	1,783
Microcards (titles)	105
Microfilm (reels)	79

Pamphlets

Kansas	3,126
General	572
Genealogy and local history	23
Indians and the West	18
Kansas state publications	266
Total	4,005

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

Rolla Clymer, editor and publisher of the *El Dorado Times*, has deposited his papers for the period 1919-1958. The collection fills 53 letter file boxes. Mr. Clymer began his newspaper career as a reporter on the *Emporia Gazette* under William Allen White. His identification with the *Times* dates from 1919. He has been active in the field of politics, has served as director of the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, president of the Kansas Press Association, and was recently given the William Allen White award for excellence in journalism. His papers should provide valuable information in the areas of his activities.

Diaries of Thomas A. Bone for the years 1877-1881 were given by his granddaughter, Phoebe Lovell Bone Bell, Beaumont, Tex. Bone came to Kansas from Illinois and operated a stock farm in Franklin county. The diaries offer many details about his farming operations, current prices, and business conditions.

The Jess C. Denious collection, received in 1954, has been increased by about 1,000 items received from his son, Jess C. Denious, Jr., Dodge City. This collection is of unusual value and interest.

W. W. Harris, Santa Rosa, Calif., has presented the original field notes of John C. McCoy's survey of the Cherokee lands, 1836-1837. Mr. Harris is a grandson of John C. McCoy and a great grandson of Isaac McCoy, Baptist missionary.

Papers of the late Marco Morrow have been given to the Society by Mrs. Morrow. They include manuscripts of books, essays, poetry, and speeches. Mr. Morrow was associated with Capper publications for 35 years and was assistant publisher and vice-president at the time of his retirement in 1943.

Errett P. Scrivner, Kansas City, U. S. congressman from the second district from 1943 to 1959, has deposited papers relating to his efforts to prevent the sale of the Huron Place cemetery in Kansas City, burial ground of the Wyandotte Indians, and photostat copies of lists of Wyandotte families and schedules of land allotments.

The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., has given the military papers of Capt. C. S. Bowman, Fourth U. S. cavalry, who served as disbursing and ordnance officer in Kansas, 1861-1864. The papers include enlistments retained at Fort Leavenworth, contracts, returns of equipment and ordnance, and a small amount of correspondence of Capt. William Prince who was recruiting officer for Kansas during the Civil War.

Six guest registers from the Ellsworth hotel were given by George J. Jelinek, Ellsworth. The hotel was operated under several names: Grand Central, Putnam, Ballou, Jennings, Larkin, and White House. Most interesting volume in the series is the register for 1873-1876, the first few pages of which give information about herds of Texas cattle being held in the vicinity awaiting sale.

Microfilm copies of the following have been acquired:

The diary of Walter Hastings Woods, 1858, 1859. Woods, with associates, operated during these years a carriage and wagon shop in the now extinct town of Sumner. Typescript was lent by Wayne Delavan, Arkadelphia, Ark.

Thirteen letters written by Frederick Funston to friends and members of his family, 1892-1908. The originals were lent by his sister, Mrs. Ella F. Eckdall, Emporia.

McCoy family papers, 28 items. Originals were lent by W. W. Harris, Santa Rosa, Calif., whose relationship to John C. and Isaac McCoy has been previously noted.

Twenty-nine pages from the day book of the Western Bakery, Lawrence, 1861, were lent by the University of Kansas library and were combined for filming with 34 pages held by the Society. The bakery was burned during the Quantrill raid and the pages were recovered from the ruins.

The order book of Capt. John B. Vansant, Co. F, 5th cavalry, Missouri state militia, 1862, 1863. Original was lent for copying by Lester F. Phillis, McPherson.

Reminiscences of Catharine Wiggins Porter, 1888-1902. These are the experiences of the author as a pupil in northwest Kansas, a student at Cooper Memorial (now Sterling) College and a teacher in northwest and central Kansas. The original was lent by her son, Kenneth W. Porter, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.

Highland University records: proposed charter; minutes of the board of trustees, December 19, 1859-November 12, 1868; incomplete draft of a report on the condition of the university, undated. Fenn Ward, Highland, lent the records for filming as well as an *Eclectic Almanac*, 1839, used at Highland Mission, and two letters by Christian H. Isely, written at Fort Lincoln, May, 1863.

Peery family letters, 1846-1921. Included in the 36 items are several letters written at Shawnee Methodist Mission in Johnson county where John Thompson Peery served as a teacher, 1849-1852. Originals were lent by Mrs. Wilma Peery Garvin, Kansas City, Mo.

Reminiscences of Fred S. Curry. Mr. Curry, who lives in Rose Hill, reviews his life as a cowboy in the Ellsworth area and his experiences in the Northwest, Canada, and New Mexico. The original was obtained for copying through the kindness of J. Frank Dobie, Austin, Tex.

Fifty-seven letters from William Allen White to Dan Casement, Manhattan, 1927-1943. The originals were lent through the courtesy of James S. Carey and the department of history and government, Kansas State University, Manhattan.

Guest registers of the Ellsworth hotel. George J. Jelinek, Ellsworth, lent several registers which were combined for filming with registers given by him to the Society. The film includes 12 registers, 1873-1904.

The generous gift of Mrs. Raymond H. Millbrook of Detroit for the purchase of microfilm copies of records of early military installations in Kansas has been used to obtain records of Fort Wallace, 1866-1882, from the National Archives. Included are copies of letters sent and orders.

Other donors were: John F. Amos, Oswego; Laird Archer, Fayetteville, Ark.; C. L. Barnes, Oswego; Mrs. J. William Benton, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Ross Blake, Oakhill; George H. Browne, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Mrs. Grace Parker Bruce, Topeka; Cecile Jacoby Strohm Brunt, Topeka; Buffalo (N. Y.) Historical Society; Mrs. Lola R. Carr, Topeka; W. G. Clugston, Topeka; Archie W. Coffman, Topeka; Mrs. L. L. Cullen, Belleville, Wis.; Charles Darnell, Wamego; David Downs, Winston Salem, N. C.; Mrs. Martha Engert, Manhattan; Mrs. Wm. H. Ennis, Pottsville, Pa.; Alan Farley, Kansas City; Josephine A. Few, Nevada, Mo.; Fort Leavenworth Museum; Wesley Harder, Silver Lake;

Mr. and Mrs. Paul Harrison, Hollywood, Calif., through Marion A. Barlow, Lawrence; Ben Hershfield, Tyjunga, Calif.; Alva Earl Home, Topeka; Mrs. G. W. McClung, Westminster, Md.; Mrs. H. W. Harbaugh, Phillipsburg; Mrs. Elmer D. Jewett, Olathe; C. Vincent Jones, Clay Center; Adjutant General of Kansas; Mrs. Warren C. Lichty, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. F. M. Manshardt, Topeka; Donald Ferguson Martin, Los Angeles, Calif.; Marie Munsell, Council Grove; Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas; Norman H. Niccum, Tecumseh; Jennie Small Owen, Topeka; Mrs. J. A. Piatt, Hamilton; Mrs. Bertha Piedalue, Danbury, Neb.; S. F. Roberts, Tecumseh; Joseph G. Rosa, Ruislip, England; F. M. Redpath, Olathe; Frank L. Reid, Howard; Richard W. Robbins, Pratt; J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell; N. E. Saxe, Topeka; Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, Kansas City; Norbert Skelley, Salina; Wint Smith, Washington, D. C.; A. L. Soule, Topeka; Mrs. Raymond J. Tillotson, Shields; Topeka Stamp Club; Mrs. Carl F. Trace, Topeka; Ed. M. Tucker, Temple City, Calif.; Irwin S. Vincent, Topeka; Daisy Job Wood, Garnett.

MICROFILM DIVISION

Since it began operation in 1946 the microfilm division has made 5,196,000 photographs as of September 30, 1959. More than 305,000 have been produced in the past 12 months: 168,000 of newspapers, 126,000 of archival materials, 5,500 for the library, and 2,800 for the manuscript division. The balance were negatives made on special order for private purchasers. In addition more than 617,000 pages of Statistical Rolls of counties, 1919, 1937-1944, and 1946, have been filmed on another camera which was rented last May. This work is not yet finished.

Among the larger newspaper projects of the year were the microfilming of the *Wellington Daily News*, September 2, 1901-December 31, 1919; the *Wichita Eagle*, both morning and evening editions, March 1, 1957-December 31, 1958; and the *New Era*, published variously at Lecompton, Medina, and Valley Falls, August 28, 1866-September 28, 1916. Other newspapers microfilmed included the *Atchison Weekly Champion*, June 26, 1869-June 25, 1909; *Atchison Daily Patriot*, May 6, 1869-May 31, 1880 (incomplete); *Atchison Weekly Patriot*, September 24, 1870-September 19, 1896; *Cheney Sentinel*, January 2, 1941-December 25, 1958; *Garden City Herald*, March 17, 1883-December 30, 1920; *Junction City Union*, September 12, 1861-November 19, 1864, April 15, 1865-December 27, 1901; *Olathe Mirror*, January 13, 1876-September 28, 1905; and 11 other newspapers and periodicals each requiring four rolls of film or less. Work on the Olathe paper is continuing.

Filming of the state census of 1895, begun last year, was completed, and certain records of the Insurance Commissioner for 1949-1951 were microfilmed, in addition to smaller quantities of other archival records.

MUSEUM

For the third straight year the number of visitors to the museum has reached an all-time high. The new record for the year ending September 30 is 65,144, an increase of 6,650 over last year's record. The total was swelled by 508 groups which took advantage of the guided tours conducted by the museum.

A print shop, eighth in the series of period rooms, is now open in the east gallery of the museum. Among the objects on display are a Washington hand

press used in the 1870's, a Columbia job press, a proof press, an early Lino-type, a small paper cutter, a battered roll-top desk, an old wall telephone, type cases, and several samples of handbills and advertisements dating from the turn of the century. The ninth period room, a blacksmith shop, should be completed late this month. This display is located across from the dentist's office in the east gallery.

The museum has had three loan exhibits in the "Collector's Corner" this year. Stan Kaufman, Topeka, lent a collection of mechanical banks, Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Kingman, Topeka, lent material for inclusion in a postal display, and Harvey E. Crawford, Dr. Cotter Hirschberg, and Dr. Robert E. Switzer, all of Topeka, lent collections of paperweights, which are currently on display.

In the third floor lobby eight displays were prepared by the museum staff. One is devoted to old-time photographic equipment while others contain examples of chinaware, kitchen gadgets of the last century, railroad equipment, musical instruments of the Kansas pioneers, lighting equipment, and greeting cards.

For the second year the Historical Society had a display at the Mid-America Fair. Total attendance for the six-day period was 8,944. The exhibit included displays of pioneer life, musical instruments of the early 1900's, and a general store complete with clerk in celluloid collar and sleeve holders.

A total of 179 accessions was received during the year. The John Turnbull estate of Maple Hill donated a fine collection of blacksmith equipment and tools which are on display in the blacksmith and harness shop. A melodeon which was once used in the Lawrence home of Charles Robinson, first governor of Kansas, has been placed in the museum on indefinite loan by Charles Reser of Hamilton. Mrs. Edgar York of Dunlap donated an 1897 hand-operated Boss washing machine which is in perfect condition. Marie Munsell of Council Grove gave a teacher's desk which has been in use since the 1870's. A complete set of dolls dressed to represent all the governors' wives of Kansas was donated by the Woman's Kansas Day Club.

The museum's growing costume collection was expanded by a donation from Emily V. Wood of Manson, Mass. This contribution, totaling 37 objects, includes women's clothes dating from the 1880's.

Other donors included: Myra Adler, Ottawa; Mr. and Mrs. John F. Amos, Oswego; Mrs. Mary Arnold, Lawrence; George W. Axtell, Topeka; Mrs. Cecil Baker, Topeka; Florence and Guy Baker, Ozawie; Don Melvin Baker, and Mrs. Louise L. Baker, Lawrence; William A. Baker, Kansas City; the Bennett C. Beach family, Topeka; Vivian Bernard; Henry Beurman, Lawrence; Mrs. Carl D. Biegert, Junction City; George Bistline, Topeka; Mrs. Henry Blake, Topeka; L. E. Boles, Randolph; Mrs. Lucille Bowen, Junction City; Mrs. R. F. Brock, Goodland; Mrs. Lynn Brodrick, Marysville; Mrs. Thomas Bruner, Topeka; Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y.; E. L. Cannon, Phillipsburg; Mrs. Paul A. Carnahan, Leavenworth; Mrs. Charles Catron, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. M. S. Chapman, Houston, Tex.; Dr. Louis Cohen, Topeka; Mr. A. S. Coil, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Homer W. Cole, Topeka; Stanley Cordy, Calistoga, Calif.; Mildred Cox, Leavenworth; Mrs. O. J. Crandall, Butler, Mo.; Mrs. Warren M. Crosby, Jr., Topeka; Charles Darnell, Wamego; Daughters of Union Veterans, Topeka; Charles Davis, Topeka; Mrs. William G. Davis, Topeka; Esther Delker, Chapman; Mrs. Dean Depler, Louistown, Ill.;

Benjamin Dolen, George Dolen, and Nell Dolen, Oketo; K. K. Doyle, Topeka; Mrs. Martha Engert, Manhattan; Charles Euwer, Topeka; Mrs. Lloyd E. Fauss, Lincoln, Neb.; Lucia and Mildred Floersch, Topeka; Ethelynn Fortescue, Topeka; Mrs. Spencer Gard, Iola; Mrs. Fred Garwood, Olathe; Mrs. Richard P. Gaulke, Kansas City; William R. Geren, Topeka; Jessie May Gibson, Topeka; Mrs. Edna Piazzek Gilpin, Phoenix, Ariz.; Paul R. Givens, Topeka; Mrs. Anna Harbour Goodger, Lafayette, Calif.; C. A. Grinnell, Americus; Mrs. H. P. Haskell, Topeka; Mrs. Frank Haucke, Council Grove; Ben Hershfield; Otis Hollenbeck, Topeka; Mrs. Charles E. Holman, Topeka; John Hoskinson, Oskaloosa; Mr. and Mrs. George P. Hug, Sr., Topeka; Janis Hyde, Reading; Elizabeth Jennings, Topeka; Mrs. Elmer D. Jewett, Olathe; Fred Johnson, Topeka; Iowa Jones, Marysville; Kansas Cosmetologists Association, Inc., by Mrs. Pearl Baker, Pittsburg, and Mrs. Freda G. Hervey, Manhattan; Kansas State Office Building Commission, by Paul Clark; Kansas State Printing Plant by Lillie Washabaugh; Stan Kaufman, Topeka; Mrs. Charles A. Kelley, Ottawa; Francis W. Kelley, Topeka; Mrs. Kenneth Kennedy, Berryton; Mrs. B. Gage Kenny, Lincoln, Neb.; Myrna Kerns, Bonner Springs; Mrs. Robert H. Kingman, Topeka; W. A. Kingman, Topeka; Winslow O. Kingman, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Kirkbride, Chapman; Mrs. William D. Kretsinger, Emporia; Alfred M. Landon, Topeka; Charles A. Lassiter, Topeka; Virgil J. Lawrence, Topeka; Mrs. Richard W. Leach, Evanston, Ill.; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Lee, Topeka; Ralph Leep, Topeka; Frank Lill, Emporia; Helen D. Little, LaCrosse; Howard Lyman, Frankfort; Helen McFarland, Topeka; George Mack, Topeka; Wayland W. Magee, Bennington, Neb.; Mrs. F. M. Manshardt, Topeka; Mrs. Edna Manspeaker, Topeka; Masonic Lodge No. 14, Oskaloosa; Mrs. Henry B. Miller, Topeka; Mrs. Henry W. Miller, Delavan; Mr. and Mrs. Nyle Miller, Topeka; Floyd Monroe, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. R. F. Morris, Topeka; C. L. Morse, Topeka; Marie Munsell, Morris county; Elinor Neal, Topeka; Robert Neiswender, Topeka; Elsie Neuenschwander, Lawrence; Lewis M. Norris, Leneville, Ala.; Mrs. Alvin Owen, Louisville; Ronald L. Peters, Topeka; Mrs. Marie Phillips, Parsons; Mrs. E. S. Ping, Topeka; Mrs. Robert Price, Topeka; Lane Ramsey, Topeka; Mrs. W. W. Reed, Topeka; Mrs. Fred A. Rehkopf, Topeka; Mrs. E. K. Richmond, Wellington; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Richmond, Topeka; John Ripley, Topeka; Mrs. George Root, Topeka; Albertina Rosencraus, Manhattan; Leslie W. Rowles, Topeka; Frank Rude, Topeka; Lorene Russell, Manhattan; Pete Rust, Smith Center; Santa Fe railroad, Topeka; Mrs. J. H. Schimmell, Topeka; Walter H. Schoewe, Lawrence; Angelo Scott, Iola; Errett P. Scrivner, Kansas City; Mrs. L. E. Shaw, Topeka; Frank M. Shelton, Topeka; Mrs. Mazie Morrison Simpson, Topeka; William Sneed, Topeka; Jeanine Sohl, Topeka; Stanley Sohl, Topeka; George Sternberg, Hays; R. N. Stevenson, Topeka; F. M. Steves & Sons, Printers, Topeka; K. B. Strafuss, Manhattan; Joseph Strathman, Seneca; Ruth Sumey, Topeka; Annie B. Sweet, Topeka; E. M. Tucker, Temple City, Calif.; Robert L. Thompson, Jr., Moran; Mrs. L. R. Tillotson, Topeka; Mrs. Carl F. Trace, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Valentine; H. Van Brunt; C. R. Van Druff, McLouth; Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Waddell, Topeka; Bessie and Gustie Waite, Topeka; Mrs. Malcolm Whyte, Milwaukee, Wis.; Roscoe Wilmeth, Topeka; H. D. Wilson, Topeka; C. C. Witmer, Topeka; Mrs. L. E. Womer, Agra; Woman's Kansas Day Club; Emily V. Wood, Manson, Mass.; Otto Wullschlegler, Frankfort; Keith Wingerd, Navarre; Mrs. Edgar York, Dunlap; Mrs. T. F. Yost, Topeka; J. W. Zavodnik, Wilson; and Mary A. Zimmerman, Valley Falls.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISION

More than 4,500 patrons were served in person by the newspaper and census division during the past year. In addition over 5,500 requests were answered by mail.

Almost 10,000 searches were made by members of the staff in newspapers and census volumes. Certified copies of records furnished totaled 4,173. Among the uses made of these certificates are proof of age and place of birth, proof of publication for legal purposes, and family history.

Patrons and staff members used, during the year, 15,633 census volumes, 6,591 bound newspaper volumes, 4,930 single issues of newspapers, and 2,343 microfilm reels of newspapers.

Nearly all Kansas publishers continue to contribute their newspapers to the Society for filing. Now being received are 54 dailies, 12 semiweeklies, and 291 regular weeklies. Also, 143 newspapers published by Kansas schools, churches, labor unions, and other institutions are donated by their publishers. Nine out-of-state newspapers are received.

Bound volumes of Kansas newspapers now total 58,087, and bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers number 12,010. Three hundred and fifty-three reels of newspapers on microfilm were added to the collection, which now totals 7,442. Thirteen Kansas publishers donate microfilm copies of their current issues to the Society.

Older Kansas newspapers received during the year included: Junction City *Daily Union*, December 26, 1866, donated by Don Martin, Los Angeles, Calif.; Cora Union, February 25, 1886, donated by Charles Darnell, Wamego; *Territorial Enterprise*, Virginia City, Nev., May 2, 1952, May 8, 1953-December 27, 1957, given by the University of Kansas library, Lawrence; Salina *Herald*, June 6, 1874, donated by Norbert Skelley, Salina; *Kansas Farmer*, Leavenworth, May 15, 1869, donated by Fenn Ward, Highland; and *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, January 2, 1872-December 25, 1878, donated by Gordon West, Topeka, and the publisher.

Other donors of newspapers were: Mrs. Carl F. Trace, Topeka; Maurice Valentine, Council Grove; Errett Scrivner, Kansas City; Mrs. Mary Arnold, Lawrence; Mrs. Bruce Warner, Topeka; B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.; Mrs. Ben Franklin, Topeka; Evelyn Warren, Honolulu; Mrs. Henry Blake, Topeka; Topeka Rotary Club through Charles Howes; and Russell W. Walker, St. John.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

During the year 1,891 photographs were added to the Society's collection while 32 duplicate prints were removed, making a net increase of 1,859. Of these, 916 were gifts, 427 were lent to the Society for copying and 548 were taken by the Society staff. Fifty-six color slides have been accessioned.

Several large groups of photographs were given to the Society this year. Among the more important were 39 views of early Spearville, Ingalls, and construction work on the Eureka Irrigating Canal in western Kansas from A. L. Soule, Topeka; 84 views of Salina streets, businesses, and citizens from Norbert Skelley, Salina; 110 pictures of the Wichita aircraft industry from the Kansas Industrial Development Commission; 99 postal card pictures of early Kansas courthouses from Mrs. Maude Funston, Parsons; 15 Indian portraits from George H. Browne, St. Petersburg, Fla.; and 26 early street scenes of Kansas cowtowns from the Denver Public Library.

Excellent collections of Kansas pictures were lent for copying by Paul Gibley, Claffin; Wilbur Hess, Salina; W. F. Holmes, Oswego; Kansas University, Lawrence; Mrs. Amy Lathrop, Norton; the Ottawa County Historical Society, Minneapolis; Mrs. Fred A. Rehkopf, Topeka; John Ripley, Topeka; Floyd Souders of the Cheney *Sentinel*; and Joseph Strathman, Seneca.

The demand for copies of photographs in the Society's collection continued undiminished through the year. Publications of national circulation, broadcasting companies and writers continue to ask the Society for help with regard to illustrative material.

Seventy-seven new maps and atlases have been accessioned this year, 32 of which are recent issues of the United States Geological Survey. The Kansas Highway Commission has deposited with the Society 27 county highway maps in the new series now being printed.

Other map gifts of particular interest include a plat of Oswego from J. F. Amos, Oswego; a map of Fort Laramie, 1863, from the National Park Service, Fort Laramie National Monument; an Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad map, 1876, from Mrs. Joe Zimmerman, Topeka; and two maps of the same railroad, 1866, from W. A. Kingman, Topeka. Other donors included Fred M. Mazzulla, Denver, Colo.; Robert Martin, Lyons; Jerry Riseley, Stockton; Mr. and Mrs. Paul Harrison, Hollywood, Calif.; Service Pipeline Co., Tulsa, Okla.; Norbert Skelley, Salina; and D. M. Cunningham, Winona.

Fenn Ward, of Highland, lent a lithograph of the town of Hiawatha, 1879, for copying.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Subjects for extended research included: Dr. John R. Brinkley; Abilene; Ellsworth; vote against war in 1917; Kansas place names; late 19th century agriculture; folklore; history of Sterling College; pioneer years of Hillsboro; Soule College; William Allen White; Alfred M. Landon; Populism; impact of Farmers' Alliance on Republican party in 1888-1892; Kansas in the early 1930's; Nicodemus; grasshoppers; frontier religion; the Herd law; cowboy songs; Westphalia; Bent's Fort; local aids to railroads; the Kansas Freedman's Bureau; Baptists in Kansas; U. S. presidents in Kansas; Arthur Capper; William Tilghman and other noted frontier police officers who saw service in Kansas.

SOCIETY HOLDINGS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1959

Bound Volumes

Books

Kansas	10,194
General	58,027
Genealogy and local history	10,217
Indians and the West	1,576
Kansas state publications	3,255
Total	83,269
Clippings	1,298
Periodicals	17,523

Total, bound volumes 102,090

Manuscripts (archives and private papers, cubic feet)	5,815	
Maps and atlases	5,444	
Microfilm (reels)		
Books and other library materials	323	
Public archives and private papers	1,511	
Newspapers	7,442	
Total		9,276
Newspapers (bound volumes)		
Kansas	58,087	
Out-of-state	12,010	
Total		70,097
Paintings and drawings		427
Pamphlets		
Kansas	95,956	
General	39,036	
Genealogy and local history	3,785	
Indians and the West	1,089	
Kansas state publications	5,998	
Total		145,864
Photographs		34,896

THE FIRST CAPITOL

All 50 states and 14 foreign countries were represented among the visitors to the First Territorial Capitol on the Fort Riley military reservation. Total registration was 7,061, slightly higher than last year, with 4,911 from Kansas. One of the visitors was Emma Gatewood of Gallipolis, Ohio, who received wide publicity for her feat of walking from Independence, Mo., to Portland, Ore., following more or less the old Oregon trail.

THE FUNSTON HOME

Visitors to the Funston Home, north of Iola, numbered 862, of whom 722 were Kansans. The remainder came from 26 other states.

Although lack of funds has prevented further development of the Funston Home as a museum, the building and grounds are well-kept and attractive.

THE KAW MISSION

At the Kaw Mission, in Council Grove, 5,676 visitors registered, 4,552 from Kansas, 1,109 from 45 other states, and 15 from nine foreign countries. Appreciation is due again to the Council Grove *Republican* for its weekly "Museum Scoreboard," and to the Junior Chamber of Commerce which operates an information booth at the Cowboy Jail and is instrumental in directing many visitors to the Mission. Thanks are due also to the Nautilus Club, which again this year presented a rose bush to the Mission.

Progress has been made by the Council Grove Rotary club toward completion of the Indian cabin by installation of a concrete walk and floor. The club also plans to put in electric wiring and to place a rock veneer around the chimney.

Donors of museum items included Mr. and Mrs. Russell Adams, Mrs. Marguerite Atwood, Mrs. C. L. Carr, G. E. Jones, Mrs. August Langvardt, Mrs. Hattie Moore, Mrs. Jessie Ramsey, Raymond Vell, and Mrs. Edgar York. Mrs. R. R. Cross lent part of her collection of china and glassware for a temporary display.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

Visitors at Old Shawnee Mission came from 44 states and 16 foreign countries. The total was 8,266 as compared to 6,182 last year. Out-of-state visitors numbered 2,768 while 5,464 were Kansans. Six visitors were descendants of missionaries who served at the Mission prior to 1862: Joe Greene, great grandson of the Rev. Jesse Greene; Mrs. Wilma Peery Garvin and Virginia Peery Whitwarth, grand-nieces of the Rev. John T. Peery, and John Wilbur Peery, a great-nephew; William Charles Bluejacket, a grandson of Shawnee Chief Charles Bluejacket, and Russell P. Bluejacket, a great grandson.

As in past years, the Society is happy to express its thanks for continued interest and assistance to the Colonial Dames, Daughters of American Colonists, Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of 1812, and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

It is a pleasure to make this annual acknowledgment to the Society's staff for the accomplishments noted in this report. The work of a historical society, especially one as large and as active as ours, cannot be handled by any one person, or two, or three. All the members of the staff have worked conscientiously and efficiently, and all can be proud of their part in earning such commendations as these: "Out of twelve requests to state libraries, yours was the only one to be so thorough and was of any help at all"; "the finest state library in the country . . . especially impressed by the cataloguing"; "Your reference service is outstandingly fine"; "As a life member of the Society I am interested to find how widely the Society ranges for information on Kansans. No doubt that is one reason you have such a superb library!"; "It is my sincere opinion that you and your staff have made the State Historical Society Museum the best that I have seen anywhere."

Special attention should be called to the work of Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary, and the department heads: Mrs. Lela Barnes of the manuscript division, who is also treasurer of the Society; Robert W. Richmond, archivist; Alberta Pantle, librarian; Stanley Sohl, museum director; and Forrest R. Blackburn of the newspaper division.

Appreciation is also due the custodians of the 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 Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Brownback at the First Territorial Capitol.

Respectfully submitted,

NYLE H. MILLER, *Secretary.*

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, Charles M. Correll moved that it be accepted. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Jesse C. Harper and the report was adopted.

President Long 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, 1958, to August 8, 1959.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 5, 1958:

Cash	\$3,871.78	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,000.00	
		<u>\$8,871.78</u>

Receipts:

Membership fees	\$1,575.00	
Interest on bonds	138.00	
Interest on savings	43.35	
Interest, Thomas H. Bowlus gift	27.60	
Gifts	336.78	
		<u>2,120.73</u>
		<u><u>\$10,992.51</u></u>

Disbursements		\$1,260.41
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Balance, August 8, 1959:

Cash	\$4,732.10	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,000.00	
		<u>9,732.10</u>
		<u><u>\$10,992.51</u></u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 5, 1958:

Cash	\$81.58	
U. S. bond, Series K	1,000.00	
		<u>\$1,081.58</u>

Receipts:

Interest on bond	\$27.60	
Interest on savings account	4.13	
		<u>31.73</u>
		<u><u>\$1,113.31</u></u>

Balance, August 8, 1959:

Cash	\$113.31	
U. S. bond, Series K	1,000.00	
		<u>\$1,113.31</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 5, 1958:

Cash	\$147.62	
U. S. bond, Series K	500.00	
		<u>\$647.62</u>

Receipts:

Interest on bond	\$13.80	
Interest on savings account	2.06	
		<u>15.86</u>
		<u>\$663.48</u>

Balance, August 8, 1959:

Cash	\$163.48	
U. S. bond, Series K	500.00	
		<u>\$663.48</u>

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, 1958:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$462.64	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,500.00	
		<u>\$5,962.64</u>

Receipts:

Bond interest (deposited in membership fee fund) ..	151.80	
		<u>\$6,114.44</u>

Balance, August 8, 1959:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$614.44	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,500.00	
		<u>\$6,114.44</u>

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, 1959, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, including the Memorial building, \$252,080.58; First Capitol of Kansas, \$3,482; Kaw Mission, \$5,133; Funston Home, \$3,657; Old Shawnee Mission, \$9,882.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. LELA BARNES, *Treasurer.*

Kirke Mechem moved that the report be adopted. Will T. Beck seconded the motion and the report was accepted.

Will T. Beck presented the report of the executive committee on the post-audit of the Society's funds by the State Division of Auditing and Accounting:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 16, 1959.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the State Department of Post-Audit has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the Old Shawnee Mission, the First Capitol of Kansas, the Old Kaw Mission, the Funston Home, and Pike's Pawnee Village, for the period August 5, 1958, to August 8, 1959, and that they are hereby approved.

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
CHARLES M. CORRELL,
T. M. LILLARD,
FRANK HAUCKE.

On a motion by Will T. Beck, seconded by E. R. Sloan, 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 16, 1959.

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: E. R. Sloan, Topeka, president; Jerome C. Berryman, Ashland, first vice-president; and George L. Anderson, Lawrence, second vice-president.

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

Respectfully submitted,
WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
CHARLES M. CORRELL,
T. M. LILLARD,
FRANK HAUCKE.

James Malone moved that the report be accepted. Angelus Lingenfelter seconded the motion and the officers were unanimously elected.

After an informal discussion of the Society's recent publication, *Comprehensive Index to Publications, 1875-1930*, Emory Lindquist offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we express our genuine appreciation and hearty congratulations to Louise Barry and all others who have made possible the compilation and publication of the *Comprehensive Index to Publications, 1875-1930*, which provides another excellent resource for the study of Kansas history; and that we express our great pleasure at the prospect of the publication of a second volume in this series.

Mr. Lindquist moved the adoption of the resolution. James E. Taylor seconded the motion and the resolution was adopted.

An oil portrait by Boris B. Gordon of the late Philip Pitt Campbell, congressman from the Third district, 1903-1923, and well-known lawyer of Pittsburg, was the subject of a discussion, the portrait having been sent to the Society by the artist for temporary display. Fred W. Brinkerhoff presented a resolution expressing the desirability of the Society's acquiring the portrait, if offered, providing the subject's daughter, Mrs. Robert Kleberg of Kingsville, Tex., approves it as a satisfactory likeness. Motion to accept Mr. Brinkerhoff's resolution was made by Will T. Beck, seconded by E. A. Thomas, and the resolution was adopted.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Annual Meeting of the Society

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society opened with a luncheon at noon in the roof garden of the Jayhawk hotel. About 175 members and guests attended.

The invocation was given by the Rev. Peter Beckman, professor of history at St. Benedict's College, Atchison.

Following the luncheon, President Long introduced guests at the speakers' table. These included Governor and Mrs. Docking and officers of the Society and their wives.

The address of President Long of Wichita followed:

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

WICHITA COWTOWN

RICHARD M. LONG

Mr. Chairman, Governor and Mrs. Docking, and fellow Kansans:
WHEN it dawned on me that our annual meeting was only weeks away and that I would be called on to address this group on some matter of historical interest I gathered together some material and decided to just make a few notes and talk from them.

It seemed a wonderful idea until I mentioned it to my wife. She did not exactly veto the plan. She suggested that I convert the notes into a manuscript; that by so doing there would be some control over how long I would talk, so here is my control:

There was a day, not long past, when discussions of pioneers and the early settlement of Kansas was considered a topic for old folks; for those reminiscing of their youth. The selection of my topic for discussion here today would have rated me an old fogey. My subject is "Wichita COWtown."

But in recent years, due in large part to the movies and to television my subject brands me with no connotation of age and senility. On the contrary I might be classed as a youngster, for cowtowns are becoming modern.

When Wichita's cowtown was started a decade ago it was the first in the Midwest. True, Dodge City had its "Boot Hill," and any number of communities had their historical museums, some quite small. Today cowtowns are modern. There's one at Dodge City, Abilene, Oklahoma City and no doubt others will be started.

Several weeks ago I was asked to participate on a television panel program for a round-table discussion of Wichita's Cowtown. One of the first questions put to me was: "Who originated the idea for Wichita's Cowtown?" And the only answer that could be given was "No One." For Wichita's cowtown, like Topsy, just grew.

The germ of the idea which developed into Wichita's cowtown originated in the desire of the late Victor Murdock, editor-in-chief of the *Wichita Eagle*, to preserve the first permanent church building in Wichita as a historical monument for the city. That was back in 1942.

When Mr. Murdock resigned from the Federal Trade Commission to resume his editorship of the *Eagles* in Wichita he continued the regular *Eagle* policy started by his father, the late Col. Marsh Murdock, of boosting the city; of pointing out its wonderful location and the potentials for greater development. But, as a sideline he sought to preserve in type the historical material still available. He urged staff members to write of the early history of the community. And he insisted on accuracy. He culled out fanciful fiction which was the common property of most pioneer communities. Mr. Murdock had a wide acquaintanceship over Kansas and did his stint of historical writing.

One day I turned in a story concerning Wichita's first permanent church building; how it still survived as a rooming house on North Main street in Wichita. Since Mr. Murdock insisted so strongly on accuracy he personally checked the records before allowing the story to be published.

Convinced that the old weather-beaten structure was in reality Wichita's first permanent church edifice he made plans to purchase the building and restore it as a historical monument for the community. But he was stymied. The owner of the building would not sell. It was wartime and every room was rented. While the value of the property was nominal it was a money-producer. Thwarted in his plans Mr. Murdock pointed out that when the

war years were over the building undoubtedly would be condemned as a fire hazard. And he exacted from me a promise that in case he was gone that I would see that the church building was restored.

I left word with the fire chief that if ever the building was condemned that I was to be notified. Several years later, while on a vacation in Galveston, Tex., I received a telegram from the fire department that they were bringing condemnation proceedings against the building. They had extinguished a small fire there and its hazardous state was called to their attention.

I telephoned to the mayor of the city, the late Dr. L. A. Donnell, and asked that the proceedings be held up until I returned. Back in Wichita I found that the owner had sold the building to a salvage operator. After considerable dickering I was able to contract to purchase the old frame building for \$400. I believed I had made a bargain deal until months later when I learned the owner had given it to the salvage man if he would remove it.

I called on a group of Wichitans with an interest in the community and told them of Mr. Murdock's desire to save the church building. They were heartily in favor of the plan so we called on business and professional men to put up the purchase money and in less than a day raised the needed amount. We felt rather proud of ourselves for a couple of days, until the owner of the property notified us that the building had to be removed in 20 days. That meant more "hat passing," quite a bit more for it cost us \$1,200 to take the building down in sections and store it in the county yards.

Along with the church building was a small house, the former church parsonage. It had been condemned along with the other building so the salvage man just threw that in. There we were, a group of Wichitans with a mission to perform, two old buildings stored in sections and no one willing to give us an estimate on the restoration and no site on which to erect the historical structures.

First, we decided that if we were to be successful we should have a nonprofit corporation to operate the affair. Once incorporated we could operate in a more business-like manner. That was how Historic Wichita, Inc., was born. And since there were two attorneys on our board they had the incorporation papers so general that we could do almost anything so long as we labeled it "Historic."

Our next step was to secure a site for the historic church and parsonage. By that time we had enjoyed all the difficulties possible in fund raising and decided that the site costing the least in dollars and cents would be best. So it seemed only natural that we would

turn to the Wichita Park Board. They had control of the greatest acreage of land in the city suitable for such a project and surely they would be glad to donate a little.

The park board members readily agreed that we had a most worth-while project and of course they would help, if they could. It was a cool, iffy response. We had just the site we needed picked out in Oak Park. But, by that time we had learned considerable. As a matter of fact we felt like old pros and decided to so conduct ourselves.

The park board panned us off on their director, Emory Cox. It was agreed that we would look over possible sites with him. Our first suggestion was Central Riverside park which we realized was unattainable. Emory Cox was ready with the explanation of why that area just wouldn't be possible. After about four similar suggestions with the always courteous turn-down, backed by most logical reasons, we drove to Oak Park for the site we had in mind. We believed that we had the director worn down and that we had exhausted all of his negative arguments. We were mistaken. Director Cox had figures to show how many thousand dollars the city had expended to develop the area; how buildings and a parking area would change the entire aspect of the natural woodland.

And then Director Cox played his hole card. He happened to think of an undeveloped area in the city much closer to the downtown district which we might acquire. It was 23 acres of sand hills by the Arkansas river owned by the Wichita Water Company and only used as a site for emergency water wells.

He was confident that we could persuade the city commission to lease the site for 99 years from the water company and then in turn lease it to us for a dollar a year. And then we could beautify the area and as a clincher he promised to help us make the deal. The only logical course seemed to be acceptance of his proposition which did not cost the city a square inch of park space.

Director Cox kept his word. He joined forces with us and we locked horns with attorneys for the Water company. We met, we talked, we argued and in due course of time we had a lease on the surface rights of 23 acres when we needed only one. Of course we had to agree not to disturb the water lines, electric lines, and not obstruct water company work parties.

With the lease duly signed we broke ground for the church and parsonage. We were off to a good start with lumber companies furnishing lumber and building firms man hours of labor. As the

work progressed we realized that restoring a building was far more expensive than erecting a new one.

The frame-work of the buildings was in excellent shape, but the weather-boarding so brittle that it could be broken with thumb and finger. We could get identical boards, but the price was stiff. The project almost ground to a halt when it was rescued by Mrs. Lola Fisher, the widow of Dr. Jesse Clyde Fisher who had been one of Historic Wichita's organizers. Mrs. Fisher agreed to underwrite the remaining cost, which totaled more than \$15,000.

This first permanent church building in Wichita was erected in 1870 by the Presbyterian congregation. It cost only \$500 since much of the labor was donated. It served as a Presbyterian church until 1873, when the Presbyterians had outgrown the structure and had funds enough to erect a brick building large enough to accommodate their thriving congregation. They offered the frame building for sale and it was purchased by the newly organized Catholic congregation and for years served as a Catholic church. When sold by the Catholic congregation it was moved to North Main street and converted into a two-story rooming house.

We had scarcely completed the restoration of the church and parsonage when officers of the Eunice Sterling chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution offered us the Munger house, or what was left of it; \$3,000 and a lot worth \$1,500 if we would agree to restore this historic old building. The ladies had purchased this building in order to save it and when faced with the restoration cost decided to offer it to experts, as we then believed ourselves to be.

The Munger house was erected in Wichita in 1869-1870 by D. S. Munger. It was the first house in Wichita, a log and plaster affair. Next to the church it undoubtedly is one of Wichita's most historic buildings. It was erected by Munger to be used as a dwelling for his family, but soon after its completion there was such a demand by travelers for rooms that the upstairs rooms were rented out and an outside stairs added to the building. In this manner rooms could be rented without discommoding members of the family. For a short time the house served as Wichita's post office with Mr. Munger serving as postmaster.

Practically all of the materials for the house, with the exception of glass for the windows and hardware, came from Wichita. The house was a two-story affair of logs with a one-story kitchen addition. The walls were of cottonwood logs and the floors,

doors, and windows of walnut sawed on the spot. The logs were squared and mortised. They came from trees growing along the river bank. The laths for the plastered portion were slender willow branches. The plaster was river sand combined with lime obtained by burning clam shells and the plaster was reinforced with buffalo hair. Plaster sections have been preserved and are framed under glass in the restored house.

And on this house we again learned about the cost of restoration. We discovered termites no respecter of historical structures and that it took time and money to hew out cottonwood logs and rough-saw walnut flooring.

Before the Munger house had been completed the Wichita school board purchased a residential property in order to enlarge a school ground and acquired a staunch and much battered building which had been Wichita's first jail. The school board couldn't give it away, but they did sell it to us for a dollar and we moved it to a site close to the Munger house.

This first Wichita jail is generally referred to as Wyatt Earp's jail because it was used when Earp was employed on the city's police force. It was used to confine many notorious criminals, and not a few of them cut their initials in the walls of the timbered cells. A few did better. They cut their way out. These old exit holes show to this day. They indicate the escaping prisoners had outside help, by some friend with a brace-and-bit. While it served its purpose during the early days it certainly was not an escape-proof jail. Early city records indicate that the building was the first constructed by the newly-formed Wichita city government; that the contractor had difficulty in constructing it to suit the city fathers and that the city government had trouble in financing the venture. City records show that its cost was \$800. Yes, in Cowtown Wichita it cost more to erect a jail than a church. Today it is different. It cost us much more to restore the church than the jail.

In replacing damaged timbers in the walls of the frame building we again found trouble. We searched lumber yards for weeks for timbers of the dimensions used in the jail building. We were about convinced that we would be forced to have them sawed to order when our builder found that the wood used in crating cast-iron pipe for the water company was identical with that used in the original construction of the jail. Yes, we added to our knowledge in the restoration of the jail.

We started out to restore one building and we had completed four. And we had plenty of room for more. It was at this time that the idea came for a cowtown village. We then located a building which fitted the exact description of Wichita's first post office. And one of our directors was confident the Santa Fe railway might be induced to restore the first Wichita railway station. We decided to go ahead and restore from 20 to 30 buildings which were a part of Wichita during the cowtown period of the community, from 1870 to 1880.

I would like to say that everything went smoothly, but that would not be correct. We had overcome many difficulties with the first four structures. Before the fourth building was completed we encountered the problem of vandalism. Youths threw rocks through windows. They broke open doors. They destroyed paint and stole tools.

For more than a year all restoration work was stopped while we centered our efforts on building a caretaker's house. By that time the city commission recognized the value of the work we were doing and came to our assistance with a salary for a caretaker and funds to help complete his home.

Then there was the problem of rest rooms and sewerage connection for the caretaker's house. Our land was directly over a water supply area for the city and we could not use a septic tank. Again the city came to our assistance with additional help.

We found that many people would give money to restore historic buildings but few would subscribe to a sewer connection or pay for protection of buildings.

We encountered a period when an economy-minded city commission could not appreciate the value of our work and it took most of our funds to pay the caretaker.

But our board was either stubborn or determined. We even had one of our newly restored buildings, a drug store, destroyed in a windstorm. Fortunately we had the building insured, so there was enough money to start rebuilding.

If I attempted to recount all of our difficulties it would take hours. And they might not be as tragic to this group as to ourselves.

Today in addition to the church, parsonage, jail, and Munger house we have a fire station, post office, barber shop, the city's first schoolhouse, railway depot, lumberyard, and stockyards. We have a section of early-day railway track, a railway hand work car, and a box car. We have under construction a blacksmith shop and newspaper building. And we are working on plans for a cowtown

general store, a saddle shop, a photograph gallery, a livery stable, an opera house, and a famous landmark which in the early days was located at Main street and Douglas, the famous Keno corner, a saloon downstairs, and a gambling hall upstairs.

Today we are working under pressure. We want to have a complete pioneer town ready by 1961 when the state starts its centennial celebration. To do this we must have a safe parking area, a cowtown eating place, and a fence around the area. That is why we are making plans for a supreme effort in 1960 to raise funds and restore buildings.

One of our problems has been the publicity we received. In a way it was good. It helped in our drives for funds but it brought visitors. But the visitors were not content just to look at the exteriors of our buildings. And you cannot show buildings without guides and guides must eat. This was one of our major problems two years ago. It was a serious one, for many Wichitans were proud of our efforts and wanted to show the restored buildings to their friends.

On learning of our latest dilemma in 1958 the Girl Scouts of Wichita volunteered to help. They offered to set up a guide service. Our board met with officials of the Wichita Girl Scout Council. General plans were outlined and a program of showing the buildings evolved. Of course the most desirable plan would have been to have guide service available 12 hours a day, seven days a week the year round. Our directors realized this was impossible so we arranged to have the tours conducted three hours a day, six days a week during the summer vacation and open on Sundays for three hours during September and October. The plan had its drawbacks as many visitors wanted to inspect the buildings at hours when the scouts were not available. However, it was the best plan we could devise at the time. And I would say it was successful since during the summer of 1958 more than 30,000 persons signed our guest registers. The visitors were from 46 states and 11 foreign countries.

The Girl Scouts volunteered to help us again this year. And I would say that they were even more successful. We hope they will be inclined to help us in 1960; the year we expect to be a record one for our project. We hope to have from 10 to 20 new buildings erected, and adequate parking area paved and the area fenced. It is an ambitious program but we have great hopes of its success, since we believe the community is pleased with our modest success to date and would like to be in the foreground in the 1961 centennial celebration.

I'll admit that it is difficult for me to stop talking about matters in which I am deeply interested, and especially about matters of Kansas history, but I know my time is up. We feel that we are doing a great work in restoring Wichita's Cowtown and I am confident that we have been inspired to a great measure by the long and continued efforts of the Kansas State Historical Society. Therefore, I cannot close without paying tribute to Nyle Miller, his splendid staff, and the directors of the Kansas State Historical Society.

At the close of retiring President Long's address, a small plaque was presented to him by the newly-elected president, E. R. Sloan, in recognition of his service to the Society.

Folklorist William E. Koch, a member of the English department of Kansas State University, Manhattan, entertained with a group of folk songs of the frontier, providing his own guitar accompaniment.

Fred W. Brinkerhoff, former president of the Kansas State Historical Society, member of the board of directors of the Centennial commission and director of the re-enactment of Lincoln's tour of Kansas, spoke on "Lincoln in Kansas: The Centennial of His Visit."

The report of the committee on nominations for directors was called for and read by Will T. Beck:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 16, 1959.

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, 1962:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
 Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
 Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
 Beck, Will T., Holton.
 Bray, Mrs. Easton C., Syracuse.
 Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater.
 Chandler, C. J., Wichita.
 Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.
 Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.
 Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
 Dawson, John S., Topeka.
 Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia.
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
 Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
 Gard, Spencer A., Iola.
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.

Landon, Alf. M., Topeka.
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
 Lose, Harry F., Topeka.
 Malin, James C., Lawrence.
 Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
 Wichita.
 Menninger, Karl, Topeka.
 Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
 Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
 Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
 Stewart, Donald, Independence.
 Thomas, E. A., Wichita.
 von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

Respectfully submitted,

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
 CHARLES M. CORRELL,

T. M. LILLARD,
 FRANK HAUCKE.

Motion for the acceptance of the report was made by Alf. M. Landon, seconded by Wilford Riegle. The report was adopted and directors for the term ending in October, 1962, were elected.

Reports of local societies were called for and given as follows: Harry E. Hanson for the Wyandotte County Historical Society; Mrs. Robert F. Withers for the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society; and Mrs. Sam Cravens for the Clark County Historical Society. Mention was made by the secretary of the activities of the societies in Lyon, Lane, Ottawa, and Crawford counties; also of the publications issued by the Clark and Riley county societies. Attention was directed to the annual meeting of the Shawnee county society on December 4 which will feature early Topeka businesses.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned. Members and guests were invited to attend an open house at the Memorial building where special displays had been arranged. Refreshments were served in the museum.

Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society as of October, 1959

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1960

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
 Baughman, Robert W., Liberal.
 Beezley, George F., Girard.
 Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
 Brinkerhoff, Fred A., Pittsburg.
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
 Docking, George, Lawrence.
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
 Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
 Harper, Mrs. Jesse C., Ashland.
 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.
 Ripley, John, Topeka.
 Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
 Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
 Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan.
 Templar, George, Arkansas City.
 Townsley, Will, Great Bend.
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1961

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
 Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
 Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
 Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.
 Hall, Standish, Wichita.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Humphrey, Arthur S., Junction City.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris,
 Garden City.
 Kaul, Robert H., Wamego.
 Lauterbach, August W., Colby.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
 Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita.
 Maranville, Lea, Ness City.

Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
 Montgomery, John D., Junction City.
 Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
 Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
 Richards, Walter M., Emporia.
 Riegler, Wilford, Emporia.
 Robbins, Richard W., Pratt.
 Roberts, Larry W., Wichita.
 Scott, Angelo, Iola.
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
 Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
 Socolofsky, Homer E., Manhattan.
 Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
 Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

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 Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
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 Thomas, E. A., Wichita.
 von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

Bypaths of Kansas History

A HORSE OF A DIFFERENT COLOR

From a report of a "special correspondent" at Fort Harker, dated July 8, 1867, in the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 10, 1867.

The other day, while Gen. Sherman was on his way up to Harker, and while the train was stopping at Manhattan, Lieut. Governor Green called upon him, and with other gentlemen, urged the propriety of the U. S. government furnishing the Kansas volunteers with horses to ride. "Why," said the great chief, "all that is necessary in Kansas is, for a man to take a bridle in one hand and a little salt in the other, start out, and he will get a horse most anywhere. At least I have been led to believe so."

Someone in the party of listeners gathered around, very quietly remarked:

"That might have done very well in Georgia, General, but it won't work in this country. We hang men here for doing that thing."

The General smiled, but said nothing.

WETTING DOWN THE ROUGHER ELEMENT

From the Newton *Kansan*, May 15, 1873.

J. B. Dickey came in from Sargent [now Coolidge] last Saturday and returned Monday. He says the way they punish a man out there if he doesn't behave himself, is to first place him under the water tank spout and give him a wetting, and if he then persists in his meanness they hang him up a telegraph pole. He represents the morals as good.

CERTIFICATE FOR "NIGHT HERDING"

From the Washington *Republican*, February 27, 1874.

A certificate for "night herding" is what they call marriage licenses way down in Southern Kansas. This idea is supposed to have originated with Bent. Murdock, of the [El Dorado] *Walnut Valley Times*. He went to "herding" recently.

KEEPING THE PEACE AT CHERRYVALE

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, May 16, 1875.

They do not allow any protracted disturbances at dances in Cherryvale. Mr. Hollifield lately invaded a scene of revelry by night in that place, and went to shooting off his light fantastic mouth, when he was promptly knocked down by a skillet in the hands of a floor manager.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Among the articles in the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, July, 1959, were: "Marco Morrow, 1869-1959," by Charles E. Sweet; "An Inviolable Secret," the story of the Mission Township Mutual Protective Association, by Mary Davis Sander; another installment of George Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County"; "The Sod House," by I. D. Graham; part 2 of "Early Elections in Shawnee County," by Russell K. Hickman; and "Jake-town," historical notes on the now-vanished Wabaunsee county hamlet. Articles in the December, 1959, number included: "That Tribe [Cigar-Store] Indians," by Eileen Charbo; "Fuss and Feathers," millinery and dressmaking in Topeka, by Margaret Morns Holman; "The Early Grocery Store," by the late Gertrude E. Robertson Burlingame; "Early Day Photography," by Nancy Veale Galloway; "Topeka's Sweet Tooth," by Grace Gaines Menninger; "Gleanings From the George A. Root Collection of Notes on Topeka Hotels," arranged by Lena Baxter Schenck; "The Lesser Smiths, the Great Smith and the Stafford [Automobiles]," compiled by John W. Ripley; "Some Early Architects in Topeka," by Lillian Stone Johnson; and "Sweets and Sours," a history of the sugar, sorghum, cider, and cheese industries in Shawnee county, by Mary Davis Sander.

The series of illustrated historical articles on the communities of Wabaunsee county continues to appear regularly in the *Signal-Enterprise*, Alma. Towns covered in recent months included: McFarland, Paxico, Alta Vista, and Harveyville.

A 70-page centennial edition was published by the Kansas City *Kansan*, August 2, 1959, featuring articles on Kansas City and Wyandotte county history.

Early development of the oil industry in Kansas was featured in the August, 1959, issue of *Kansas Oil Marketer*, Wichita, publication of the Kansas Oil Men's Association.

A history of the Wesley Chapel Methodist church, near Colby, appeared in the Colby *Free Press-Tribune*, August 13, 1959.

Articles included in Heinie Schmidt's column, "It's Worth Repeating," in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, during recent months were: "Pioneer [Clayton Hall, Sr.] Tells of Rapid Growth in Town of Appleton," August 13, 20, 1959; "Town of Chantilly

Phantom City in Kearny County," by Francis L. Pierce, August 27, September 3, 10; "Badmen of the West," by A. J. Myers, September 17; "Smoky Pool Empire," by Myers, September 24; "Trail Blazers of South Side in Kearny County," by Mrs. Florence Stoneman Stallard, October 1; "Dr. T. L. McCarty Identified as Ford Pioneer," October 8; "Lakin's First School," by Mrs. Lenora Boylan Tate, October 15; "Murders, Mysteries Played Part in Kearny's History," by Mrs. Bessie Stutzman McClurkin, October 22; a biographical sketch of a pioneer nurse, Sister Mary Winifred, November 5; "West's Plains Had Little Appeal to Aging Lawman [Bat Masterson]," by Marvin Swanson, November 12, 19; "Pioneer [Charles S. Smith] Tells About Early Days in Western Kansas," November 26; a biographical sketch of Mrs. Emily Allen Drew, one of Richfield's early school teachers, by Mrs. Doris Henderson, December 3, 10, 17; "History of Early Town of Deerfield," by Mrs. Virginia Pierce Hicks, December 24; the cowboy as pictured in the *Kansas Cowboy*, Dodge City newspaper of the 1880's, December 31, and January 7, 14, 1960; "Home on the Range Popular as Kansas Song," by Heinie Schmidt, January 21, 28; and "Early Dodge City House Recalls Village Blacksmith [Adam Schmidt]," by Heinie Schmidt, February 4, 11.

T. H. McNary, native of the Horton area, recalled some of the activities of the vigilantes during the 1880's in an article published in the Horton *Headlight*, August 20, 24, 27, 1959.

Historical articles in the Conway Springs *Star* in recent months included: articles and pictures featuring Conway Springs schools, August 27, 1959; the town's churches, September 3; the *Star's* history, October 15; and the story of the Henry Sneeringers, pioneers in the Conway Springs area, by a daughter, Mrs. Cora Shobe, January 21, 1960. A historical edition was published by the *Star*, September 24, 1959, in observance of the 75th anniversaries of the town and the newspaper.

Esther Haas is the author of a history of the Allen public schools which appeared in the Emporia *Times*, August 27, 1959. On October 8 the *Times* printed the reminiscences of J. W. Bolton, a resident of Lyon county for 86 years.

On August 27, 1959, the Council Grove *Republican* printed a brief history of Parkerville and an article on the Old Homestead ranch, near Council Grove. The original 160 acres of the ranch was homesteaded by Frank and Mary Doran in 1859. Now encompassing 3,000 acres, the ranch is still owned by the same family.

Articles of historical interest appearing recently in the *Pittsburg Headlight* included: "Haying Not What It Used to Be," a review of haying before the advent of the modern baler, by Hazel Sellers, August 31, 1959; "Recall Days Before Frontenac—James DeVore Cut Grass to Pitch Tent," by Joseph F. Cicero, September 5; "Long Gone But Far From Forgotten—Livery Barn Had Big Early Day Role," by Len B. Herod, October 12; historical notes on early Arcadia, by G. W. Corporon, January 5, 15, 16, 1960; and a biographical sketch of Charles Curtis, February 9.

"El Dorado as It Looked Just the Other Day," a series by Ralph Meeks, began appearing in the *Butler County News*, El Dorado, September 10, 1959.

Yaggy School, Reno county, was the subject of an article by Laura Yaggy Krantz in the *Hutchinson News*, September 14, 17, 1959. The school, started in 1879 as Salem School, closed in 1951.

A history of the First Christian church of Clyde, compiled by Mabelle R. Hakes and Mrs. Thressa Trowbridge, was printed in the *Clyde Republican*, September 24, 1959. The congregation was organized in the autumn of 1882.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans appearing in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* in recent months included: "John Brown Country of Kansas Recalls Stirring Events of 100 Years Ago," by Margaret Olwine, October 4, 1959; and "Lincoln Got Little Publicity for Kansas Speeches in 1859," by F. W. Brinkerhoff, and "History's Peacetime Relics Shown at Fort Leavenworth," by Margaret Olwine, November 29. Articles in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* included "Snow Meant Reading Time on Farm," by Jennie Small Owen, January 20, 1960; "Kansas Story in One Man's Life," a review of *One-way Ticket to Kansas*, Frank M. Stahl's autobiography as told to Margaret Whittemore, by John T. Alexander, January 29; and "Editing a Daily Paper 'In His Steps,'" the story of Dr. Charles M. Sheldon as editor of the Topeka *Daily Capital*, by Clifford V. Souders, March 9.

Arrington Methodists observed the 75th anniversary of their church in 1959. A history of the church appeared in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, October 4, 1959, the *Holton Recorder*, October 19, and the *Valley Falls Vindicator*, October 28.

The Holton Evangelical United Brethren church celebrated its 100th anniversary in October, 1959. On October 8 the *Holton Recorder* and the *Jackson County Clipper*, Holton, published histories of the church.

Two of Garnett's churches, the United Presbyterian and the Methodist, observed centennial anniversaries in October, 1959. The *Anderson Countian*, Garnett, printed a history of the United Presbyterian church, October 15, and of the Methodist church, October 22.

Emporia's First Baptist church, which recently reached its centennial year, was the subject of a historical article by the pastor, the Rev. Ralph E. Herrick, published in the *Emporia Gazette*, October 17, 1959.

In recognition of its 75th anniversary, a history of the South Haven Christian church was printed in the *South Haven New Era*, October 22, 1959.

In 1869 the first services of the Frankfort Methodist church were held in the Missouri Pacific depot at Frankfort. The schoolhouse, the Presbyterian church, and other buildings served as meeting places until completion of the first church building in 1881. A history of the church was published in the *Frankfort Index*, October 29, 1959.

Histories of the Haven Methodist church appeared in the *Haven Journal*, October 29, and the *Hutchinson News*, October 31, 1959. The church received its charter and completed a building in 1889.

A biographical sketch of 102-year-old Mrs. Isabelle Jackson Lee, Fredonia, by Mrs. Charles Shue, was printed in the *Longton News*, November 5, 1959.

"Dodge City's Magic Circle," a tour of southwest Kansas historical points, is the subject of an article by Edward Collier, in the *Wichita Beacon*, November 3, and the *Manhattan Mercury*, November 29, 1959. Besides Dodge City, towns on the tour include: Kinsley, Larned, St. John, Pratt, Medicine Lodge, Coldwater, and Greensburg.

Ninety-year-old Al Hecox pictured Iola 80 years ago in an article in the *Iola Register*, November 3, 1959. On November 20 the *Register* printed a letter from E. C. Walker describing Iola in 1893 and 1903.

On November 5, 1959, the *Argonia Argosy* began printing a series of articles on the early history of Harper county, written by the late Odell Cleous in 1947. Another series of historical articles, by Sarah Hutchinson, was started in the *Argosy*, January 21, 1960.

"Ulysses—'City of the Plains,'" by Kenneth Gray, the winning essay in the contest held during Ulysses' golden anniversary celebration, was published in the *Ulysses News*, November 26, 1959. The town was originally founded in 1885 and moved to its present location in 1909.

Abraham Lincoln's visit to Kansas in 1859 was featured with special stories in *The Kansas Chief*, Troy, December 3, 1959.

Twin pioneers of Russell county, Charles W. and Joseph E. Bear, were sketched in the *Russell Record*, December 14, 1959. The brothers came to Russell county in 1879.

On December 19, 1959, the *El Dorado Times* published a 50-page 40th anniversary edition. The *Times* grew out of the old *Walnut Valley Times* and the *El Dorado Republican*.

Wichita's Christmas of 1870, was the subject of an article by Ralph Hinman, Jr., in the *Wichita Beacon*, December 20, 1959.

The *Baldwin Ledger*, December 24, 1959, printed a history of the Coal Creek Library, Vinland, Douglas county. The library, said to be the oldest in Kansas, recently observed its 100th anniversary.

A study of the conflict during the 1870's between the Denver and Rio Grande railroad and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe as the latter "sought to crush and absorb the little mountain narrow gauge company," by Robert G. Athearn, was published in *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, January, 1960.

O. W. Mosher's column, "Museum Notes," which appears regularly in the *Emporia Gazette*, giving bits of information about the Lyon County Museum and notes on the history of Lyon county and Emporia, included a biographical sketch of Capt. Lemuel T. Heritage, January 4, 1960. Heritage came to Emporia in 1857, served as a Union officer in the Civil War, and was one of the organizers of the Emporia National Bank. At his death he left a fund of over \$30,000 for the benefit of the children of Emporia.

On January 7, 1960, *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, began printing a series of articles, by Ruth Jackson, on the George R. Allaman family, Wallace county pioneers, and Wallace county history.

O. W. and Harriet Highley homesteaded near present Neodesha in 1866. A sketch, relating some of their early experiences, by Joe W. Allen, appeared in the *Neodesha Daily Sun*, January 15, 1960.

Kansas Historical Notes

A county-wide celebration was held July 29 to August 8, 1959, in observance of the Kansas City and Wyandotte county centennial. Among the events were: re-enactment of the signing of the Wyandotte constitution, centennial parade, presentation of the historical pageant "Rivers to Rockets," combined church service with Sen. Frank Carlson as speaker, the display of the original Wyandotte constitution, and publication of an 80-page souvenir booklet.

Robinson, Brown county, held its centennial celebration August 14-16, 1959. Reunions of classes, square dances, an old settlers' picnic, dedication of the new grade school building, and community church services were events of the program. A short history of Robinson appeared in the Atchison *Daily Globe*, August 9.

Ulysses observed its golden anniversary with a three-day celebration November 9-11, 1959. Events included: an essay contest, a re-enactment of the moving of the town to its present site, a parade, a free barbecue, and an address by Nyle H. Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, entitled "On the Midway, U. S. A."

George and Frank Roniger, Bazaar, have presented a museum building to Chase county. It was formally accepted by the county commissioners December 8, 1959. Located on the courthouse grounds in Cottonwood Falls, the museum is for the purpose of preserving items of Indian origin and other articles of historical interest to residents of the county. It will be called the Roniger Memorial Museum.

The Hamilton County Historical Society was formed at a meeting in Syracuse, January 5, 1960. E. W. McNeill was chosen chairman of the new organization; Mrs. Jessie Conard and Carroll Wainwright, vice-chairmen; and Amelia Minor, secretary. I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, special representative of the Kansas Centennial Commission, addressed the meeting and assisted in the organization.

Ralph V. Clark was elected president of the Wyandotte County Historical Society at a meeting at the Grinter House, January 14, 1960. Other officers chosen were: Joe Lastelic, vice-president; Mrs. Raymond Lees, secretary; Mrs. Harry M. Trowbridge, treasurer; Mrs. Samuel Bell, historian; and Mrs. George B. Smith, Jr., and Harry Hanson, trustees. Hanson was the retiring president.

Dr. O. W. Mosher was re-elected president of the Lyon County Historical Society at a meeting in Emporia, January 22, 1960. Wilford Riegle was elected first vice-president; John G. Atherton, second vice-president; Myrtle Buck, secretary; Warren Morris, treasurer; and Mrs. F. L. Gilson, historian.

The Pratt County Historical Society was organized at a meeting in Coats, January 22, 1960. J. K. Shriver, Coats, was elected president; Mrs. Carl Terry, Sawyer, Bob Frazier, Cullison, and Roger Miller, Pratt, vice-presidents; Dr. J. W. Jacks, Pratt, co-ordinator; Mrs. Ruby Bayse, Coats, secretary; E. L. Trock, Coats, treasurer; Dick Holdren, Pratt, publicity director; and J. Rufus Gray, Pratt, and George Miller, Sawyer, historians.

Officers of the Smith County Historical Society were all re-elected at the annual meeting, January 23, 1960, in Smith Center. They are: Emmet Womer, president; W. E. Lee, vice-president; Mrs. Margaret Nelson, secretary; Mrs. Claude Diehl, treasurer; and Ray Myers, Lou Felton, I. A. Nichols, Walter Hofer, and Oscar Rice, directors.

Guy H. Dyer, retired McCune publisher, spoke to a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg, January 25, 1960, on his work in writing a history of Crawford county. Fred Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, and Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, were also on the program via films of the re-enactment of Abraham Lincoln's visit to Kansas.

Dean E. Yingling, Topeka, was elected president of the Native Sons, and Mrs. J. C. Tillotson, Norton, of the Native Daughters, at the annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas in Topeka, January 28, 1960. Other officers of the Native Sons are: Floyd R. Souders, Cheney, vice-president; Emery F. Fager, Overbrook, secretary; and Marshall Gardiner, Leavenworth, treasurer. Officers of the Native Daughters include: Mrs. Chester Dunn, Oxford, vice-president; Lela Hough, Topeka, secretary; and Mae Oliver, Topeka, treasurer. The retiring presidents were: Wayne Randall, Osage City, and Evelyn Ford, Topeka. The "Kansan of the Year" award went to Rolla Clymer, El Dorado. Plans of the organization for 1961, Kansas' centennial year, were announced.

The history of banking in Kansas was the theme of the Woman's Kansas Day Club annual meeting in Topeka, January 29, 1960. Mrs. McDill Boyd, Phillipsburg, was elected president for the coming year. Other officers are: Mrs. Marion Beatty, Topeka,

first vice-president; Mrs. Claude R. Stutzman, Kansas City, second vice-president; Mrs. Roy S. Gibson, Chanute, recording secretary; Mrs. Frank Huffman, Topeka, treasurer; Mrs. Paul Wedin, Wichita, historian; Mrs. R. T. Unruh, Topeka, auditor; and Mrs. Sharon Foster, Ellsworth, registrar. The district directors are: Mrs. M. A. Brawley, Frankfort, first district; Mrs. Paul Mitchum, Kansas City, second district; Mrs. Tillie Karns Newman, Coffeyville, third district, Mrs. Roscoe Mendenhall, Emporia, fourth district; Mrs. Floyd Breeding, Rolla, fifth district; and Mrs. Herbert Rogg, Russell, sixth district. Mrs. Harry A. Chaffee, Topeka, was the retiring president.

Members elected to the board of directors of the Finney County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting, February 9, 1960, in Garden City, were: E. E. Bill, Abe Hubert, Mrs. Della Gobleman, D. D. Richardson, Warren Maltbie, Clifford Hope, Jr., Mrs. Cecil Wristen, C. H. Cleaver, A. M. Fleming, Mrs. J. O. Carter, and Lester McCoy.

Larry Yost, president, and R. Roy Taylor, vice-president, were re-elected at the annual meeting of the Southwest Kansas Historical Society in Dodge City, February 15, 1960. The following were elected to the board of directors: James A. Williams, J. P. McCollom, Joe Hulpieu, Mrs. Robert Rath, and George Henrichs. Other officers and members of the board are: Mrs. C. R. Harner, secretary, and Fred Swart, treasurer.

Organization of the Harper County Historical Society was completed at a meeting in Harper, February 20, 1960. Included among the officers are: Mrs. Phil Antrim, president, Mrs. Bill Nye, secretary, and Homer Thompson, co-ordinator. The county's three editors, J. E. Jacobsen, Anthony; Don C. Parr, Attica; and Robert N. Bolitho, Harper, are publicity directors.

In observance of its 25th anniversary, the Trinity Lutheran church of Salina issued a 32-page historical pamphlet, June 14, 1959. The occasion also marked the tenth anniversary of the dedication of the church building.

100 Years of Methodism in Holton is the title of a 32-page pamphlet issued by the Holton Methodist church in observance of its centennial in 1959.

Faith of Our Fathers, a 32-page historical pamphlet by Carldon H. Broadbent, was recently published in observance of the 75th anniversary of the Pleasant View Methodist church of Beloit.

Kansas History in Graduate Study, a 64-page bibliography of theses and dissertations, edited by Homer E. Socolofsky, was published by Kansas State University in 1959 as a contribution to the Kansas centennial.

Coldwater and Comanche county history was featured in a 64-page diamond jubilee souvenir booklet published in connection with Coldwater's celebration August 30-September 2, 1959.

Log Cabin Days Along Salt Creek, a 60-page pamphlet by Agnes Tolbert on the early history of Republic county, was published in 1959 by Adams Press, Chicago.

In observance of its centennial anniversary, the First Presbyterian church, Topeka, published a 27-page historical booklet early in 1960.

In co-operation with the Kansas Wheat Commission and the Agricultural Marketing Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the Kansas State Board of Agriculture recently issued a 134-page booklet entitled *Marketing Kansas Wheat*. The publication includes a history of wheat growing in Kansas and discusses the stages wheat goes through, seeding, growing, harvesting, marketing, milling, and making the bread and cereals for world-wide consumption.

James Iverne Dowie is the author of a 262-page, paper-bound volume entitled *Prairie Grass Dividing*, published in 1959 by the Augustana Historical Society, Rock Island, Ill. It is largely the story of the Swedish settlements in Nebraska and Kansas, their churches and their schools.

Horace Jones' *The Story of Early Rice County*, originally published in 1928, has been republished in 1959 in a 141-page, paper-bound volume, by Paul E. Jones.

Pioneer Days in Lane County, a 154-page, paper-bound booklet, comprised largely of reminiscences by early settlers of Lane county, was published by the Lane County Historical Society in 1959.

A 124-page historical review of the Diocese of Kansas of the Protestant Episcopal Church, from its formation in 1859 to its centennial in 1959, entitled *The First 100 Years*, was recently published by the Allen Press, Lawrence.

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THE COVER

William C. Quantrill's raid on Lawrence the morning of August 21, 1863, as sketched in pencil by Sherman Enderton, Co. E, 11th Kansas volunteers, who reached the ruined city several hours later. For a written description of the massacre by a traveler who arrived next day, see pp. 143-148.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Number 2

An Editor Looks at Early-Day Kansas

THE LETTERS OF CHARLES MONROE CHASE

Edited by LELA BARNES

I. INTRODUCTION

KANSAS had enjoyed more than two years of statehood by the time the first of these letters were written. The turbulence of the territorial days had passed into history, but newspaper men were still attracted to the scene, as they had been from the beginning. Thus it was that Charles Monroe Chase came to eastern Kansas in 1863 and, during his year's stay, served for a time as local editor of the Leavenworth *Times*.

C. M. Chase (1829-1902) was a native of Lyndon, Vt., and spent the greater part of his life in that community. After his graduation from Dartmouth, he located in Cincinnati where from 1854 to 1856 he taught music at Cincinnati College and studied law. He then went to Sycamore, Ill., where he was admitted to the bar and formed a law partnership with Jacob A. Simons. Here, also, he entered the newspaper business which subsequently became his major interest.

Chase went into the Union army in 1861 with a brass band. His intention, he said, was "to kill the cussed rebels, of course, but none of them heard the music, and so not many died on my account."

In August, 1863, he recorded his impressions of the Kansas area for readers of the *True Republican and Sentinel* of Sycamore, Ill. These letters comprise the first installment.

Chase returned to Lyndon in 1865 and established the *Vermont Union* which he edited until his death in 1902. He made other trips to the West, sending back his observations in letters to the *Union*. In 1873 he was again in the Kansas region and letters written on this visit will be published in the Autumn issue of the

MRS. LELA BARNES is treasurer and head of the manuscript division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Quarterly. Letters written while traveling in New Mexico and Colorado in 1881 were issued in book form under the title, *The Editor's Run*. They offer a lively account of that journey.

Publication of the Kansas letters of 1863 and 1873 was made possible through the co-operation of N. Louise Chase, New London, Conn., daughter of C. M. Chase. Miss Chase kindly lent a scrapbook containing clippings from the Sycamore and Lyndon papers. Only minor changes have been made, mostly to correct typographical errors.

II. THE LETTERS OF 1863

ST. JOSEPH, MO., August 7th, 1863.

ED. REPUBLICAN. Twenty-six hours' travel via Burlington & Quincy R. R. will take you to St. Joseph, Mo. Friday evening at 8 o'clock I left Chicago arriving at St. Joseph the next evening at 10.

Missouri is said to be a God-forsaken country; and one who draws conclusions from the general appearance of the genuine "Butternuts,"¹ is apt to believe that Providence has not been over lavish in favors towards the "Pukes."²

The northwestern portion of Missouri is unsurpassed in beauty or productiveness. After crossing the river at Quincy you enter upon a wild country, uneven in surface and covered with timber, with here and there, on the line of the railroad, a dilapidated village. But from Livingston county to the Mississippi³ you pass through a beautiful undulating country, more uneven than the rolling prairie in Illinois, but all tillable and rich. This portion of the state is destined, at no distant day, to be one of the finest farming sections in the Union.

Slavery in Missouri has run its race—nothing but shadows of the institution are observable. People who have designed to settle in Missouri, as soon as slavery should be done away with, will now flock in there and commence the development of the rich resources of the state. Farming land is exceedingly low. As good a farm as can be found in DeKalb county [Illinois] can be bought in northwestern Missouri for \$5 per acre. There are many cases of Secesh vacancies, where property can be purchased for a song. People

1. George Earle Shankle, *State Names, Flags, Seals, Songs, Birds, Flowers and Other Symbols* (New York, H. W. Wilson Co., 1934), pp. 147, 148: "The name *Butternuts* was first given to the soldiers of Tennessee during the Civil War from the tan color of their uniforms, and later it came to be applied to the people of the entire State."

2. *Ibid.*, p. 129: "Leopold Wagner [in his *More About Names*] says that 'the natives of Missouri are universally styled *Pukes*, a corruption of the older name *Pikes*, which still obtains in California as the description of the migratory whites from the South owing to the idea that these originally came from Pike County, Missouri.'"

3. Chase undoubtedly meant the Missouri river and wrote *Mississippi* in error.

with their eyes open will take advantage of the present disturbance in Missouri society and property. Present opportunities will not always exist. "The early bird catches the worm."

Saint Joseph is a point. When the war broke out rebels ruled the town. More than half of her citizens were genuine Secesh, and it was only after the severest military discipline that Unionism triumphed. Hundreds of her citizens left for the South in hot haste and between days. Their property was, of course, left behind, and in many cases has been sold for one-eighth of its real value. This state of things has tended to cripple the city temporarily. Property, in the average, has depreciated two-thirds, rents are down, everything, for the moment, is deranged; but that business will resume its wonted channel, and that St. Joe will increase seems beyond question. From here one of the branches of the Pacific Railroad is surveyed, and the citizens of St. Joe—as an extra inducement to the government—have already graded a road for twenty miles west. Through here passes all the business from the East going into Kansas. Eastern freight for Atchison, Leavenworth, Kansas City, &c., &c., all passes through St. Joe. Sometime Leavenworth will doubtless have direct communication, by rail, with Chicago, but at present St. Joe is the only railroad point for Kansas,⁴ and before any other road is built she will have acquired wealth, increase and influence enough to render her future importance secure.

The population of St. Joe is now about 12,000. It has been more, but war and skedaddles have diminished her population several thousand. She is situated on the flat and bluff. The court house stands conspicuously on the top of a high bluff; and the finest residences are scattered along on the top and sides, while the main business streets are on the flat. The finest hotel in the city, and one of the finest in the west, is the Patee House, built a few years ago at a cost of \$90,000. It was located in a remote part of the city, and designed to draw the business streets towards it and enhance the value of lots in that locality. National calamities have frustrated the owners' designs, and the property is to be sold for what it will bring—probably \$15,000 or \$20,000.

The people hereabouts are not famous for their appetite for Scripture. The "golden rule" is not definitely impressed upon the

4. The first railroad line in Kansas, planned to continue westward from St. Joseph, was chartered by the territorial legislature of Kansas in 1857 under the name Marysville or Palmetto and Roseport road. It was soon known as the Elwood and Marysville road. The Hannibal and St. Joseph reached St. Joseph early in 1859 and in April of the following year an engine and several cars were ferried across the river. A formal opening of the line took place in July, with a train running as far as Wathena, a distance of about five miles.

minds of the people. If a man in St. Joe knocks down a neighbor, that neighbor forgets the other cheek injunction and proceeds to return the compliment. This custom sometimes makes a little disturbance in society, but it helps the law business, furnishes the local reporter with an item, and contributes something to the finances of the city, to say nothing about the pugilistic discipline it affords the parties.

C. M. C.

KANSAS CITY, JACKSON CO., MO.,
August 8th, 1863

ED. SENTINEL: Yesterday morning, at 7 o'clock, I left Leavenworth and arrived in this city, by boat, a little before noon. The scenery on the Missouri river is but a slight improvement on that of the Mississippi. Its chief attractions are muddy water and forest trees. From eastern points you reach Kansas City by boat; from here west or south the stage is the only public conveyance. The old fashioned eastern staging commences at this point. Some of the old coaches, used in Vermont and New Hampshire, are in use here now. The rattle of the wheels, the crack of the whip, the rush to the stage hotels on the arrival of the coaches from different points, remind one of the old New England towns, long ago, where railroads and steam whistles were subjects for dreams and visionary speculations. Staging is an important feature in Kansas City business. The Santa Fe line of stages starts from this point every Friday morning. Horses are changed every fifteen miles, and the steeds measure off the distance at the rate of 80 miles per day, making the round trip, a distance of 1600 miles, in twenty days.⁵ The fare to Santa Fe is \$125. Another line of stages runs from Kansas City to Denver City, a distance of 700 miles. Fare to Denver is only \$75. Why this difference of \$50 in fare, when the difference in the length of the two routes is but 100 miles, I cannot say. Perhaps it is because there is more travel to Denver than to Santa Fe. Emigrant teams may also operate as a competition in the business. The Santa Fe trade adds much to the business-like appearance of Kansas City. Almost daily large trains of five- and six-yoke ox teams are arriving or leaving.

If the Santa Fe merchants do their trading here, it alone is an immense business to the city. If they trade chiefly in New York and simply freight or reship from this point, it fills the city with life and must necessarily leave a large amount of money in the

5. Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley in their *Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, 1901), p. 54, state that until 1866 the fastest time by mail stage between Santa Fe and Kansas City was 11 days for a distance of more than 800 miles. This is cited as a record.

place. By referring to the map it will be noticed that at this point the Missouri River turns from west to north, making Kansas City the stopping point for river freight going west. As river freight is always cheapest the bulk of eastern goods destined for New Mexico, southern and western Kansas, and a portion of southwestern Missouri, will be shipped direct to Kansas City. The trade in these localities is already very heavy and as this immense stretch of territory becomes settled and developed, Kansas City, it would seem, must be its depot, where its products must center and where its commercial wants must be supplied.

At the present time Leavenworth is leading everything west of St. Louis. The fort here, and the consequent transaction of all government business at this point, is giving Leavenworth a great present advantage, and on the strength of it she is rapidly building up. Her people believe, and perhaps they are correct, that this present prosperity will give wealth and influence sufficient to enable her to control the principal business of all western points, even after the war is closed. Much will depend on the establishment of railroad communications east and west. At present she has no railroad. If during her present triumph over Kansas City, she succeeds in building a road east to connect with the Hannibal & St. Joseph road, and another—the Pacific Railroad—west, she may acquire so much strength as never to be overtaken by Kansas City. She expects to have these lines of road completed within a year.

On the other hand Kansas City expects to have completed within a year the railroad projected from St. Louis to Kansas City and already completed to Warrensburg only 50 miles distant, another connecting Kansas City with the Hannibal and St. Joseph road at Cameron, and also a portion of the Kansas City branch of the Pacific railroad, going directly west. These two cities are both sanguine in their expectations, and about equally confident in their ultimate success in the race for importance. They are now balancing, but a few years more will settle the question and do away with all rivalry. The world will soon speak of one of these places as one of the thriving cities of the country—and the other, the world won't speak of at all.

St. Joe has a few claimants for her future importance, grounded on the immense territory northwest of her, which they think must make her the greatest city on the Missouri. These three cities are about equal in size. Leavenworth is a little the largest. A glance at the map shows an immense country northwest of St. Joe and

southwest of Kansas City. If these two cities attract all the business in their respective territories, Leavenworth, which lies just between them, and only forty miles from either, would be left out in the cold. But while Leavenworth and Kansas City both have a charter for a branch of the Pacific road, St. Joe has none, and it is somewhat doubtful whether she ever gets a charter for the third branch. If she does, and that soon, she will enter the race with the other two cities, and with a fair prospect of success.

The worst enemy to Kansas City today is the Bushwhacker. There is no county in the state so much infested with these infernal devils as Jackson county. The county is well timbered, and the density of the wood along the streams and in the ravines affords excellent rendezvous for these pestiferous gangs. There is not a road leading into the city which is safe to travel. At any moment and at any place these villains are liable to spring upon the traveler, rob him of his horses and money and perhaps take his life. They are not apt to molest a woman. Last night before dark one Geo. Todd,⁶ with thirty of his gang, approached within a half mile of the city limits, took six horses from one man, took the next neighbor prisoner, and moved the furniture out and burned the next house down. Todd is a resident of Kansas City. A year ago his father's family was waited upon and advised to leave the city within a specified time. George was mad, took to bushwhacking, and has since been a terror to the whole country.

Quantrell, the chief of rebel Bushwhackers, also operates in this county and all along the border in Missouri and Kansas. The Jennison jayhawking has ceased.⁷ One not acquainted, by practical experience, with the state of this society cannot realize the constant insecurity for life and property felt by the citizens. Every man sleeps with a loaded revolver; the least noise without brings him to his feet; men do not travel the streets without revolvers; revolvers are everywhere ready to go off on short notice. This state of society has temporarily injured the business of Kansas City, and unless Bushwhackers are very soon exterminated it will be ruined. City property has depreciated nearly one half, though at present it seems to be rising. Farms a mile out of town which

6. Todd, an itinerant stonemason and ditchdigger, joined Quantrill in December, 1861, and within a few months was made 2d lieutenant of the guerrilla band. William E. Connelley, in his *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Torch Press, 1910), p. 317 says: "The venomous blood-rioters of the guerrilla band were Bill Anderson and George Todd; these panted for blood. . . . They lived only to murder." Todd eventually took over leadership from Quantrill. He was killed near Independence, Mo., in October, 1864, while acting as scout for Confederate forces.

7. Charles R. Jennison was colonel of the Seventh Kansas cavalry, known as Jennison's Jayhawkers. He was assigned command of the western border of Missouri.

have been held as high as \$300 per acre, can now be purchased for \$150 or \$200 per acre. A person with capital could doubtless invest here now to great advantage. The surface of the country is very uneven, and the soil is extremely rich. There is no better county for farming in the State. Independence is the county seat, from which point I will write you soon.

C. M. C.

ELWOOD, DONIPHAN CO., KANSAS,

August 9th, 1863.

EDITOR REPUBLICAN: Every one has heard of the village lot speculations in the various towns in Kansas. In 1856 and '57 divers farms in Kansas were platted off into town lots and sold at enormous prices. People convinced that certain points must eventually become important cities, eagerly invested. Elwood, situated on the banks of the Missouri opposite St. Joe, was platted in 1856. Many supposing that, in a short time, it would outstrip St. Joe, went wildly into the village lot speculation, paying for choice lots as high as \$700. People from various eastern points moved into the village, built and settled for life. The town rapidly increased, society improved, and Elwood was really considered one of the prospering and promising points in the state.

But the crash of '57 came, real estate began to depreciate, many were alarmed, sold out and returned to their eastern homes; then came the rebellion, with civil war and lawlessness in all the little border towns, not excepting Elwood; property again depreciated, people were more than ever alarmed, emigration for the East again set in, and Elwood was left with hardly people enough to keep the houses; and, as if this was not enough, the Missouri river last year took about one third of the town lots into her channel, compelling people to tear down their houses in hot haste, and move their valuables to the main land. Some, even, were discomforted by seeing their residences and other property floating away in the middle of the river. Amid these misfortunes Elwood "played out." Village lots are now sold for five dollars, and would be given away if people would build on them. The town contains not more than a hundred people. The buildings are dilapidated. Stores are closed; streets empty; sidewalks broken to pieces. Everything reminds one of past thrift and present destitution.

I met in this town an old school-mate, who insisted on my visiting his place. I found him situated five miles west from Elwood, on the top of the highest bluff in all that region, with St. Joe plainly in view, and a prospect of many miles in every direction. As his history

since leaving college is, in many respects, similar to that of many Kansas men, I am disposed to give your readers a sketch of it.

Mr. R——⁸ was born in Gainsville, Ala., and educated in a New England college. After leaving college he travelled for a year or two, visiting all parts of the country. He traversed the western states several times over; visited and studied all the border cities and towns, and finally concluded that the Missouri valley was the destined garden of Eden. He then went home and related his asseverations to his father, who handed him over \$30,000 for western speculation. Returning he invested in Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri and Kansas. After a year or two of buying, selling and exchanging, he concluded that Elwood, Kansas, bid the fairest for a large town, and consequently disposed of most of his property in other places—invested in Elwood farms and village lots; and was reaping handsome profits when the crash commenced. Today an invoice of his property shows him that he has paid the physician just \$25,000 to cut his eye teeth for him.

Reverses, however, do not discourage him. He does not leave the country, but stays and fights the battles of Kansas. In 1860 he married an Elwood girl and moved out on the farm, plants a vineyard, and goes whole soul into grape and general fruit raising and politics, succeeding admirably in both. Today he has a promising little brick farm house, with convenient out buildings, excellent horse, a fine carriage and is situated like a young lord in his castle. In politics he has succeeded in making himself one of the most influential men of the state. He is at present a representative in the legislature, enrolling commissioner for the southern district of Kansas, and Quartermaster General of the state. Notwithstanding his southern birth he is liberal in politics, but very anti-secesh, is generous towards his opponents, and loves his adopted state, which is the secret of his popularity. Like all Kansas men, he is very desirous of displaying the beauties and advantages of his own section. Accordingly, I found it impossible to leave Doniphan county without first taking a trip with the General to Troy, the county seat, situated fifteen miles west.

From the river, ten miles west, you pass through a region of steep bluffs, covered with oak timber, and well watered with little streams. It reminds one much of New England scenery, but unlike that, the bluffs or hills are of uniform height, their tops once forming, apparently, a level surface with valleys dug out by the action of

8. Edward Russell.

water. The road is continually up or down, unrelieved by a rod of plain. The soil is exceedingly rich and productive. All along the road you pass beautiful fruit and stock farms, but of small dimensions—seldom over eighty acres being cultivated by one farmer. From these bluffs you emerge into endless rolling prairies—more rolling and uneven, just as rich, and more beautiful than any prairie I have ever seen.

Troy is situated some six or eight miles from the bluffs, and is tumbled in among the rolls of the prairie. The Court House stands in a square park of four acres around which stand the business houses. I made the acquaintance of all the county officers, and many who expect to fill their places. Every one here thinks Troy will be a great business center ere long, and consequently “happy the man” who drives his stake. The town now numbers about six hundred and is at a “dead stand still”—though when the war is over the railroad from St. Joe, which is already graded to this place, will be completed, and emigration to Troy will commence.

In returning we took the road leading over the bottom land or along the banks of a little creek bordered on either side with a narrow strip of trees and shrubs—the only appearance of trees in all that section. This road led us through Wathena, a town of former pretentions and village lot mania. The village at present numbers about one hundred people and thirty or forty houses scattered over an area of a half a mile square, a little store here, a shanty away over there, a story and a half cottage away down next to the woods, a barn over the creek, &c., &c. “Played out” is the only sign board to be seen in town. Formerly good lots in Wathena sold for \$100, and upwards; now they can not be sold at any price. This may be owing to the national troubles, but more likely to the fact that speculators attempted to plant a town in a place where a town would not grow.

C. M. C.

LEAVENWORTH, August 10th, 1863.

MR. EDITOR. Jayhawkers, Redlegs and Bushwhackers are every-day terms in Kansas and western Missouri. A Jayhawker is a Unionist who professes to rob, burn out and murder only rebels in arms against the government. A Redleg is a Jayhawker originally distinguished by the uniform of red leggings.⁹ A Redleg, however,

9. To guard against guerrilla incursions into Kansas and aid the Union cause, a company of border scouts, known as Red Legs, was organized in 1862. The name came from their red or tan leather leggings. Some were attached to the Union army. Writings on the Civil war offer divergent views of the character of this organization. Its members are described on the one hand as outlaws who endangered the peace and security of society; on the other as men above the average in ability, generally honest and patriotic, but drawn by the exigencies of the time into a savage and ruthless warfare.

is regarded as more purely an indiscriminate thief and murderer than the Jayhawker or Bushwhacker. A Bushwhacker is a rebel Jayhawker, or a rebel who bands with others for the purpose of preying upon the lives and property of Union citizens. They are all lawless and indiscriminate in their iniquities. Their occupation, unless crushed out speedily, will lead into a system of highway robbery exceeding anything that has yet existed in any country. It excites the mind, destroys the moral sensibilities, creates a thirst for wild life and adventure which will, on the restoration of peace, find gratification in nothing but highway robbery.

In my last I promised you a history of one of the leading Kansas Jayhawkers. I have time only to give you a very brief sketch of a conversation of many hours:

The name of Captain Tuft—or according to his own spelling “Tough”—carries with it a degree of terror in Kansas of which people in peaceable society can have no conception.¹⁰ It reminds some of the loss of horses, some of the destruction of their homes, and some of the murder of their dearest friends. Captain Tuft was born in Savannah, Ga., and at an early age moved to Baltimore. In 1860, at the age of twenty-one, he moved to Saint Joseph, Mo. His father helped him to a little capital, and he, with a partner, invested in mules and wagons, and commenced freighting from St. Joe to Denver City. They prospered in business until the war broke out, when, for some reason or other, his mules were taken from him by a squad of Jayhawkers. He immediately goes to headquarters, at Leavenworth, for indemnification but gets no satisfaction from Uncle Sam. He then determines to state his cause to the rebels, and crosses the river at Leavenworth in search of rebel headquarters. He had proceeded but a half mile into the woods when he was confronted by five Bushwhackers, who ordered him to halt. Not inclined to obey the orders, he put spurs to his horse, the consequence of

10. The name was actually William Sloan Tough. Chase was in error in giving it as Tuft.

R. McE. Schauffer, in his “Biographical Notes on Capt. William Sloan Tough” (manuscript in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society), states that Tough was born in Maryland in 1840 and that as a very young man he came West to seek adventure on the frontier. His first fancy was to be a “mountain man” and he went to the Rocky Mountains with a company of trappers, but soon lost interest in the project because of the declining fur trade. Schauffer’s account of subsequent events in Tough’s colorful career coincides to an extent with the account given here by Chase. He states that theft of the mules took place when Tough was field manager or wagon boss for the McDonalds, bankers and merchants of St. Joseph, who had contracted to haul supplies to military posts in northern Kansas and southern Nebraska.

Comparatively little has been written about Tough. Schauffer describes him as a man of unflinching courage and great resourcefulness who was projected by the violence of the times into a career not always consonant with his true character.

For many years Tough, with his sons, conducted a large horse and mule market at the Kansas City stock yards. During the Boer war he supplied great numbers of animals to the British army and so impressed the officers with his keen judgment and fair dealing that English purchasing agents sought out his son during World War I and commissioned him to buy for them. Tough died in 1914.

which was he was shot down and left for dead. He recovered, however, and after a few weeks' nursing by some kind woman in the woods he was able to travel. Prior to this occurrence he had no particular interest in the fight, either one way or the other. But now he determined to go into the fight with all the force he possessed, not from any feelings of patriotism, but from pure motives of revenge. He swore eternal vengeance to the squad that shot him down, and to all others of that class.

In Leavenworth and vicinity he raised seventy-five men and took to the woods. They were soon well mounted on rebel horses, and well disciplined for their ferocious work. He adopted a system of scouts, spies and disguises, and was very soon in the secret of the Bushwhackers' operations. In just one month from the time he took his men into the brush he had the unspeakable satisfaction of seeing the five who first assaulted him swinging from the same limb. He seemed to have been transformed into a demon, he said, and to take the wildest delight in seeing the "poor cusses gasping for breath." On another occasion, he, with a half dozen of his men, were passing a house and found a woman crying bitterly over her dead baby. He learned that the Bushwhackers had just been there inquiring of the woman of Captain Tuft's men. While she was answering their questions her child began to cry, and one of the fiends drew his revolver and shot it through the head. Tuft put himself on their track and in a week killed five of the gang including the one who shot the child.

At another time he found one of his scouts beside the road with his head blown open with powder. He immediately took three of his men to track out the enemy. Towards night, after riding thirty miles, they came suddenly on seven horsemen whom they took to be rebels. Feigning himself a Bushwhacker, he galloped into their midst with, "Halloo, boys, whar's Quantrill?" Not knowing Tuft or his companions, they were at first very cautious in their answers. But being a very shrewd man, he "let on right smart" like a Bushwhacker. "Here's a hoss" says he "I shot a d—d Yankee off from not more nor an hour ago." After boasting of several Yankee butcheries, and house burnings he had performed since breakfast, one of the rebels ventured to crow a little over what they had done. They had caught one of Old Tuft's scouts in the morning, made some holes in him, loaded his ears up with powder, touched 'em off, and "blowed his old mug to h—l." Instantly Tuft gave the order, and those seven men were biting the dust before they had time to cock a revolver. These were among the incidents he related.

There were an infinite number of single murders, and lesser crimes he mentioned, but enough has been related to give an idea of the character of the man. He lived in the woods, plundered from armed rebels, burned their houses and killed the fighting population without scruple. His plunder was divided among his men, who would sell it and get pay for their service. They belonged to no military organization but ran an independent concern. By many Tuft is regarded as a pure horse thief and murderer; others of a rabid, lawless nature, incline to wink at his crimes as long as his avowed purpose is to rob and murder rebels. It proves dangerous however, to suspend the law and give such characters as Tuft discretionary license to rob and murder. Where there is a fine horse in the way, or a personal enemy, Tuft's discretion between Union and Secesh is not accurate.

Jayhawking has run its race in Kansas; honest people are all on the side of the law; indiscriminate robbery is the result of the Jayhawker's license, and in many cases its friends have paid heavily towards its support. Tuft himself acknowledges the inevitable tendency of the practice. He says he has few regrets for the past; his victims have not yet appeared in his dreams, still he doesn't like the business and has determined to lead a better life. Gen. Blunt, a few months ago gave him a position on his staff as Chief of Scouts, with a pay of \$250 per month. He is now under arrest for killing a man at Fort Scott, but if his story is true the man ought to have been killed, and his detention will be brief. He says I shall meet him again at Fort Scott. We shall see. C. M. C.

INDEPENDENCE, JACKSON CO., MO.

August 12th, 1863.

In this country the old notion that men are the protectors of women has exploded, the tables are turned, men are now the weaker vessels, and women the protectors. A man dare not travel alone five miles from Kansas City, but with his wife he feels comparatively secure. Bushwhackers have not yet raised a hand against a woman, they sometimes burn a house over her head, but are careful not to injure her person. Among travelers, they not only respect her, but have some regard for her male companion. This morning I was invited by the enrolling officer for this district, and a friend of his, to ride to Independence. For security one of the men took his wife. The officer said if Todd should catch him, he would unquestionably terminate his participation in terrestrial enjoyments, as he was one of those who formerly waited upon the

Todd family with an invitation to leave the state. George, he said was a "blood thirsty cuss," beside whom Quantrill was a gentleman. This announcement kept our eyes strained for whackers in the brush. The ride was ten miles, over a good road, but a very uneven surface, and through woods. The journey was performed without molestation, though at the Little Blue, the general rendezvous of Bushwhackers, we told no stories, made no jokes; still tongues and sharp eyes seemed especially appropriate to the occasion. Having passed through the ravine through which the Blue runs, a deep, dark, densely wooded place, breathing seemed to be freer, and the tongues began to wag again.

From the Blue to Independence most of the buildings on the road are burned, some smoky brick walls were still standing, mournful relics of domestic happiness. Most of the buildings were destroyed by Jennison a year or more ago, some by bushwhackers of a recent date. The country all the way exhibits the finest farms I have ever seen, most of them cultivated this year by tenants living in barns or little shanties fixed up by the ruins of the old mansions. When within three miles of Independence we pass Rock Creek, memorable in this section as the place where the first blood of the war was shed.

Before the war Independence was one of the most beautiful and flourishing towns in Missouri. It was one of the old towns in the state, the center of a large and rich agricultural community, the grand starting point for Santa Fe, the best out-fitting point for emigration to California, Pikes Peak, &c. Among its inhabitants were some of the wealthy men of the state, retired from business, living in affluence, and devoting their attention to beautifying and enjoying their homes. It was one of the few towns in Missouri where society was fixed and permanent, where retired merchant princes would desire to pass their declining years. In the center of the town stood the Court House in a park of five acres, well ornamented with trees and surrounded by a low wall on the top of which was a chain fence with iron posts. The streets of the town run parallel with the sides of the park. Around the park stood compact blocks of three story wood and brick business buildings. All the streets for some distance from the park were business streets. Farther back in the suburbs and outskirts of the town were beautiful and costly residences surrounded by tasty yards, with fruit in abundance and variety. But the war commenced and Independence collapsed. There is not a stock

of goods in town. Every store around the park is closed, except a few used as stables or rooms for soldiers to quarter in.

The large hotel which formerly rented for \$2500 is kept by the owner simply to prevent destruction by soldiers. He would be glad to give the use of it to any man who would keep it from destruction. Half the houses in town are entirely deserted, and the remainder have only tenants enough to keep them in order. I was introduced to General [Samuel D.] Lucas, who has for many years held the office of Major General of Missouri Militia, and has been twice in action since. From him I learned the history of Independence since the rebellion commenced. At the beginning he said the town was full of rebels; the moment a confederate flag was invented it was hoisted in Independence. About the first military move made on Missouri was the sending of Captain [W. E.] Prince, of the U. S. Army, to Kansas City. The people of Independence, not comprehending the necessity of having a U. S. Captain stationed in their state, and so near them, raised a force of 1500 men, under Col. [E. B.] Halloway, and commenced a march towards Kansas City. Captain Prince hearing of the movement sent one Capt. [David S.] Stanley with one hundred men to inquire into the meaning. These forces met at Rock Creek. Capt. Stanley under a flag of truce marched a long distance ahead of his men to meet Colonel Halloway for consultation. While the two officers were conversing, the undisciplined rebels in the rear marched, some to the right and some to the left, designing to flank our men and take them prisoners; but they wheeled into the road before they reached our men, and each wing seeing the other fired, supposing they were shooting Yankees; and some six or eight rebels, including their colonel, were killed, and the rest took to their heels. Thus settled the battle of Rock Creek, the first blood, the general said, of the war.

February 22nd, 1862, the inevitable Quantrill and one Parker, with sixty mounted bushwhackers, entered Independence for plunder and destruction. They supposed the town comparatively defenseless, but found Gen. [Charles] Doubleday with two hundred men ready to receive them. There was a brisk helter skelter fight around the square, lasting over an hour, when the rebels escaped with a loss of five or six killed. There was another fight in town on the 11th of August 1862 between Captain [James T.] Buel with two hundred Federals, and [Col.] John F. Hughes, author of the history of the Mexican War, with 200 rebels. The fight was for the posses-

sion of the town, and was a desperate struggle for two hours, when Buel was compelled to surrender.¹¹ The rebels lost their Colonel in the engagement and occupied the town only a half day when they retreated before Col. Burroughs of Leavenworth.¹² They succeeded, however, in taking with them large quantities of stores, ammunition, &c. The general said the bullets whistled through the streets "to kill." The citizens were frightened half out of their wits, hid themselves in mills, barrels, &c., &c., but no one was hurt.

To-day Independence is strongly guarded, pickets are kept out on every road and cannon are stationed in the main streets. The General says there are just as good rebels in town as ever, men on good terms with bushwhackers and who furnish them with information, &c. Should the soldiers leave he thinks the loyal citizens would be obliged to follow. It is hard for you, reader, living in a quiet undisturbed community, to realize the state of society, this insecurity felt every moment by those living in towns where unionists and rebels are mixed in together. Extermination of bushwhackers and their aiders and abettors, is perhaps the only way to restore law and order, and this business the citizens themselves will undertake after a little more suffering.

C. M. C.

PAOLA, MIAMI COUNTY, KANSAS

August 15th, 1863.

ED. REPUBLICAN: Last night the General and I had a long and desperate battle with about 100,000 bed-bugs. The conflict raged without decisive tendency till about twelve o'clock when the enemy was reinforced with 400,000 fresh recruits. The General sounded a retreat, and we withdrew leaving the enemy in possession of the sheets and a thousand or more of their own dead. We lost large quantities of hard words and patience, but no life. I never was loyal to the bed-bug supremacy. They can never make peace with me until they exterminate or demoralize me.

We left Olathe this morning at half past seven, arriving at this place, distant 25 miles, at noon. As we enter Miami (formerly Lykins) county the prairie becomes less broken, though still more rolling than DeKalb county, Illinois. As you go south or away from the river, the prairie seems to expand or spread out into longer rolls, and the prospects are more extended. Nine miles from Paola we

11. The battle actually lasted four hours. Robert M. Scott, ed., *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1885), "Action at and Surrender of Independence, Mo.," Ser. I, v. 13, p. 225.

12. Lt. Col. John T. Burris, Tenth Kansas infantry, left Fort Leavenworth on August 12, 1862, and arrived in Independence the next day. There was no action. The rebels withdrew towards Lexington.—*Ibid.*, pp. 231, 232. The name *Burroughs* is incorrect.

passed Spring Hill, a little town standing on one of the highest rolls of prairie; lonely enough in the distance, and still more lonely when we reached it. A little store, a hotel, two or three small dwellings and a public well, comprise all there is of the village, yet this little isolated "Hill" had the presumption, three years ago, to ask \$100 for town lots, which can now be bought for two bits.¹³ Before reaching Paola we passed along beside a branch of the Osage,¹⁴ a stream about three rods wide and from three to eight feet deep. When we came to the crossing place, however, it was a little rivulet about a foot wide and two inches deep. This, the General informed me, was a peculiarity in the Kansas streams. Even in the smallest branches there are every few miles, long channels of deep, still water, abounding in fish and serving as reservoirs in dry times. Miami county is better supplied with water and timber than Johnson. There are numerous little tributaries to the Osage meandering through the prairie ravines, skirted on either side with timber, from one rod to a mile in width. Wherever you see trees on the prairie, there you may find water.

Paola numbers about 400 people, and is really one of the active, thriving Kansas towns. It stands in a basin eight or ten miles in diameter, on land somewhat higher than the country immediately adjoining, and is surrounded by groves of the Osage tributaries giving it a plentiful supply of wood and water. Stone is also in great abundance. A good stratum of limestone—easily obtained and easily worked—underlies the entire surface of eastern Kansas, sometimes appearing many feet below the surface and often on the top. A steep ledge of rock is very common in the roads, more common in southern Kansas where the stone generally lies near the surface.

Paola, like nearly all Kansas towns, is built around a square. There is no Court House, but one soon to be built. Unimproved land within a mile of the town can be bought for two or three dollars per acre. Town lots are still held about as high as ever, showing

13. J. B. H., writing from Spring Hill in January, 1858, to the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, described the town in these glowing terms: ". . . [It] is within one mile of a large body of very superior timber, and convenient to three saw mills; has a never failing supply of pure spring water; is distant half a mile from an extensive vein of stone coal of the best quality, easily worked, and has an abundant supply of excellent limestone for building and fencing, as well as pure sand of the best character for mixing mortar. It has been universally healthy during the entire sickly season; has a good church, school house, post-office, and a very commodious and well conducted hotel; two large stocks of goods, and will shortly have a daily line of stages from Wyandott; is fast settling up with an enterprising people. . . . The company are at work in earnest, and having secured a liberal charter, are prepared to offer inducements to mechanics, citizens, and actual settlers, that will insure a rapid increase in the value of its stock and an early settlement of good conservative people of the right stamp."

14. The stream is called *Marais des Cygnes* in Kansas, *Osage* in Missouri.

that confidence is firm in the ultimate increase of the town. As the General went to attend to his troops, he left me with a Mr. Wagstaff, one of the town lawyers. Last year Mr. Wagstaff was candidate for Governor of Kansas.¹⁵ The General said he represented all the soreheads in the state, that is, disappointed republicans, democrats, &c. Of course, representing those elements in Kansas, he was most tremendously "flailed out." We supped with Mr. G. A. Colton, formerly from Sycamore. Mr. Colton is at present Indian agent, has represented his district in the state senate, is well known among Kansas politicians, and is, I believe, regarded as one of the best wire pullers in the state. I asked Mr. Colton if Kansas politicians were generally honest and reliable. Mr. Colton looked up and smiled, whereupon I looked down and blushed. The General, noticing my confusion, remarked that I had not been long in the state, and should be excused for asking so absurd a question. I inferred that the political wires of Kansas were worked by men unacquainted with "Baxter's Call to the Unconverted."¹⁶

The evening I spent with G. W. Brown, former editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, which was destroyed by the Border Ruffians. In the early Kansas troubles Mr. Brown was one of the most conspicuous Free State men in the state, and by many was regarded as insanely radical and rabid on that subject. He is a man about forty years old, six feet high, with rather long contour of face, light hair and whiskers, grey eyes, somewhat reserved and unapproachable in appearance, and by some regarded as phlegmatic and cold-hearted. In conversation he is rather measured and precise, always using a choice selection of words, stopping when he gets through, and listening with most respectful attention to the one he is conversing with. The natural inclination of his mind is more towards theory than practice; it is speculative and sometimes, perhaps, visionary. He is liberal towards those with whom he differs, but firmly fixed in his own opinions. At present Mr. Brown is out of politics and engaged wholly in law. He has a library worth \$2,000, the second, if not the first library in the state.

It will be many years before Paola will see a railroad.¹⁷ Her situation is about half way between Kansas City and Fort Scott, through which points roads running east and west will probably pass.

15. W. R. Wagstaff was a candidate for governor on the "Anti-Lane" ticket in 1862. He was defeated by Thomas Carney.—*U. S. Biographical Dictionary* (Chicago, S. Lewis & Co., 1879).

16. A work by Richard Baxter, English divine, 1615-1691.

17. The Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf railroad opened its line to Paola in February, 1869.—J. L. Tracy, *Guide to the Great West* (St. Louis, Tracy & Eaton, 1871), p. [171].

Paola may some time get a branch connecting with the road from St. Louis to Kansas City, but it will be only when her section becomes settled and rich. For many years she must depend for growth wholly upon the patronage of the agricultural community of which she is the immediate center.

Paola was once the home of the notorious bushwhacker and outlaw, Quantrill. Here he once lived in harmony with those he would plunder and murder. Our landlord, Col. [Henry] Torrey, brought him here from Ohio, when but a lad. He raised him, but says he never taught him the art of bushwhacking.¹⁸ The Col. told me Quantrill's first experience in the business which led to his present life. At the beginning of the rebellion Quantrill raised a gang of rowdies and arranged a plan to go into the country, take a certain man's horses and plunder his house. He then informed the man that such a plan was formed and when it was to be executed. At the appointed hour Quantrill led his men up to the rear of the house, and then ordered them to go ahead. The consequence was they were all killed. Quantrill escaped, and was of course, handsomely rewarded for his valuable information. C. M. C.

STANTON, MIAMI CO. KANSAS
August 16th, 1863.

ED. REPUBLICAN: This morning Mr. [William P.] Dutton, formerly of Sycamore, now sheriff of this county, invited me to ride to his place, ten miles west of Paola. This is the town in which our Sycamore emigration first settled. It is situated on the brow of a prairie roll looking off into a long sweep of bottom land skirted by timber. It was once the county seat, and is, I believe, the oldest town in the county. When the county seat was moved to Paola, Stanton collapsed,¹⁹ her town lots depreciated from \$75 to zero, leading men moved away, taking, in some cases, their buildings with them, leaving in the town about half a dozen buildings and a few huts. Twenty-five people comprise all the population of the once proud Stanton. Two small stores and a postoffice comprise the business street. The merchants manage to dispose of ten or fifteen thousand dollars worth of goods every year, but where they go to is not apparent, as there are but a few houses in sight.

We took dinner with a Mr. Strong, a hard fisted, hard sensed,

18. For details of Torrey's relationship with Quantrill see William E. Connelley, *op. cit.*

19. Paola has always been the county seat. But one election was held on this question, at which time, in 1858, Osawatimie was the principal competitor.—A. T. Andreas-W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 681.

practical man, and well to do farmer. Mr. Strong believes in the future importance of his section of the country. He knows the richness of the prairie soil, its facility for cultivation, its adaptability for the growth of grain and stock, must eventually insure its settlement and prosperity. Mr. Strong thinks if a man with a loose \$1000 would invest in cattle and "squat" anywhere on the prairie in this section, giving his attention to stock raising only, he would be a rich man in ten years. The only cost in raising stock would be the trouble of cutting grass and feeding in the winter, adding a few dollars each year for salt. To invest in sheep he thinks one would double his money every year. I almost wonder that some of our wealthy DeKalb county farmers, with a large surplus of funds on hand, do not come out here and invest a portion of their means in this business. There is no one here engaged in it as a principal business. Mr. Strong, like all the other farmers, came here to farm as they had learned to do in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, investing all their means in land and farming apparatus. Their money is consequently locked up, and they are compelled to engage in general farming. Mr. Strong said he was working into stock as fast as he could and would be glad, if his money was loose, to engage in it wholly. The prairie here spreads out into immensely wide fields, with here and there isolated mounds and long ranges of prairie rolls. As far as the eye can reach towards the west is rich, unoccupied prairie, some time to become a thickly populated and wealthy country. Lucky he who settles early and secures the rise in lands.

C. M. C.

MOUND CITY, LINN CO., KANSAS

August 17th, 1863.

EDITOR REPUBLICAN:—The distance from Paola to this place is thirty two miles. During the whole ride we were not out of sight of groves, and were frequently passing little streams. Miami and Linn are among the best watered and wooded counties in the state. Stone also appears in greater abundance, and steep pitches—they can hardly be called hills—of lime rock are more numerous in the road.

The first village we passed was Twin Springs. So named from two little springs of water twenty rods apart, gushing out on opposite sides of a prairie roll. The village consisting of a store, three small houses and a barn, stands on the eminence between the springs. The inhabitants are not without hopes of the future importance of their burg, which according to the plat, recorded in the

register's office, already spreads her lots over the area of a half mile square. We next come to Paris and then Moneca, about equal in size, each larger than Twin Springs, but smaller than New York City. Twenty houses would cover the boast of either village.²⁰

Mound City is not built around a square; the plat of the town which occupies a half section of land contains a fine park but some thoughtless fellow commenced to build on one side of the plat, others built around him, what there is now of city, leaving the square nearly a half mile out of town. The place contains a present population of three hundred people. But in expectancy there are ten thousand. The famous Jayhawkers, Jennison and Montgomery, formerly honored this place with their residence, the former is now keeping a livery stable in Leavenworth,²¹ and the latter doing service in his country, at the head of a North Carolina Colored regiment. Montgomery was, by profession, a Baptist minister,²² a very modest, unassuming man, kind and generous in his impulses and much esteemed as a citizen. Such is his representation by his neighbors. A Dr. Davis in justifying Montgomery's lawlessness in 1858, on grounds of county defense, told the following incident: In 1858 one Charles Hamilton²³ made threats that he was going to split the Union, and was going to insert the wedge right between Linn and Bates counties (adjoining counties in Kansas and Missouri). With that intent, he had for a long time been plundering and robbing the free state men in Linn county. On one occasion he raised a gang of ruffians, entered the county early one morning, seized twelve farmers as they were going into their fields, marched them onto the bluffs of Bates [Linn] county, arranged them along in a row, shot them down and left them for the buzzards to finish. Six or eight were killed, and the others miraculously lived to tell the tale.²⁴ The Doctor thought that was a "pesky mean trick," and he didn't blame Montgomery for opposing lawlessness with lawlessness, particularly as long as it secured the safety of Kansas' border. Murder, robbery and arson had been perpetrated by the Missouri border outlaws for

20. Twin Springs, Paris and Moneca are now extinct locations.

21. A Leavenworth city directory, 1863-1864, lists Charles R. Jennison and J. G. Losee as operators of a livery stable on Shawnee between 3d and 4th Streets.

22. Montgomery was mustered into the Union army as colonel of the Third Kansas infantry, but was transferred to the command of the Second South Carolina Colored regiment. He had been a minister of the Christian church.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, pp. 395, 396, footnote.

23. Charles Hamelton.

24. Hamelton, who had been driven from the territory by Free-State men, retaliated by invading Linn county with about 30 Missourians. Capturing 11 Free-State men he marched them to a ravine and lined them up before a firing squad. Five were killed, five were wounded and one escaped by feigning death. This incident has become known as the Marias des Cygne massacre. A monument bearing lines from Whittier's tribute to the victims stands in Trading Post cemetery.

years, and he was in favor of wiping them out the speediest way.

The General introduced me here to a Judge Lowe, as the prominent man of southern Kansas.²⁵ He is a man forty years old, formerly practiced law in Cincinnati, was Judge of the city court one or two terms, removed to Kansas in 1858, and opened a law office in this great town. He is now state senator for this district, and is perhaps the ablest man in the Kansas Legislature. He and his friends expect he will be made Chief Justice of the state the ensuing fall. I asked the judge what induced him to exchange a good practice in one of the first cities on the continent, for an uncertain practice in an uncertain country. It was the principle that he would rather be first here than second there. I remarked too that there was an uncontrollable thirst in the human for change, men are never fully satisfied with any condition; they want something new, something beyond their immediate range of vision, as if what is unseen, unexperienced, sparkled with diamonds. Rasselas was discontented while in the enjoyment of every pleasure the world afforded, and men today and everywhere, are wishing to exchange a good position for uncertainties of a new one. Love of locality and family ties fasten many, but do not destroy the insatiate desire to change. Many break away from good anchorage to try their fortune in unfathomed water; while some improve their conditions others capsize. The Judge admitted the truth of these remarks, but thought that most of those who came to Kansas improved their condition. It was a new state, enterprising, and destined to become thickly populated. Men of merit find more opportunities for the exercise of their industry and talent than in older states where occupation is crowded, where the channels of business are already cut, and all kinds of property well secured. Here nothing is fixed, property is floating, people are not permanently settled, vacancies are occurring, &c., &c. Honesty, industry and talent are in demand in new and fast-growing communities, and he who brings with him those elements of success, cannot fail to rise.

While we were conversing a dozen men from Potosi,²⁶ five miles east on the very border of Kansas, having heard that the General was about to muster out a squad of soldiers who had been protecting them during the past month, entered the office in a great

25. David P. Lowe served as judge of the fourth judicial district from 1864 until 1867 when he was appointed judge of the sixth judicial district. He held this office until his election as Congressman in 1870. He was re-elected in 1872. Following the expiration of his term, he was appointed chief justice of the supreme court of Utah Territory, but subsequently returned to Kansas and served as judge of the sixth district, remaining in that office until his death in 1882.

26. The settlement is now extinct.

state of alarm. They said if the troops were mustered out they would be compelled to leave their neighborhood, and neglect the harvest of their crops. They knew Quantrill was in Bates county opposite, with a large force of bushwhackers, preparing for a raid into the state, and they were to be the first ones to suffer, if left unprotected. They had positive information that within a week Quantrill was going to make a descent somewhere, and they had already suffered enough, having been stripped for two or three successive years of their entire earnings. The General was without authority to continue in service a single squad of the state militia, but, under the circumstances, said he would assume the responsibility of not mustering them out if the soldiers, who had so far been paid out of the Governor's private purse, would look to the Legislature for their subsequent pay.

Here commenced a struggle between the soldiers and the Potosi delegation. The soldiers were not going to "take any Kansas Legislature for their pay, they had seen enough of the Kansas Legislature." With tears in their eyes the old men pleaded for the boys to stay and protect them, but the boys "couldn't see it." Judge Lowe then made a speech of some length, explaining the helplessness of the Potosi people, and assuring the boys that as a senator he would use his best endeavors to put their pay bill through the Legislature, &c. Still the boys were determined not to serve. The General then arose and made a flaming speech, appealing to their patriotism, their strong arms, referring to the helplessness of the old men, &c., closing up by drawing a ten dollar "green back" and sending them down to the saloon. In ten minutes they all returned, the most patriotic squad of militia I have ever seen. They sent up cheer after cheer for the General and the Union, and expressed themselves determined to see the last of the rebellion, pay or no pay.

C. M. C.

FORT SCOTT, BOURBON CO., KANSAS
August 19th, 1863.

EDITOR REPUBLICAN: At 11 o'clock this morning we arrived at Fort Lincoln nine miles south of Mound City. This fort was established by Lane in 1860, and is now abandoned, as a position commanding nothing and easy to be reduced. It consists of an enclosure

with one building about eighty feet long, a large well, &c.²⁷ The city of Fort Lincoln consists of two families, one outside and one inside the fort. Geo. Walrod, from Sycamore, Illinois, commands the post, holding all the offices from high private to Brigadier. As we entered the Fort, we were very cordially welcomed by the Brigadier, and invited to remain and participate in the enjoyment of the noon rations. At Paola I was informed that Walrod was severely afflicted with "sorghum on the brain." Walrod denies this on the grounds that a disordered brain conceives improbabilities and impossibilities, and he conceives neither in his sorghum speculations.

He said sorghum in Kansas will yield at least 200 gallons per acre, that every gallon was worth, at least, fifty cents, that he expected to manufacture this season 200 acres, getting for his pay half of all he manufactures—or the entire crop from a hundred acres, making his figures of profit as follows: 100 acres of sorghum, at 200 gallons per acre, yields 20,000 gallons—which at 50 cents per gallon gives \$10,000 from which he deducts expenses, \$1,000, leaving a net profit of \$9,000. From this he is willing to deduct \$4,000 more, to cover possible accidents, which will make a "dead sure" profit of \$5,000 for the season.

Walrod thinks it passing strange that so many young men should remain in the East, actually begging the privilege of ten per cent investments when this country affords so many opportunities for more profitable investments. He instanced one case, where he believes 100 per cent, could be realized in a few months. One of his neighbors owned a rich farm of a hundred sixty acres, with house recently built, costing \$500, and rail fence costing \$300. There were seventy acres of standing corn, and a few acres of other crops. Circumstances compelled him to sell, and he offered the whole for \$800 in cash. Every day, he said, there were similar opportunities, but few here with the ready money to take advantage of them.

Fort Scott is one hundred miles south of Kansas City and about ten miles from Missouri State line. It was formerly one of the frontier Indian forts, and until the rebellion broke out, contained nothing but the buildings in the fort. But as the war broke out

27. William Ansel Mitchell, in his *Linn County, Kansas* (1928), quotes on p. 125 from the diary of John Howard Kitts of the 12th Kansas regiment, October 9, 1862: "We at last arrived at Fort Lincoln, where we camped for the night. Fort Lincoln is constructed of logs, hewn out and put up, and is a pretty strong structure. It is used for the purpose of confining prisoners."

C. W. Goodlander, *Early Days of Fort Scott* (Fort Scott, Kan., 1900), p. 66: "In the summer of 1861, Jim Lane had built a fort on the north side of the Osage River, and named it Fort Lincoln. It was built on low bottom land that was no more a fit place for a fort than where Knapp's Park is now located. This fort consisted of a stockade and a large blockhouse. In later years this stockade and blockhouse were moved to Fort Scott and located about the junction of Lowman and First Streets."

it was still filled with soldiers and all the southwestern government business was transacted here. Business men began to move in and build adjoining the Fort, until now it is the largest town in southern Kansas, numbering between one and two thousand permanent, and as many more transient residents.²⁸ Good buildings are going up in every part of town, the streets are constantly crowded with people, and everything presents an air of life, enterprise and progress. The Fort buildings are situated around a large square, while the new town is built on adjoining the Fort.

Like all towns springing up in a day and containing a large temporary population, Fort Scott is a "fast town." It would require no effort to get up a race, a bet, a drunk, a fight, or any other little amusement common among men. The town contains many well stocked stores, a good hotel, a countless number of beer saloons, a couple dozen of billiard tables, two or three ten pin alleys, &c., &c. The theater goers are accommodated with a barn fixed up with temporary conveniences, supplied with two or three changes of scenery, one or two tolerable performers for stars, and a half dozen very scurvy stock performers. Running in a ravine is a small stream of water, bordered as usual, with a thick growth of timber. This timber is, at present, crammed with refugees and contrabands from Missouri and Arkansas. . . .

Contrabands are increasing beyond the most extravagant abolition expectation throughout the entire Kansas border. Some estimates place the daily emigration from Missouri at from fifty to one hundred. They emigrate during the night, in squads or families, accompanied generally by a span of good mules and a lumber wagon with whatever portables they can seize upon. Some are glad to get work and prove their manhood and usefulness; others lounge in idleness, refusing good offers, preferring to live on the hospitality of those who have erected little shanties and are earning a living. Kansas men are pleased with every escape. . . .

I was introduced today to a Mr. Crawford, who came here in 1857, and, under the impression that this must sometime be a point, bought a farm adjoining the Fort.²⁹ Until '60 he did but very little,

28. The city of Fort Scott grew up around the Western frontier outpost established by U. S. dragoons in 1842 and named for Gen. Winfield Scott. The Fort was on a military road at a point about midway between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Gibson. Troops were withdrawn in 1853 and the buildings sold to settlers two years later. The town was incorporated in 1860. During the Civil War the Fort was re-established and it became Union headquarters and supply depot for southeast Kansas.

29. George Addison Crawford was a native of Pennsylvania. On his arrival in Kansas in 1857, he organized the Fort Scott Town Company and, with his associates, purchased 520 acres of land on which the city now stands. He built a sawmill, flour mill, woolen factory, foundry, machine shop, and in 1869 re-established the Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*. In 1861 he was given about two-thirds of the vote for governor, but his election was declared illegal, and he was subsequently twice defeated as candidate for the Republican nomination for that office. He was a founder of the towns of Osage Mission, now St. Paul, and Grand Junction, Colo.

he said, except watch the prospects. In 1858 and 59 he was "blue enough"—his money all locked up in a large prairie farm with no prospect of realizing anything or of seeing any more society. But the rebellion came, and with it the soldiers and the business men. He immediately laid off his farm into lots, and sold them as fast as he could make out his deeds. I remarked to him that good fortune had followed his three years of blues. "Yes," said he, "I'm in town now." Today he is selling his lots at from \$50 to \$500 each. His farm is yielding untold profit, and he is in the very midst of the fastest society. . . .

Wood is worth here from \$1.50 to \$2.00 a cord, delivered, coal \$3.00 per ton. There is an excellent coal mine nine miles south of town. Farming land, unimproved, can be bought for \$1.50 per acre, a mile or two from town. A good residence lot in town can be bought for \$50. Bourbon county is more level than any county I have seen in the state. It is subject to drouth, and, although this has been a remarkably good year, the crops and grass are decidedly inferior to those of northern Kansas.

I met my old friend Capt. Tuft here, and Capt. J. Finn Hill, both somewhat notorious in Kansas warfare. Finn Hill carries a very important and brave look, but I am told, is of little account in the service. Tuft is affable, good natured, very polite, and knows no fear. He still adheres to his determination to "jayhawk no more," but desires to render himself useful in the service. He is enroute for the army of Gen. Blunt.³⁰

C. M. C.

HUMBOLDT, ALLEN CO., KANSAS,
August 19th, 1863.

EDITOR SENTINEL: Fort Scott is the last southern settlement in Kansas. A few miles further south and you enter the Indian country, and see no more of the pale faces, except an occasional man, well known and trusted by the red faces, who has located in a little hut and engaged in stock raising. Then you are in the "Sunny South," where winter is a stranger, and seldom visits, where cattle graze the year around, requiring no harvest for their support, where the only cost of raising stock is the herding and marking.

From Fort Scott we turn west. Eight miles traveled, and we are at Marmaton, formerly county seat of Bourbon county, a little village containing a dozen houses, half of which are tenantless. Here we stopped an hour and conversed with Mr. Representative

30. Tough served as chief of scouts with Brig. Gen. James Blunt of the Army of the Frontier.

Jones, *the* man of this section.³¹ Jones is more sensible than some men. He is satisfied that his own town never will make a large city. He would have been a rich man, though, if Fort Scott had not "played a nasty trick on Marmaton, and stole the county seat."³² His farm was all laid off into lots, and the lots were selling well, when this "nasty trick" killed his expectations. His farm is now worth about \$3.00 per acre. . . . Jones had soliloquized after this manner: "I own 160 acres of land. This land is all laid out in village lots, each acre making four lots. I own 640 village lots. This town is the county seat—bound to grow—can't help it—splendid country—rich land—no town near here—everything is all right. These lots will bring me from \$25 to \$500 each—they will average at least \$100. I'm a rich man—right in town—\$64,000 on a two hundred dollar investment; that will do me." But—that "*nasty trick*."

From Marmaton we drove seventeen miles through uncultivated prairie, passing but five or six small farms, to Chaffin's—a little log house which sometimes accommodates the hungry traveler.³³ Here we took dinner and asked questions. Chaffin moved in here, from Indiana, in 1855, entered his land and has been traveling up hill ever since. Certain crops, he said, could not be raised in southern Kansas. He had tried five successive years to raise oats, and each year something had spoiled his crop. The drouth was common every year, and in 1860 destroyed everything. Stock, he thought the most profitable business for this section. I observed that prairie grass was much thinner here than in the northern counties, which he admitted, but said that stock never failed to do well in all seasons on the prairie. "Here," said he, alluding to a pair of twins on his knee, is the best strike I have made since I left "Injianny." If he was to select another point, it would be on the Missouri or Kansas river, where there was plenty of water, richer land, more hills and less drouth.

Between Chaffin's and Humboldt we passed over an open, slightly undulating prairie, a distance of eighteen miles without seeing a house—a charming ride for meditative men, who dislike to have their thoughts diverted by surrounding objects. Humboldt, a little burg of 200 inhabitants, and county seat of Allen county,

31. Probably William T. Jones, representative from Bourbon county in 1862.

32. Because of border troubles, the county seat of Bourbon county was moved temporarily from Fort Scott to Marmaton by a legislative act of 1859. An election for the purpose of relocating the county seat was held in May, 1863, and Fort Scott received a majority of the votes cast.

33. Anthony and Elijah Chaffin are both shown in the 1860 census as settlers at Turkey Creek, Bourbon county. This location, now Uniontown, was between Marmaton and Humboldt.

was laid out in 1858.³⁴ It is called the key to the Neosho valley—one of the finest valleys in the state. If the rebels should incline to devastate this valley they would have to pass through Humboldt. In 1861 the rebel Cols. Williams and Mathews visited the town with a small force and sacked nearly every house and store. The next year immediately after Lane burned Osceola, Gen. Price sent Col. Talbot to retaliate on Humboldt, which he did effectually, leaving but one or two houses standing around the square. The citizens of Humboldt have had their share of the evils of rebellion. Col. Talbot not only sacked and burned, but killed some four or five of the citizens who attempted to defend their property.³⁵

We spent the evening at Humboldt with a Mr. Thurston and family. Mr. Thurston is a lawyer by profession—owns a thriving saw mill, and is state senator.³⁶ His house stands a half mile from the stores on the bank of a stream, in the edge of the woods. His law office is in his house, and his mill but a few rods off. He has fine buildings, with all necessary appendages, including an agreeable and accomplished wife. Mr. Thurston is a man of most excellent moral principles—an anomaly among Kansas politicians—a pure minded Douglas democrat, whose “higher law” is the Constitution of the United States. He is in favor of fighting rebels until the seed of that kind of evil is entirely rooted out of the soil. His hate of rebels is intense. Of the enemies or traitors to the government, he calls rebels rebels—Vallandigham³⁷ democrats, eunuchs—Abolitionists, revolutionists. Either class, he thinks, would destroy the government if it could, and bullets, he thinks, they all deserve. Mrs. Thurston gave her experiences among rebels. The first time they visited the town they ransacked her house from cellar to garret, taking everything in the shape of clothing they could carry. Mr. Thurston was absent and she determined to defend his property as best she could. When they got through searching they set the bed on fire; this she extinguished. Then they set the curtains afire—and various other places in the house were on fire at the

34. The townsite of Humboldt was located in March, 1857, by J. A. Coffey.

35. On September 8, 1861, Humboldt was raided by a band of Missouri guerrillas, Cherokee and Osage half-breed Indians under the command of Captains Matthews and Livingstone. Stores and dwellings were sacked. On October 14 of the same year, rebel forces under Colonel Talbot invaded the town setting fire to buildings and homes. One man was killed.

36. Olin Thurston came from Ohio about 1857. He served as colonel of a regiment of state militia during the Civil War.

37. Clement L. Vallandigham, lawyer and politician of Dayton, Ohio, opposed the Civil War as unnecessary and unconstitutional and his bitter denunciation of the government and the war policy led to his arrest in May, 1863. A military commission found him guilty of disloyal utterances and conduct and he was sentenced to confinement during the war, but Lincoln commuted the sentence to banishment beyond the Union lines. He fled to Canada but returned to his home in 1864 without interference and again became active in the Democratic party.

same time. All, however, were put out by the indefatigable efforts of Mrs. Thurston, who was alone in the house. The rebels, admiring her activity and bravery, gave up the job. The second time she played "possum" by feigning sickness. She heard the command given, to fire the house, but when the captain entered her room, he had compassion on her, and countermanded the order. He would search for arms, he said, and withdraw his men, hoping his intrusion would not distress her.

C. M. C.

SAC & FOX AGENCY, FRANKLIN [OSAGE?] CO., KANSAS
August 21st, 1863.

EDITOR SENTINEL: We left Humboldt yesterday morning, turning northwest up the Neosho Valley, passing through the northeast corner of Woodson, into Coffey, and stopped for the night in Franklin county, at Irishman Drum's,—said Drum being a farmer located beside a pretty grove, and miles from any other living man. Drum did not set himself up as a hotel keeper, but was willing to give us the best he had, which, as we had traveled fifty miles since breakfast, and there being no other house for fifteen miles beyond, we concluded to accept. Drum's log house contained but one room, and was hardly sufficient to accommodate his own family, consisting of a wife and six tenor Drums—little drums, I mean young ones. There were two travellers besides the General and myself, making twelve in all to sleep in Drum's kitchen. The General and I took the floor with the little Drums scattered all around us in promiscuous confusion. The other two travellers took the spare bed. We all determined to make the best of it, and get all the sleep we could; but the room was too densely populated to admit the possibility of realizing any great expectation in that direction.

The lights had scarcely been extinguished, when the whooping cough, or something else, set one of the little Drums to drumming. He rattled away for an hour incessantly, except when spelled by some other little Drum on a different key. Once or twice all the little Drums were going together, making the most awful calli-thumpian band I ever heard. The Drums had but fairly ceased when one of the travellers, in the spare bed, suddenly bounded into the middle of the floor, and swore several large mouthfuls, without stopping. Unfortunately he and his companion had gotten into a bed-bug highway, where there was too much travel for sleep. During the whole night one or the other of them was constantly in the middle of the floor scratching and "harking for bugs." Sweet sleep ne'er came to our eyelids; all night long we were constantly

scratching, turning and yawning, and yawning, turning and scratching. Morning came and we were out early, if not bright. Bed-bugs are the curse of new countries.

The Valley of Neosho is said to be one of the finest and most beautiful portions of Kansas. The Neosho is a small, but pretty stream, supplied with numerous little tributaries, all of which are well timbered.

The first village we passed was Neosho Falls. Here we stopped for dinner, and I made the acquaintance of one Mr. Phillips, the first settler in these parts.³⁸ He came from Iowa in 1857, hunted the state all over, and finally concluding that the Neosho Falls must sometime make a point, he entered his land and blocked out his town. The county grew fast until it numbered about a thousand inhabitants, when the troubles came on and progress of all kind stopped. Mr. Phillips' farm which promised so much, is worth now not to exceed five dollars per acre. The village will always be a little inland center, but can never aspire to anything more. It now contains a hotel, a store, a Doctor's office, a mill and about twenty dwellings.

Mr. Phillips conducted me down to the mill dam, and said if I liked fishing, and would stay over a day, he would show me some sport. Mr. Phillips, with five other men, had on several occasions "caught, in three hours, 400 pounds of fish out of that very dam"—a good fish story, I thought. He said they caught catfish there every season weighing over a hundred pounds. These statements were more than corroborated by the people in town.

On the rocks below the dam, we crossed the river and visited the camps of the Seminole Indians. All there is left of that once powerful tribe, which gave Uncle Sam so long a struggle in Florida, and put him to so many million dollars cost, is now encamped at Neosho Falls. They number only about 3,000. Their warriors are all in the Union army. By treaty the Government provides their necessary wants. All they do is to draw their rations and cook them, occasionally catching fish or picking a few berries, which they sell in the village for rum money. Their time is spent lounging in the shade or tents supplied by the Government. I visited nearly all the tents, and spoke a few words to the inmates; but the Indian "umph" was the only notice I could command. The little "injuns" at our ap-

38. N. S. Goss and I. W. Dow are generally credited with the founding of Neosho Falls in 1857. After selecting the site and calculating the potential water power, they built a mill which subsequently produced lumber for the homes of settlers. The names of John Phillips, farmer, and William Phillips, wheelwright, appear in the census of 1860 as residents of Neosho Falls.

proach would disappear in the brush and peep out from behind the leaves. The Seminoles have always been slave holders. They have several families of their slaves with them in this *tremendously* free state of Kansas. We visited the slaves' camp a few rods away from the camp of the Indians. . . .

From Neosho Falls to Leroy, six or eight miles, we passed no settlements, but one continued stretch of uncultivated, slightly rolling prairie. The prairie all through this section is covered with a large yellow flower; it resembles the sunflower, but is much smaller. In some places near the towns they were ten feet high, and so thick as to be almost impenetrable. Further out on the prairie they dwindle down to one foot or less. Some say the presence of these flowers indicates a poor quality of prairie soil, others that they usually grow where the prairie is stocked. The former is the more probable reason. In northern Kansas I noticed on the prairies—which were well stocked—nothing but pure prairie grass, while in southern Kansas, in places where stock has never been over, I noticed a large mixture of flowers and weeds. The truth is northern Kansas is the best farming country.

Leroy is the largest place I have seen since leaving Fort Scott. It really seemed quite lively there. Everything, however, seemed dirty and neglected. There are several stores, a mill, a tavern, two or three law offices, &c., and about 500 people in the village.

From Leroy to this place a distance of 35 miles there are no white settlements except Drum's. As we approach the Agency we enter the settlements of the Sacs and Foxes. The government by treaty built a large number of good and strong buildings on their lands, most of which are now occupied by the Indians who partially cultivate the land and behave themselves very much like white folks. Among them is occasionally a good farmer but most of them are lazy and their lands are neglected. This tribe all dress as we do and some of them speak the English language. At the Agency is a store, a hotel, a large mission school and twenty or thirty houses.³⁹ There are but few whites in town. The store, I am told, clears nearly \$50,000 per year. Only this one merchant is allowed to trade with this tribe.

The mission school generally contains about sixty scholars. Today Commissioner [W. P.] Dole is expected from Washington to treat

39. Original agency buildings were in Franklin county but under the terms of the treaty of 1860, the tribes ceded all Franklin county lands to the government and the agency was moved to the site of present Quenemo, Osage county. The missionaries at the time of Chase's visit were the Rev. R. P. Duvall and his wife, sent to the tribes in 1860 by the Kansas Methodist Conference.

with the Osages for a portion of their land lying south of Kansas. It is consequently a great day at the Agency. Long files of the wildest looking Indians are coming in on their ponies. The Osages are the fiercest looking fellows I have ever seen. The blanket and breech cloth is their only dress. Their noses and ears are loaded with tinkling trinkets, their heads are shaved, leaving a narrow strip of stiff hair a half-inch long from the forehead to the crown. Their faces are painted with bright red and yellow. I visited their camp and was introduced to their Chief Little Bear, who shook hands with me and said "how"—and then the conversation ended. Little Bear is said to be the most sensible Chief among the Western tribes, but in my conversation with him I got no new ideas. In camp all the men were over six feet high, probably picked men to represent the tribe at the treaty meeting.

I was introduced here to Father Shoemaker who has for sixteen years been at the head of a Mission School in the Osage tribe.⁴⁰ This school, he says, before the war, numbered constantly one hundred and sixty scholars, and some of them he says, are very bright, but generally they are hard scholars. C. M. C.

LAWRENCE, DOUGLAS CO., KANSAS
August 22nd, 1863.

EDITOR SENTINEL: The country from Sac and Fox Agency improves as you go north, the prairie grows thicker, weeds and flowers dwindle away, crops of all kinds are more flourishing, and land becomes more inviting to the industry of the farmer. Franklin county is much better than Coffey, while Douglas adjoining the Kansas river on the south, is equal in beauty and fertility to any in the state. The emigrant to this western country should remember that the river land, consisting of timbered bluffs and meadows, is the best. On the Missouri this strip of land is from ten to twenty-five miles wide; on the Kansas, from two to ten miles wide. In the eastern part of Kansas you emerge from this river land into rich, rolling prairie; in the western part the prairie is poorer, and in many places too poor for profitable cultivation.

Yesterday we passed two little villages, Centropolis and Minneola,⁴¹ on opposite sides of the same grove and about a mile apart.

40. Father John Schoenmakers came to Osage Mission (now St. Paul) in April, 1847, and worked among the Indians until his death in 1883.

41. The town of Minneola was projected by Free-State settlers who hoped to make it the territorial capital. In February, 1858, the legislature sitting at Lawrence passed a bill so designating it. The bill was vetoed by Acting Governor Denver but was passed over the veto. The attorney general of the U. S., to whom an appeal was taken, declared that the bill was in violation of the organic act and therefore void. Before the decision of the attorney general, many buildings including a hotel and town hall were erected, and the town had a population of several hundred. A constitutional convention met there in March, 1858, but quickly adjourned to Leavenworth. The town declined and is now an extinct location.

As we reached the place we found people in arms, and excited over a report that Lawrence had been burned by Quantrill, and that all the Negroes in the place had been killed. Everyone was disposed to prepare for defense, while but few inclined to credit the report. As we entered Minneola we found more excitement. All who could shoulder a musket had gone towards Lawrence, leaving the aged, with women and children, in a terrible fright. We had not believed the report, but now it did begin to look serious. A messenger from the scene of terror had just rushed through the place alarming the country, and informing the people that "the last house in Lawrence was burned," that the bushwhackers numbering from three to ten hundred were returning on this very road, destroying everything in their way; that they had just destroyed Brooklyn,⁴² and were now burning Baldwin City and murdering the people. Baldwin City was only five miles ahead, and was the place we were designing to stop at during the night. We were not positive which road Quantrill would prefer, and consequently were not positive which road to take ourselves. The General was in a "phix." He had important papers in his possession which would make him a dead man if he was taken. No time was to be lost. After a moment's reflection, he put the horses into a quick gait, and turned to the left into a less traveled road, passing Willow Springs⁴³ on the Santa Fe road.

Everywhere we found people in the greatest state of alarm; men were arming themselves and rushing to and fro, some hastening towards Lawrence, and others in doubt what to do. Women, terrified, were moving children and household goods to the cornfields, and running about in the wildest confusion. Commotion, confusion, terror, and vengeance, all blended into one indescribable feeling, were driving the people into hurried and indiscriminate activity. As no one knew positively Quantrill's destination, everyone was momentarily expecting his habitation to be turned into a scene of fire and bloodshed. Through these scenes we passed until nine o'clock in the evening, when we reached a Dutch farm house, seven miles from Lawrence, and were gladly welcomed as lodgers for the night. From here we could distinguish the line of Quantrill's retreat for many miles, by the light of burning houses. The nearest light was that of buildings a mile distant, belonging to a forehanded

42. A settlement in Douglas county, now extinct, about 11 miles south of Lawrence on the Santa Fe trail.

43. A point about seven miles northwest of Baldwin.

farmer who had just completed a large harvest. He had a fine two-story brick house, and the finest barn buildings in the county, packed to overflowing, with large stacks of grain and hay adjoining. All was now in ashes.

During the evening at the Dutch farm, several interesting law questions arose. The Dutchman's boy had brought home from the pursuit a fine black horse, taken from a bushwhacker. Another man came in and claimed it. He was the nearest man in the pursuit when the bushwhacker jumped from the horse and ran into the woods; but being more patriotic than avaricious, he rushed into the woods after him, while the boy seized the horse and brought him home. Who owned the horse, was the question at issue. Both admitted the spoils of war belong to the victor; that, as Uncle Sam's men were not in the engagement, Uncle Sam had no direct interest in the spoils, and that capture was the ground of title. All this admitted, the boy on his side kept putting the question "who caught the horse," which seemed to muzzle the claimant, and in the end defeated the claim. Another Dutchman who had been burned out came in to claim a gun the Dutch boy had brought home. A rebel in his haste dropped the gun in the public road before the Dutchman's burning house, and the Dutchman claimed it on the ground of its being dropped near his house. Both questions were argued with great zeal; but the boy "couldn't see it" plain enough to give up the horse or gun.

In the morning, after an early breakfast, we drove over on to the road leading to this once beautiful town. Every house save two or three was a smouldering ruin. All along the road was a continuous line of beautiful farms, well cultivated and ready for the harvester. Occasionally a man would be seen sitting among the ruins of his once happy home, seemingly striving to realize the awful and sudden change, but few people, however, were anywhere to be seen. So we rode into the town, the first sight attracting my attention was a Negro rushing through the streets on horse back, dragging the naked body of a dead rebel, with a rope around his neck hitched to his saddle.⁴⁴ A crowd was following, pelting the rebel with stones. The heart sickens at the thought of the terrible scene Lawrence presents. Three hundred rebels under Quantrill entered the town yesterday morning at daylight, scattering in dif-

44. The body was that of the guerrilla, Larkin M. Skaggs, one time Baptist minister of Cass county, Mo. Earlier in the day he had shot John Speer, Jr., son of John Speer, publisher of the *Kansas Weekly Tribune*. The boy died later after being shot by another member of the band. William Speer, brother of John Speer, Jr., shot Skaggs from his horse and a Delaware Indian, White Turkey, killed him.—Wm. E. Connelley, *op. cit.*, pp. 356, 381.

ferent directions, and murdering and burning as they went.⁴⁵ Perfect security was felt up to the very moment of their entrance. People alarmed at the outdoor confusion, jumped from their beds, rushed into the streets and were shot down before they hardly had time to discover the awful situation of affairs. Houses were fired and their male inmates shot whenever they attempted to make their escape. All over the town flames were roaring, pistols cracking, women and children screaming, and defenseless men piteously begging for their lives.

In two hours a quiet, peaceful town suffered a loss of a hundred and fifty murdered citizens and \$2,000,000 worth of property. Nothing in our early history exceeds, or even equals it in barbarity. People were used as guides, promised protection, and afterwards shot down like dogs. At one Dr. [J. F.] Griswold's, three of the prominent men of the state were boarding. The rebels took them out, cautioning their wives not to follow. They marched them away from the house, told them they were safe, inquired their names, shot them all down, and left them.⁴⁶ Dr. Griswold was not quite killed. He attempted to crawl towards his house, but a rebel saw him and returned giving him two more shots in the presence of his screaming wife. One woman attempted to save her wounded husband by throwing herself upon his bleeding body, but a rebel forced his pistol between their bodies and killed her husband. One woman saved her husband by repeatedly jerking the horse's bridle of the rebel, who was chasing her husband around the house and shooting at him. In another case a house was burning and the rebels watching outside for the owner. The wife got permission to remove a carpet and succeeded in bringing the husband out under it.⁴⁷

The Eldridge Hotel, the largest in the state, surrendered formally to Quantrill. A boarder⁴⁸ waved a white flag from the balcony and inquired for Quantrill, who soon appeared. (From the balcony) "What is your object in coming to Lawrence?" (Quantrill) "Plunder." (Balcony) "We are defenseless and at your mercy, the house is surrendered, but we demand protection for the inmates." Quantrill promised them protection, marshalled them in the street, led them himself down to the Whitney House, and remained with them for protection. Quantrill used to live in Lawrence and boarded at

45. Quantrill's command numbered about 450 men. The guerrillas, numbering 294, were joined by Col. John D. Holt with 104 men, and about 50 others, designated the Grand river reinforcement.—William E. Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

46. These men were H. W. Baker, J. C. Trask, and S. M. Thorp. Only Baker survived.

47. Wife of the Rev. H. D. Fisher.

48. Capt. Alexander R. Banks, provost marshal of Kansas.

the Whitney House. Miss Stone, the landlord's daughter, was, during those days, a great favorite of his. She told Quantrill that one of his men had robbed her of a finger ring. The man was sent for and made to return it. He was mad, and as he left the room said "she would be sorry for that." Afterwards, when Quantrill had left, he came back and shot her father. Quantrill took breakfast at the Whitney House and conversed with many old acquaintances. He was surprised that his men were murdering people, but said they had got into the saloons, got drunk and beyond his control. He came to destroy the town and plunder its wealth, in retaliation for Lane burning Osceola.⁴⁹ When he left he bid his former friends good-bye, and hoped when they met again it would be under more happy circumstances.

Massachusetts street, one of the finest business streets in the state, is entirely destroyed. In the smoking ruins I saw the charred remains of several human bodies. Everyone is at work burying the dead, which are now, twenty-four hours from the time of the massacre, scattered about the city, in collections from two to twenty. Many awful incidents of this awful tragedy crowd upon my mind as I write, but you will have read many accounts of them before this reaches you. Dr. Kellogg told me he was led around for an hour, by two rebels who kept cocked revolvers at his head continually. He had made up his mind to die, but thought he would do his best to please them. At their direction he led them into the best liquor stores, found some money for them, set several of his neighbors' houses on fire, and was finally, against his expectation, released. The doctor said the first few breaths after his release, were worth \$1,000 apiece. One man saved his house and life for \$1,000. Another paid \$1,000 to one man, and was shot by another. One woman saved her house by marking "Southern" over the door.

Jim Lane's house was burned, while Lane saved himself in a corn field. One man saved himself and house by genuine grit—by making a good show of pistols and swearing he would blow the first man's brains out that came near him. A young man named Callamore and his wife, from northern Illinois, were traveling through the state looking for a place to settle. They were in one of the hotels which was on fire, and the man knew he could not go down stairs without being killed. He jumped from the second story window and was immediately seized by two rebels, who led him out of sight with revolvers at his head. This is the last the young wife has

49. Gen. James H. Lane, commanding a brigade composed of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Kansas regiments, burned Osceola on September 29, 1861.

heard from him. She is here with a little child and no money, and cannot be consoled. We are stopping at the Whitney House, the only hotel left. The town is filling with strangers from every part of the state. Vengeance against the bushwhackers is the overruling principle everywhere. This is one of the cases where there is no punishment severe enough. Hanging, disemboweling and quartering are not half severe enough to satisfy the righteous vengeance of the people.

C. M. C.

LEAVENWORTH, Aug. 29, 1863.

ED. REPUBLICAN: One week ago today (Saturday), I arrived at this growing city. From Lawrence to Leavenworth is forty miles. The road leads over the Delaware Reserve, as rich and beautiful farming land as can be found. The Delawares cultivate a little of their land, enough to provide for their necessary wants, beyond which their knowledge extends not.

After leaving the Reserve you enter Leavenworth county and are among fine farms all the way to the city.

It is impossible to describe the excitement which has prevailed in this city since the sacking of Lawrence. The feeling was for the relief of the sufferers. Within two hours after the news reached the city, a contribution was taken up and supplies forwarded. Gov. Carney headed the subscription with \$1,000, others followed with sums between \$5, and \$500, until \$15,000 was raised with less talk than would ordinarily be required to raise \$100. This generosity on the part of Leavenworth is greatly to her credit. Lawrence and Leavenworth were not on the best of terms. Lawrence was playing into the hands of Kansas City. Her interests and intimacies were all with Kansas City and against Leavenworth. It would be natural for Leavenworth to have expected Kansas City to be most liberal toward her suffering allies, but she did not wait to see what others would do, nor to consider former differences, but was the first and most liberal in her contributions. After the sufferers were provided for, the feeling of vengeance took possession of every mind. People were hardly willing to wait for the authorities to act, but were disposed to take the sword of vengeance in their own hands.

From the balcony of one of the hotels Lane made a wild speech, inciting the people of Kansas to an indiscriminate murder of all border Missourians, taking the motto of "devastation for safety, blood for vengeance, and plunder for profit." He told the people of Kansas if they wanted a man in the U. S. Senate who would vote for peace before the last slave was free, not to send Jim Lane there,

for he would fight—that is, he would vote for others to fight—twenty years before he would have peace on any other terms. Before closing his speech he presented a resolution to the effect that the people of Kansas meet at Paola on the 8th of September, each man supplied with musket, ammunition, a blanket, and fifteen days' rations. The object being to devastate Jackson, Bates, and Cass counties, Mo., or "burn them over" as he said and "kill every living thing." The resolution was unanimously passed. At Lawrence I heard many republicans charge the destruction of that town to the destruction of Osceola, Mo., by Lane two years ago. Quantrill, while there, said he was ordered to destroy Lawrence in retaliation for Osceola.

But notwithstanding Lane's unpopularity with many, all were listening to his speech with open mouths, and ready to commit any outrage on the border men he might suggest. Every one was boiling over with concentrated rage, and had the expedition to Paola started at once, it would have taken every able-bodied man in Leavenworth. But before the time arrives better councils will prevail. Whenever one of those Lawrence murderers is caught let him hang until the buzzards fat on his carcass. But let us not imitate his barbarous example by an indiscriminate butchery of innocent persons.

After Lane, Jennison was called on. He came forward and spoke an hour much after Lane's style. He principally, however, devoted himself to electioneering for the 15th Kansas Infantry, of which regiment he is to be Colonel. Jennison was formerly Colonel of one of the Kansas regiments, but was removed for outrages committed upon innocent persons and for plundering the people to enrich himself.⁵⁰ Since then people have been satisfied to let him rest in privacy. But the Lawrence massacre seemed to call for some lawless leader, to inflict a punishment on those counties from which these fiends were supposed to have come, and Jennison was appointed Colonel of the 15th Kansas infantry. People even went so far as to plan a raid into Platte county, over the river. No one dreamed that that county was implicated in the Lawrence massacre, but the almost uncontrollable feeling was to devastate some part of

50. In his "Early History of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry," Simeon M. Fox, adjutant of the regiment, makes the following statement about Jennison's resignation which has been described by some writers as forced: "This resignation was not forced . . . but was a voluntary act induced by the appointment of James G. Blunt to the rank of brigadier general, a position that he [Jennison] personally coveted and had hoped would be his. He made an intemperate speech to the men—the regiment was at Lawrence at the time—and during its course practically advised them to desert; and before his wrath cooled his resignation was out of his hands and beyond recall."—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, pp. 240, 241.

Missouri. A lot of men, among whom were a part of the Lawrence police, planned a raid into that county a few nights since, and went down to the ferry to cross over but the ferry happened to be on the Missouri side, and the raiders were obliged to return home.

This has also been an exciting week in the police, or Mayor's court. Mayor Anthony fined a Lieutenant \$20 for saying that there were as loyal people in Missouri as in Kansas, and that Kansas was filled with horse and nigger thieves. And another man was fined \$100 for saying that "Lawrence was served just right." There have been several other \$100 fines for similar expressions. The Lieutenant, as the witness testified, was jesting with a radical comrade in a beer saloon and did not really mean all he said, but the Mayor said "jest or earnest no such talk would be allowed in Leavenworth." No one had any sympathy for the others as their remarks indicated a heart suited for the infernal regions.

During the week every able-bodied man has been compelled to drill every afternoon at four o'clock. Leavenworth turns out at these drills 2,000 good militia men. They actually fear a raid into their city, but if bushwhackers once get in here they never will get out.

The prosperity of Leavenworth exceeds all expectations; every disaster in this section seems to contribute to her growth. The Lawrence raid has frightened trade from Kansas City to this point. The long Santa Fe trains which ordinarily go into Kansas City, have since the raid come in here, fearing to travel in Jackson county. The people here are confident of being able to keep that business after it has once come here. A glance at the map, however, will show that Kansas City is the natural point for Santa Fe trade, and without doubt when Jackson county is out of danger, it will return there. Leavenworth was never more hopeful than now. She expects that the Pacific railroad will start from Kansas City, and instead of going straight up the Kansas river valley, will turn north from Kansas City and go to Lawrence around by Leavenworth, in which case Leavenworth would be reached from the West before Kansas City. This would throw Kansas City on to a side track, and Leavenworth on the main line to the East. Should that course be made Kansas City is blasted and Leavenworth is to be the town of the West. But should the road go straight up the valley, Leavenworth would be on the side track, and Kansas City would be the town.

I gave you a description of Leavenworth when here three weeks ago. It has not appeared in your paper yet. Possibly it has miscarried, but as it may reach you some time I will not send you another. . . . C. M. C.

(The Concluding Installment, Containing the Chase Letters of 1873, Will Appear in the Autumn, 1960, Issue.)

Kansa Village Locations in the Light of McCoy's 1828 Journal

ROSCOE WILMETH

AS AN aid to an archaeological survey of the Kansas river valley, the Kansas State Historical Society has been making a study of documentary sources dealing with the Kaw or Kansa Indians, in an effort to establish the location of their villages. These Indians, of special interest through having contributed their name both to the river and the state, occupied this area from the time they were located by European explorers, until 1846 when the tribe was moved to the Council Grove area. The problem has already received some attention, particularly from George P. Morehouse and Waldo R. Wedel, who have used documentary sources and archaeological methods in defining Kansa sites on the Missouri and Kansas rivers.¹ Morehouse, a member of the Kansas State Historical Society for more than 40 years, and its president in 1918, was a devoted student of the history of the Kansa. Dr. Wedel, curator, division of archaeology, Smithsonian Institution, is a native Kansan who has conducted much of the archaeological work carried out in the state.

One source on the Kansa apparently has been overlooked, namely, Isaac McCoy's journal of his 1828 exploring expedition in present eastern Kansas. McCoy (1784-1846), a Baptist missionary, was one of the leading proponents of the policy of removing the Indians to the West, believing this would save them from the degenerating influence of contact with the whites. Following the 1828 expedition, McCoy played a leading role in the selection and survey of Indian lands in Kansas.

In 1828 McCoy visited one Kansa village and traveled in the vicinity of three others; at least three of these appear not to have been recognized heretofore. The purpose of the present paper is to trace McCoy's route as far as is necessary to establish his position on reaching the Kansas river, and to determine at least the general location of the villages mentioned in the journal. The journal, which is in the possession of the State Historical Society,

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1. G. P. Morehouse, "History of the Kansa or Kaw Indians," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), pp. 327-368; W. R. Wedel, "Inaugurating an Archaeological Survey in Kansas," *Smithsonian Institution, Explorations and Field Work*, 1937, Publication No. 3480 (1938), pp. 103-110; W. R. Wedel, "The Kansa Indians," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, v. 49 (1946-1947), pp. 1-35. The writer is indebted to Wedel for reading this article and making many helpful suggestions.

has been edited and published by Mrs. Lela Barnes of the Society's manuscript division.

In the summer of 1828 McCoy, then Baptist missionary at Carey, Mich., was commissioned by the War Department to accompany a group of Potawatomi on a visit to the area west of the Mississippi. This was a preliminary stage in the program of Indian removal to that area. Leaving Carey in July, McCoy and party traveled to St. Louis, where they were delayed for some time. In August they were finally permitted to leave for the West, and at once set out, reaching Harmony Mission in western Missouri on September 2.²

On the night of September 4 McCoy camped on the Marais des Cygnes river within the boundaries of the present state of Kansas. For the next week his route followed the course of this stream to the west, through present Linn, Miami, Franklin, and Osage counties. On September 11, early in the morning, McCoy reached the Santa Fe trail about three miles from camp, and was able to determine his position: "By my map, the measurement of the Santa Fe road, made our encampment last night eighty one miles west of the state of Missouri." The camp of the evening of September 10 must have been a few miles north of Admire, Lyon county, near the point where the Santa Fe trail crossed the upper Marais des Cygnes.³

The expedition proceeded northwest and west on September 11, but on the 12th, "We proceeded Southwest in order to find a branch of Neosho river," the branch being found at a distance of about 12 miles. From September 12 to 15, an estimated 58 miles of travel, they proceeded southwest, crossing a number of branches of the Neosho river. A large branch was reached on September 15, and McCoy wrote: "My map appears to be incorrect so that I am not able to decide which branch of Neosho this is. I supposed it to be a middle fork, but Mograin [McCoy's Osage Indian guide] says it is the main Southern branch." The main southern branch is the Cottonwood river, while the Neosho itself was the "large branch" crossed on September 13.⁴ Mograin's accuracy is confirmed both by the distance traveled and by subsequent events.

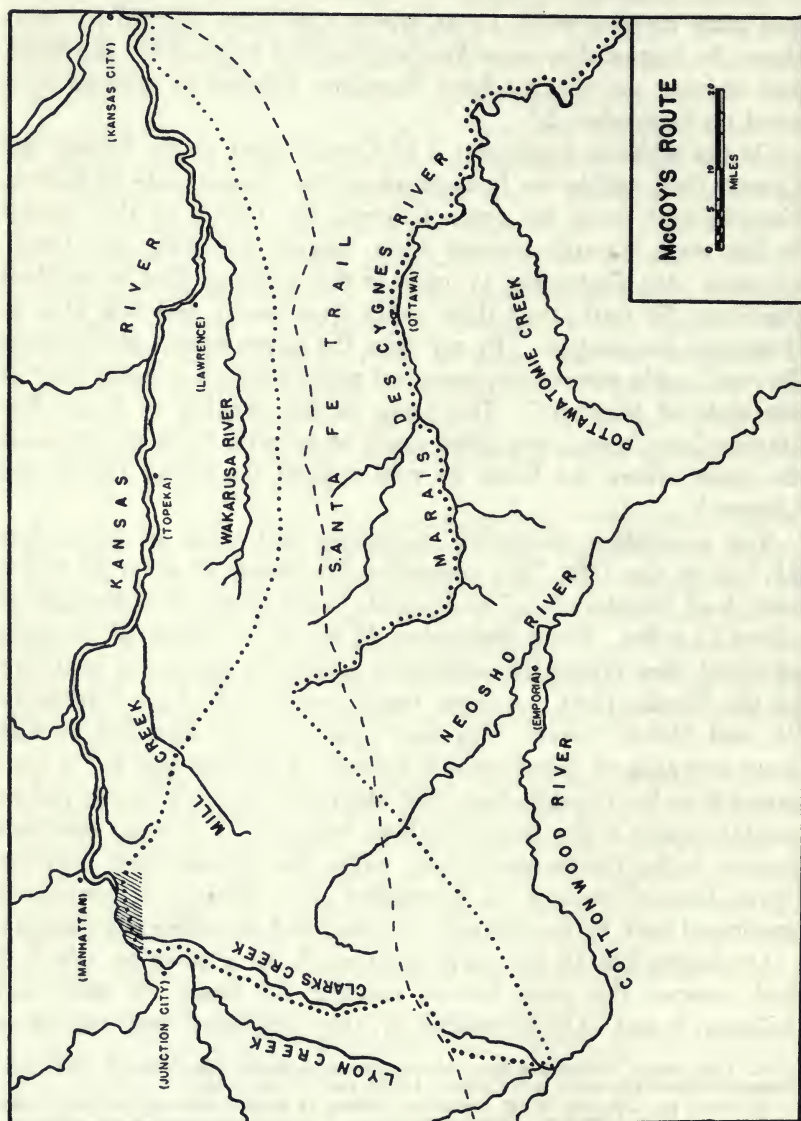
On September 16 the party went north up a creek on which it had camped the night before, reached the Santa Fe trail, and followed it east. On September 17, they continued east, and again

2. Lela Barnes, "Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5 (August, 1936), pp. 227-244 *passim*.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-250; W. E. Connelley, *History of Kansas* (Chicago and New York, 1926), v. 1, p. 113.

4. Barnes, *loc. cit.*, pp. 250-252.

met the trail; here McCoy was able to calculate his position as 122 miles west of Missouri. The trail at this distance from Missouri is a little east of Lost Springs in Marion county. Working back from this position, it seems likely that the creek McCoy followed north on September 16 was Brook creek, which enters the Cottonwood not far from where McCoy must have reached that



river. He stated, "Left camp quarter after 8. proceeded up the creek on which we had s[l]ept, north, about 9 crossed & passed between forks of nearly equal size."⁵ This description fits Brook creek, which forks about two miles above its mouth.

The remainder of McCoy's description of the events of September 17 is contradictory. From the point where he ascertained his position, he "steered north, from 12 till five o'clock, when we encamped as I believed on the waters of Ne[os]ho which we had descended about two miles." In the same passage he stated that the day's journey was across land separating the Neosho and Osage from the Kansas: "We have now left Neosho waters. . . ."⁶ Obviously, McCoy did not camp on the Neosho, which he had left, nor could he descend it going north. From the latter statement quoted it is apparent he was descending a branch of the Kansas. On the basis of his position as calculated on the Santa Fe trail, the branch must have been either Lyon or Clarks creek.

The following day, September 18, McCoy's party descended to the Kansas river and reached a village of the Kansa Indians. McCoy found this, the "upper Indian town on the river," to be 125 miles due west of Missouri. The distance places McCoy and the Kansa in the vicinity of Junction City, near the mouth of the Smoky Hill or perhaps that of Clarks creek, allowing a few miles of possible error in his calculation. Two topographic features mentioned support McCoy's figure. He viewed the river, and found that it passed between relatively high hills, and that the country was broken and hilly near the river. This agrees with the valley topography near Junction City. Secondly, while descending the creek early in the day, "on top of a high natural mount we discovered an artificial mound of stone, apparently constructed from the same principles on which our earthen mounds are to be east."⁷ Junction City is the center of a pre-Columbian complex designated the Schultz Focus, typified by rock burial mounds and related to the Hopewell culture of the eastern United States.⁸ It was unquestionably one of these mounds that McCoy saw.

McCoy traveled down the river on September 19, and going a little north of east passed between two small villages in the course of ten miles. The river flows northeast between Junction City and Manhattan, a distance of 18 miles, and the two villages must have

5. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-256.

8. C. E. Eyman, "The Schultz Focus: a Woodland Mound Complex of the Lower Republican Valley, Kansas," unpublished manuscript, Museum of Natural History, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

been located in this area. At one o'clock McCoy was in sight of the principal Kansas village seven miles away. He went southeast to see the country on a large creek (probably Deep creek) and here estimated he was still seven or eight miles from the village mentioned. This "principal" village must have been fairly close to Manhattan. It is entirely possible that this was the village near the mouth of the Blue on the north side of the river, visited by Thomas Say in 1819, which would have been visible from McCoy's position on the opposite bank. McCoy covered 30 miles that day and probably camped in the vicinity of McFarland or Alma in Wabaunsee county.⁹

Early the next morning a large creek, probably Mill creek, was crossed. A total of 20 miles was traveled, bringing the party to a point about 70 miles west of Missouri and 15 miles south of the Kansas river.¹⁰ McCoy was now near the head of the Wakarusa river. The party continued eastward along the divide between the Kansas and Osage, and on September 24 reached the Missouri boundary.

The three villages seen by McCoy, and possibly the fourth, were on the south side of the river between Junction City and Manhattan (shaded area on map, p. 154). None of them is mentioned in the literature. Either McCoy's journal has been overlooked as a source on the 19th century Kansa Indians, or the villages he visited have been confused with others located farther down the river. Root identified the villages as those of Hard Chief and American Chief (on Mission creek) in Shawnee county, and stated that McCoy was informed of Fool Chief's village north of the river.¹¹ McCoy did not give personal names of the Indians he met, nor did he mention any village north of the river. In addition, the distance from Missouri to Mission creek is only 65 miles. Finally, there is the statement of Frederick Chouteau, long a trader to the Kansa, that the Mission creek villages were not established until 1830, two years after McCoy's journey: "They built their lodges there the same year I went, 1830. . . . These two bands built their villages there because I was going there to trade, as I told them."¹²

McCoy's brief description of the Indian communities he visited

9. Barnes *loc. cit.*, pp. 256, 257; Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820*, in R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1905), v. 14, pp. 186-198.

10. Barnes, *loc. cit.*, p. 257.

11. George A. Root, "Chronology of Shawnee County," *Shawnee County Historical Society Bulletin*, v. 1 (December, 1946), p. 4.

12. F. G. Adams, "Reminiscences of Frederick Chouteau," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8 (1903-1904), p. 425.

is important with reference to native settlement patterns in the early 19th century. The first village visited contained but 15 houses, while the villages McCoy passed between are described as small, and it seems probable the latter two were no larger than the first.¹³ This is in contrast to the village at the mouth of the Blue, where Say found 120 lodges in 1819.¹⁴ Wedel pointed out that it has long been suspected that the large, often fortified, villages of the early 19th century were frequently the center of a number of smaller satellite communities, and the McCoy journal helps to confirm this view.¹⁵ To some extent this pattern was followed when the Kansa moved downstream in 1830. Chouteau reported a large village of 700-800 persons at Menoken on the north bank of the river, with two others of respectively 500-600 and 100 persons south of the river on Mission creek.¹⁶ It may be noted that at both locations, the smaller villages are on the south side of the river. The reason for this is undetermined, though it may have been for greater protection against attack by the Pawnee.

McCoy's journal also confirms that both the circular earthlodge and the long bark-covered lodge were used by the Kansa in this period. At the first village encountered he was entertained in a "large bark hut."¹⁷ Sibley in 1811 also described the bark lodge at a Kansa village which Wedel believes to be the town at the mouth of the Blue.¹⁸ On the other hand, Say observed circular earthlodges at the Blue river village in 1819, and a lodge of this type has been excavated at this site.¹⁹

Identification of the remains of the villages visited by Isaac McCoy will raise considerably the total number of Kansa sites specifically located. It is hoped that excavations can be carried out at many of these, for several reasons. First of all, it will increase the knowledge of the economic life of the Kansa in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Secondly, recovery of aboriginal materials from Kansa sites of the period of European contact may make possible the identification of pre-European villages of this people and aid in placing them in their proper perspective relative to Plains history in general.

13. Barnes, *loc. cit.*, p. 256.

14. James, *loc. cit.*, p. 188.

15. W. R. Wedel, letter, April 2, 1958.

16. Adams, *loc. cit.*, p. 425.

17. Barnes, *loc. cit.*, p. 254.

18. Wedel, "The Kansa Indians," *loc. cit.*, pp. 13, 21.

19. James, *loc. cit.*, p. 189; W. R. Wedel, letter, March 7, 1957.

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Continued*

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL

BROWN, HENRY NEWTON
(1857-1884)

SHORTLY after the murder of Caldwell City Marshal George Brown, on June 22, 1882, the city council appointed B. P. "Bat" Carr as his replacement with Henry N. Brown as Carr's assistant. The Caldwell *Commercial* voiced its approval of the appointments in this article, July 6, 1882:

The City Council on Monday night appointed Henry Brown, formerly marshal of Tuscosa, Texas, Assistant City Marshal. Mr. Brown is a young man who bears an excellent reputation, and although he has acted in similar capacities for several years, has never acquired any of those habits which some seem to think are absolutely necessary to make an officer popular with the "boys." With Mr. Carr for Marshal, and Henry Brown for assistant, we think the city has at last secured the right kind of a police force. Carr is a quiet unassuming man, but there is that look about him which at once impresses a person with the idea that he will do his whole duty fearlessly and in the best manner possible. We have not the least doubt but he will give entire satisfaction, and it is now the duty of every citizen to see that he is promptly and efficiently sustained in his efforts to preserve the peace of the city and the safety of its inhabitants.

The Caldwell *Post*, July 6, 1882, called upon the city to back its new officers for better law enforcement:

Messrs. B. P. Carr and Henry Brown are on the police force of our city now as Marshal and Assistant Marshal. These gentlemen will do their utmost to see that order is kept, and the peace of the city preserved, if a little bit of fine shooting has to be indulged in by them. If our citizens will back the officers, there will be a great deal less trouble with the lawless classes than there has been heretofore.

We have a new Assistant Marshal on the police force now—Mr. Henry Brown—and it is said that he is one of the quickest men on the trigger in the Southwest.

In August, 1882, Brown assisted Marshal Carr in preventing a fist fight which had certain religious connotations. The newspaper item reporting this may be found in the section on B. P. Carr.

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL are members of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

NOTE: Appearance of the first installment of this series in the Spring, 1960, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, has resulted in numerous requests for additional copies. If interest continues the entire series will be reprinted and offered for sale under one cover, with additional information and perhaps an index.

About the middle of September, 1882, Henry Brown resigned as assistant marshal in order to accompany Sheriff J. M. Thralls' posse into the Indian territory after the killers of Mike Meagher.¹ The expedition, however, was a failure. The *Caldwell Commercial*, October 12, 1882, recorded the posse's adventures:

AFTER THE TALBOTT GANG

A HUNT OF TWO WEEKS AND NO CAPTURE.

About the 14th or 15th of last month information was received from below that the Talbott gang, or part of them, was located in the southwest part of the Indian Ter., and had with them a lot of stolen horses and cattle. The information came from a reliable source, and acting upon it, Sheriff Thralls organized a party to hunt up and if possible capture the gang.

The sheriff and his men left on the 19th of September, returned last Thursday the 5th inst., having been gone seventeen days. From Henry Brown, Assistant Marshal of this city, who accompanied the expedition, we learn that the party went from here to the Cheyenne and Arapahoe agency, and after consulting with Agent Miles a detachment of troops was secured to accompany Sheriff Thrall's party, and if need be assist in the capture of the outlaws.

It was also learned at the agency that Dug. Hill and Bob Munsing were among the outlaws, the former going by the name of Bob Johnson and the latter by the name of Slocum; also that Dug Hill had been connected with and employed in the camp of a man named Kooch, holding cattle on Quartermaster creek, ever since the 27th of last July.

Thrall's party traveled about one hundred miles southwest of Cantonment, to Seger's cattle camp, where they halted and Seger went over to Kooch's camp, about twenty miles distant, to ascertain the exact whereabouts of Hill and Munsing. Brown says it took Seger two days and one night to travel the forty miles, and when he returned he stated that from the description given of Dug Hill, the man at Kooch's camp going by the name of Bob Johnson, could not be Dug. However, the sheriff's party proceeded to Kooch's camp, and on arriving there found that "Bob Johnson" was gone, and that "Mr. Slocum" had cut his foot and gone to Cantonment to get some medicine for it.

The Thrall's party then followed Quartermaster creek to where it empties in the Washita and not obtaining any trace of the fugitives, came on home.

Mr. Brown also informs us that in addition to the camp of Seger and Kooch, the Standard Cattle Co., Ben Clark, Henry Street, and others are holding cattle in that section of the Territory. The country is supposed to be a part of the Kiowa and Comanche reservation, but whether that is the fact we are unable to say.

Having returned to Caldwell Brown was reappointed assistant marshal. The *Caldwell Post*, October 12, 1882, announced his re-employment.

Henry Brown is again on the police force, after a two-weeks' lay-off. Henry has been down in the Wichita mountains on the lookout for "rustlers," but the birds had been notified of his coming, and had flown. There must be an underground railway connected with these cattle thieves' camps and the border towns, or they could be taken in with less trouble.

Shortly after Brown's return, Marshal Carr took a leave of absence and the assistant marshal assumed the duties of acting city marshal. The *Caldwell Commercial*, October 19, 1882, reported:

Henry Brown is acting as City Marshal during the absence of Bat Carr, with Ben Wheeler as assistant. Henry is all business, yet withal quiet and obtrusive, and will do his full duty in preserving the peace of the city. Of this fact he has given ample evidence in his former position as assistant City Marshal.

On November 2, 1882, the *Commercial* reported that:

Henry Brown, acting city marshal, received a letter on Tuesday from Ben Franklin, Will Quinlin's foreman, notifying him that he had the horse and saddle stolen from Jim Sibbets on Sunday night, October 22. The horse was taken while Jim was in church. No particulars were given by Mr. Franklin as to how the horse came into his possession.

Bat Carr returned to his Caldwell position on November 2, 1882,² and Brown resumed his job as assistant.

On December 28, 1882, it was announced in both the *Post* and the *Commercial* that Henry Brown had been appointed city marshal. Said the *Post*:

The City Council appointed Henry Brown as city marshal Thursday evening last. Henry has been assistant marshal for some time past, and is now promoted to the chiefship. Mr. B. is a good one, and will have the moral as well as physical support of our citizens in running the city as it should be.

The *Commercial* reported Brown's appointment as effective Friday rather than on Thursday as stated by the *Post*.

In the same issue of December 28, the *Commercial* noticed that "Henry Brown was the recipient of two very useful presents—that is they may be in the near future, if things turn out satisfactorily to all parties concerned—given him by some unknown friend on the Methodist Christmas tree, being a rattle box and a tin horn."

On New Year's Day the citizens of Caldwell presented Brown with a fine rifle. The *Caldwell Post* recorded the event on January 4, 1883:

A HANDSOME PRESENT.

A few of the citizens of this city, appreciating the valuable services of Mr. Henry Brown, city marshal, concluded to present him with a suitable token of their esteem, and so settled upon an elegant gold-mounted and handsomely-engraved Winchester rifle, as an article especially useful to him and expressive of services rendered in the lawful execution of his duties. The gun was presented to him Monday, Mr. Frank Johnes making the presentation speech, and a handsome one it was, too (we mean the speech this time!). On the stock of the gun is a handsome silver plate bearing the inscription "Presented to City Marshal H. N. Brown for valuable services rendered the citizens of Caldwell, Kansas, A. M. Colson, Mayor, Dec., 1882." Henry is as proud of his gun as a boy of a new top. He appreciates the present very highly, but

not half so much as he does the good will shown and approval of his services by the citizens of this city, as implied by the present.

The *Commercial*, in its edition of January 4, differed with the *Post's* version of the inscription:

A FINE NEW YEAR'S PRESENT.

On Monday afternoon our efficient City Marshal, Henry Brown, was quietly tolled into York-Parker-Draper M. Co.'s store, and in the presence of a few friends presented with a new Winchester rifle. The presentation speech was made by Frank Jones, to which Henry responded as well as he could under his astonishment and embarrassment at the unexpected demonstration. The rifle is of superior workmanship, the barrell being octagon, the butt end beautifully engraved and plated with gold. The stock is made of a fine piece of black walnut, with a pistol grip, and one side of it has a silver plate inscribed, "Presented to H. N. Brown by his many friends, as a reward for the efficient services rendered the citizens of Caldwell. A. M. Colson Mayor, Jan 1, A. D. 1883."

The present is one worthy of the donors and testifies in a substantial manner their appreciation of a most efficient officer and worthy gentleman.

At the end of January, 1883, Brown obtained leave to visit his home in Missouri. The *Commercial*, in announcing his absence, commended his performance of duty:

Henry Brown, our city marshal, having obtained a leave of absence from the mayor and council, left yesterday on a visit to his old home at Rolla, Missouri, after an absence of ten years. Mr. Brown during the past eight months has given his entire time and attention to his duties first as assistant marshal, and then as marshal, has proven himself a most efficient officer and fairly earned the holiday. It is no flattery to say that few men could have filled the position he has so acceptably occupied. Cool, courageous and gentlemanly, and free from the vices supposed to be proper adjuncts to a man occupying his position; he has earned the confidence of our best citizens and the respect of those disposed to consider themselves especially delegated to run border towns. One other thing may be said in his favor: he has never been the recipient of self-presented testimonials, nor hounded the newspaper offices of the surrounding villages for personal puffs, and it gives us supreme satisfaction to state these facts. For one the *COMMERCIAL* hopes Mr. Brown will heartily enjoy his trip, the visit to scenes of his childhood, and return with renewed energy for the duties of his position.³

Brown returned to Caldwell about a month later. The *Commercial* on March 8, 1883, reported that "H. N. Brown, city marshal, returned on Saturday from a visit to his old home in Missouri, and has resumed the duties of his office. Since his return, the boys are not quite so numerous on the streets at night."

Apparently Brown entered into the social life of Caldwell for on March 22, 1883, the *Commercial* reported that "A party of young folks, headed by Prof. Sweet, guarded by City Marshal Brown

. . . started last Sunday for the classic shades of Polecat in order to enjoy a picnic. . . .”

In April, after the annual city election, the new city council of Caldwell met and reappointed both Brown and his assistant Wheeler.⁴ A few days later Brown and Wheeler accompanied Deputy United States Marshal Charles M. Hollister after some horse thieves. In making the arrest the officers killed a man. The article reporting this battle may be found in the section on Hollister.

City Marshal Henry Brown killed an Indian in a Caldwell grocery store on May 14. Here is the story from the *Journal*, May 17, 1883:

KILLED BY THE MARSHAL.

Spotted Horse is no more. He departed this life last Monday morning, at the hands of the city marshal, H. N. Brown. The manner of his death and the circumstances leading thereto are about as follows:

Spotted Horse was a Pawnee Indian, whose custom it was to make periodical visits to Caldwell with one or more of his squaws, bartering their persons to the lusts of two-legged white animals in whom the dog instinct prevailed. Last Friday or Saturday Spotted Horse drove into town in a two-horse wagon, with one of his squaws, and went into camp on a vacant lot between Main and Market streets. About half past six on Monday morning he walked into the Long Branch Restaurant with his squaw and wanted the proprietors to give them breakfast. This they refused to do, when he left and wandered around town, taking in the Moreland House, where he was given a sackful of cold meat and bread. From thence he and the squaw went over to E. H. Beals' house on Market street, north of Fifth. Mr. Beals and his family were just sitting down to breakfast when Spotted Horse and his squaw walked in without the least ceremony and demanded something to eat. Mr. B's. wife and daughter were considerably alarmed, and the former ordered the Indians to leave. They went out and then Spotted Horse handed to the squaw the bundle of grub he had obtained at the Moreland, and walked back into the house, up to the table and put his hand on Miss Beals' head. Mr. B. immediately jumped to his feet and made signs for the Indian to go out, at the same time applying an opprobrious epithet to him. The Indian immediately pulled out his revolver, and Mr. Beals told him to go out and they would settle the trouble there. Spotted Horse put up his pistol and walked out, and Mr. B. after him. Once outside, the Indian pulled his revolver again, and Mr. Beals seized a spade that was at hand. Just about this time Grant Harris run up to the Indian and told him to go away, that he ought not to attack an old man. The Indian then opened out with a volley of abuse, directed to Mr. Beals, in good plain English. Young Harris finally induced him to put up his pistol and leave.

The next heard of S. H. and his squaw was that they had walked into the back door of the Long Branch kitchen and helped themselves to breakfast, Louis Heironymous being the only one connected with the restaurant present in the building at the time, made no objections, and the two reds had a good feast.

It appears that after breakfast the squaw went to the wagon, while Spotted Horse strolled into Morris' grocery, one door north of the Long Branch. Meantime a complaint had been made to city marshal Brown in reference to the Indian's conduct at Beals' house, and the marshal had started out to hunt him up, finally finding him in Morris' grocery. The marshal approached Spotted Horse and requested him to go with him to Mr. Covington, in order that the latter might act as an interpreter. The Indian refused, when the marshal took hold of him. Spotted Horse didn't like that, and commenced to feel for his revolver. The marshal pulled his out and told the Indian to stop. On the latter refusing to do so, the marshal fired at him. In all four shots were fired by the marshal, the last one striking the Indian about where the hair came down to his forehead, and came out at the back of his head. Parties who were present state that if the officer's last shot had failed, the Indian would have had the advantage, because he had just succeeded in drawing his revolver when the shot struck him.

The Indian was shortly after removed to the ware house two doors north, where every attention was given him, but he died in about two hours without uttering a word, although he seemed to be conscious up to within a few moments before breathing his last.

Coroner Stevenson was telegraphed for and came down late in the afternoon, viewed the body and held an inquest that night. On Tuesday morning the jury brought in a verdict that the deceased came to his death by a gun shot wound in the hands of H. N. Brown, and that the shooting was done in the discharge of his duty as an officer of the law, and the verdict of the entire community is the same.

The squaw, we are told, upon hearing the first shot fired, hitched the horses to the wagon and drove off as fast as she could toward the Territory.

Toward the end of May, 1883, Brown, Wheeler, and Hollister again teamed up to arrest a thief. The *Journal* reported the story on May 31, 1883:

On Tuesday morning Constable McCulloch might have been seen wending his way to the office of Squire Ross. Preceding him was a lively young man of apparently twenty-five summers, or some'ers about, who bore upon his broad and stooping shoulders a heavy saddle, such as the festive cowboy is wont to sit upon while chasing the flying bovine, a saddle blanket and other paraphrenelia necessary to clothe a range horse. As the two took their solemn and stately walk up the stairs leading to the justice's office, with the bearer of burthens in the lead, our curiosity became excited, and, following the cavalcade into the sacred precincts of justice, we ascertained that the bearer of the saddle was one who gave his name as John Caypleess; that, in company with two others, he had been loafing around the outskirts of the town for three or four days; that the attention of Brown, Hollister and Ben Wheeler had been called to the fact; that on Friday night Moores & Weller lost a saddle, which fact they reported to the police. On Monday night they ran across Mr. Caypleess and interviewed him so successfully that he finally consented to show where his wicked partners—who had vamoosed the ranch—had hid the saddle. They accompanied him to the spot, which proved to be the ravine near I. N. Cooper's place, on Fall creek, where, hidden in a

clump of bushes, the saddle was found. Mr. Capless' attendants, taking into consideration the fact that he had packed the saddle to its hiding place, concluded that he could carry it back to town, which he did. Caypless, on examination, was bound over, and, as the poor fellow had missed his breakfast, Mac took him to get a square meal, after which the train took him to Wellington, where he is now receiving the hospitalities of the hotel de Thralls. Had Caypless and his friends succeeded in their schemes, there is no doubt that other saddles would have been missing, like-wise three good horses.

The Caldwell police force, made up of Henry Brown and Ben Wheeler, was more than paying its own way. The *Caldwell Journal*, August 2, 1883, reported:

Marshal Brown and his assistant, Ben Wheeler, have certainly earned their salaries for the past five months. During that time they have run into the city treasury, for fines for violations of city ordinances, the sum of \$1,296, being just \$421 more than the salary they have received for that time. A very good showing for a quiet town like Caldwell.

Ordinarily the arrests which Marshal Brown was required to make during his day-to-day routine consisted of nothing more serious than apprehending persons gambling, operating "houses of ill fame," carrying weapons within the city limits, fighting, swearing, and disturbing the peace. A fine of from one to ten dollars was usually assessed and the offender released.⁵ On December 20, 1883, however, the *Caldwell Journal* reported a more serious adventure of Marshal Brown's:

NEWT BOYCE KILLED.

Newt Boyce, a gambler, was shot last Saturday night by City Marshal Henry Brown, and died about three o'clock the next morning. The coroner was telegraphed for, but word was sent back that he was out of town. Squire Ross, therefore, had a coroner's jury impaneled, and proceeded to hold an inquest.

The testimony went to show that on Friday night Boyce had some trouble in a saloon a few doors north of the post office, and had cut a soldier, and one of the proprietors of the saloon, with a knife. Ben Wheeler assistant city marshall, afterward took the knife away from Boyce and made him go home. Subsequently while Brown & Wheeler were in the Southwestern Hotel, some one informed them that Boyce was out again and liable to do some harm. The officers started out to hunt him up, and while passing Hulbert's store, saw Boyce in there. Brown stepped in, and seeing a knife and revolver lying on the counter, which B. was paying for, pushed the implements to one side, arrested Boyce, and put him in the cooler, where he stayed all night.

The next day he was brought before the police judge and fined, but at the time did not appear to be angry at the officers for what they had done. During the day, however, he got to drinking, and made threats against both Wheeler and Brown.

About an hour before he was killed, Wheeler saw Boyce in the saloon north of the post office, dealing monte. B. asked him where Brown was, at the same time applying epithets regarding Brown. Wheeler afterward met

Brown and told him to look out, that Boyce was a dangerous man, and was liable to do him some harm. Brown then went to the saloon, and some words passed between the two men, Boyce remarking that as soon as he was through with that game he would settle with Brown.

Shortly after Wheeler met Boyce in front of Moore's saloon, and B asked him where Brown was, that he wanted to see that fighting S. B. etc. Wheeler told him that Brown was in the saloon, but advised Boyce to go home and behave himself. While they were talking, they heard footsteps, as if some one [were] approaching the door from the inside. Boyce immediately stepped to the alley way between the saloon and Moore's, and, as he did so, Wheeler noticed that he had his right hand under his coat, on the left side. T. L. Crist came to the door, and Wheeler, seeing who it was, turned to go north. Boyce immediately jumped out of the alley way, pulled his pistol, cocked and pointed it directly at Wheeler's back, but seeing Crist at the same time, he put back the weapon and started down the alley.

Crist called to Wheeler and informed him regarding Boyce's actions, and while they were talking Brown came out of the saloon. Wheeler informed him what had occurred, and cautioned him to look out, that he believed Newt Boyce intended to do him some harm. Brown said if that was the case he would go and get his Winchester, because he didn't want to be murdered by any one.

After Brown got his gun, he and Wheeler walked north on the west side of Main street, and when opposite Unsell's store they saw Boyce standing on the sidewalk in front of Phillip's saloon. Brown immediately started across the street, and when within about thirty feet of Boyce, called out to him to hold up. Boyce ran his right hand into his breast, as if feeling for a weapon, and stepped around so as to put one of the awning posts between himself and Brown. The latter fired two shots from his Winchester, and Boyce started toward the door of the saloon, at the same time telling Brown not to kill him. Brown followed him into the saloon, and shortly after entering it, Boyce fell. Dr. Noble was called in, and an examination showed that the ball had struck Boyce in the right arm, close to the shoulder, broken the bone and penetrated the right side. Every effort was made to save his life, but he expired the next morning from the loss of blood.

Boyce had a wife here, who had the remains encased and started with them, Tuesday, for Austin, Texas, where Boyce's father lives.

The verdict of the jury was that the deceased came to his death at the hands of an officer while in the discharge of his duties.

On January 24, 1884, the *Caldwell Journal* suggested that the city police should be elected constables:

The JOURNAL nominates for constables of Caldwell township, to be voted for on February 5, Messrs. Henry Brown and Ben Wheeler. The boys would make excellent constables, and the offices would be a great advantage to them when pursuing criminals outside of the corporations. When a city marshal makes an arrest outside of the corporation limits of the city in which he is serving, he does it as a private citizen, and if he kills a man while resisting arrest, he can be successfully prosecuted for murder, whereas were he a constable he could make the arrest legally and be protected by the statutes.

No record was found of their subsequent nomination or election. On March 27, 1884, the *Journal* announced Brown's marriage:

BROWN-LEVAGOOD

But he did not Lev(a)good girl at all, but took her unto himself for better or for worse, in true orthodox style, at the residence of Mr. J. N. Miller, in this city, last evening. Rev. Akin officiated, and in a few quiet remarks joined Mr. Henry N. Brown and Miss Maude Levagood in the holy bonds of wedlock. A company of select friends witnessed the ceremony, and extended congratulations to the happy couple. The *JOURNAL*, metaphorically speaking, throws its old shoe after the young folks and wishes them a long and prosperous life.

Apparently Brown intended to settle permanently in Caldwell for on April 10, 1884, the *Journal* reported that "Henry Brown has bought the Robt. Eatock place, and has gone to house-keeping."

Also in April Brown was appointed city marshal for the third time.⁶

Less than a month later Caldwell was shocked to learn that its marshal and assistant marshal had attempted to rob a bank at Medicine Lodge. The *Journal* May 8, 1884, elaborated on an earlier dispatch:

A TERRIBLE DAY!

MEDICINE LODGE WITNESSES AN ATTEMPTED BANK ROBBERY,
TWO MURDERS AND FOUR LYNCHINGS IN ONE DAY.

CALDWELL'S FORMER MARSHAL AND ASSISTANT THE LEADERS OF THE BAND.
RETRIBUTION, SWIFT AND SURE OVERTAKES THE DESPERADOES.

THE BRAVERY OF THE MEDICINE LODGE MEN.

Last Thursday morning a dispatch came to this city stating that the Medicine Valley bank, at Medicine Lodge, had been attacked by robbers Wednesday morning, and that the president and cashier were both killed. This much last week's *JOURNAL* contained. This was considered startling news enough to justify a second edition of the paper, which contained all the particulars that could be obtained.

Not until late Thursday evening was the startling announcement flashed over the wire that Caldwell was directly interested in the affair, other than as a sister city mourning the loss of her neighbor's prominent citizens; but when the news came it fell like a thunderbolt at midday. People doubted, wondered, and when the stern facts were at last beyond question, accepted them reluctantly.

The evidence that has since come to light shows that the plan was of mature deliberation, and that it had been in consideration for weeks. Just who the originators were will, perhaps, never be known. It is surmised that it was originated in this city this spring; that it was a deep-laid scheme to perpetrate several robberies, the Lodge first, the banks at this place the next, and a train on the Santa Fe the next. This is, however, only rumor; but from remarks made by members of the band before they were captured, it can be accurately conjectured that they had an extensive campaign planned,

which only the vigilance and bravery of Medicine Lodge men prevented being carried into execution. That the termination was as short as it was terrible is a matter of congratulation.

THE START.

One week ago Sunday afternoon, Henry N. Brown, marshal of this city, and Ben F. Wheeler, his deputy, having obtained permission from the mayor to be absent from the city for a few days, mounted their horses and rode out of town, going to the west. The excuse they made for leaving was, that there was a murderer a short distance down in the Territory, for whom there was a reward of twelve hundred dollars, and they thought they would be able to capture him. Previous to starting, they both had their horses shod for running, and supplied themselves with a large quantity of ammunition. Both carried 44-calibre revolvers and Winchester rifles. They were joined, it is supposed, on Monday by Smith and Wesley, cowboys. The former worked on the T5 range, and the latter for Tredwell & Clark. Both were hard men, and at the last Smith showed himself to be the bravest man of the party.

The first news that reached here was brought by telegraph Thursday evening. It was in few words, and caused more excitement than there has been in this city for years. People gathered on the streets, and business for the evening was stagnated. Every one discussed the matter, and not until a late hour were the streets deserted. The telegram was received about 6:30 Thursday evening, and in an hour was known all over the city.

The following is a copy:

MEDICINE LODGE, Ks.,
May 1, 1884.]

BEN S. MILLER, Caldwell, Kan.:

The bank robbers were Brown and Wheeler, marshal and deputy of Caldwell, and Smith and Wesley. All arrested. Tried to escape. Brown killed. Balance hung. Geppert dead. Payne will die.

CHAS. H. ELDRED.

Of the account of the tragedy at Medicine Lodge, we can give it no more accurately than it was published in the *Cresset*, of that city. We reproduce it entire. It will be remembered, however, that this was published last Thursday morning, and that there are facts that have since come to light:

Our little city was yesterday (Wednesday, April 30) thrown into a state of intense excitement and horror by the perpetration of a murder and attempted bank robbery, which, for cold-bloodedness and boldness of design, was never exceeded by the most famous exploits of the James gang.

The hour was a little after nine, a heavy rain was falling and comparatively few people were upon the streets, when four men rode in from the west and hitched their horses back of the bank coal shed. The bank had just opened up; Mr. Geppert, had taken his place and begun work on settling the monthly accounts; E. W. Payne, president, was sitting at his desk writing, when, as nearly as we can learn, three of the robbers entered. According to a pre-concerted plan, we presume, one advanced to the cashier's window, one to the president's window, while one seems to have gone around into the back room to the iron lattice door. Almost immediately after the men were seen to enter the bank,

SEVERAL SHOTS WERE HEARD,

in rapid succession. Rev. Friedly who happened to be just across the street, immediately gave the alarm, and Marshal Denn, who was standing near the livery stable, across the street from the bank, fired on the robber outside, who returned the fire, fortunately without effect. The robbers now saw that the game was up, and broke for their horses, mounted and rode out of town, going south. It was but a few minutes until a score or more men were in hot pursuit.

To those who remained, on going into the bank, a horrible sight was presented. George Geppert, the esteemed cashier, lay at the door of the vault

WELTERING IN HIS BLOOD,

and dead. A hole in his breast showing where the ball had entered and probably severed the carotid artery, told the tale. Mr. Payne, the president, lay near him

GROANING WITH PAIN.

An examination showed that a pistol ball had entered the back of the right shoulder blade, and ranging across had probably grazed his spine and lodged somewhere under the left shoulder blade.

[Mr. Payne died Thursday morning, May 1st, about 11 o'clock, having suffered for twenty-four hours, eighteen which he was conscious. We give his obituary in another place.—ED. JOURNAL.]

THE PURSUIT.

Going back to the pursuing party, we get the story of the exciting chase from a participant. The pursuing party first came in sight of the robbers beyond the crossing of the Medicine south of town. The party, seeing that they were about to be overtaken, turned and opened fire. Several volleys were exchanged. While the fight was going on, Charley Taliaferro and we believe one or two others rode around the robbers and headed them off on the south. Seeing that they were cut off in this direction they left the road and started almost west, toward the breaks of gypsum hills, but were so hotly pursued that they took refuge in a canyon some three or four miles southwest of town. The boys in pursuit surrounded the canyon to prevent the possibility of escape, and George Friedley and Charley Taliaferro came in for reinforcements. In a short time every gun and horse that could be brought into service was on the road to the canyon. Before the reinforcements arrived on the ground, however, the robbers had surrendered. The surprise of the captors can be better imagined than expressed when, on taking charge of the outfit, they found that they were all well known. The leaders of the gang were

HENRY BROWN, MARSHAL OF CALDWELL,

and Ben Wheeler, assistant marshal of the same city; the other two were well known cowboys, William Smith, who has been employed for some time on the T5 range, and another cowboy who is known by the name of Wesley, but having several aliases.

Of these men, Brown is the only one who has acquired any notoriety. His history on the frontier began with his connection with "Billie the Kid" in New Mexico. It is said that he was a companion of the noted desperado in some of his most exciting adventures. Of late years, however, he seemed to have sobered down. Some three years since he was elected assistant marshal of Caldwell, and for the past two years has occupied the position of marshal of our neighboring city. In appearance Brown does not show the criminal

particularly. He is a man of about medium height; strong, wiry build; wears no beard except a mustache, and his face indicates firmness and lack of physical fear. During the time he has held his office he has killed several men, but was generally considered justifiable.

Ben Wheeler, the man who fired the shot that killed George Geppert, is a large and powerfully-built man, dark complected, with rather an open countenance. So far as we know he has never been noted as a desperado. He has occupied the position of assistant marshal of Caldwell for the past two years, and has been considered, we believe, a good officer. His action yesterday, however, showed him to be the most cold-blooded murderer in the gang.

Wesley is rather under medium size, and has an evil, reckless expression of countenance, and is just such a boy as would aspire to be a desperado.

Smith is also an undersized man with dark complexion and rather a hardened expression of countenance.

When the party were brought in they were surrounded by a crowd of exasperated citizens, and cries of

HANG THEM! HANG THEM!

sounded on every side, and for a while it looked as though they would be torn from the hands of the officers and lynched on the spot. A somewhat calmer feeling came over the crowd, not that the feeling was any the less intense, but the desire to do the job up in a more business-like style was greater.

All afternoon little knots of quiet, determined men could be seen, and all over town was that peculiar hush which bodes the coming storm. Little was said, but the impression prevailed that before many hours the bodies of four murderers would swing in the soft night air.

So ended the most exciting and the most sorrowful day in the history of Medicine Lodge. No bank robbery ever chronicled in the annals of crime was ever bolder in its design or accompanied by more cold-blooded murder in its attempted execution. That the desperadoes failed in accomplishing their full purpose was not the fault of their plan, but was due to the courage and promptness of a number of our citizens and others—a promptness and courage, in fact, which has rarely been equaled on any similar occasion anywhere.

CLOSING SCENES.

About nine o'clock the stillness of the night was broken by three shots fired in rapid succession, and at the signal a crowd of armed men advanced toward the jail and demanded the prisoners. This was refused, but, notwithstanding their spirited resistance, the sheriff and his posse were overpowered and the doors of the jail opened, when the prisoners who were in the inner cell unshackled made a sudden

DASH FOR LIBERTY.

In an instant the moonlight was so mingled with bullets that it was a highly unsatisfactory locality for a promenade, and the fact that no one except the prisoners was injured is a matter of wonder. Of the robbers, Wheeler, Smith and Wesley were captured, Wheeler badly wounded. Brown ran a few rods from the jail and fell dead, riddled with a charge of buckshot, besides having a few stray Winchester balls in various parts of his body.

Wheeler, Smith and Wesley were taken by the crowd to an elm tree in the bottom east of town, and told if they had anything they wished to say, now was their time to say it, for their time of life was short. Wheeler at the last showed great weakness, and begged piteously for mercy. Wesley was also

shaken, but managed to answer, in reply to inquiry, that he was born in Paris, Texas, in 1853, and requested that word of his fate be sent to friends in Vernon, Texas. Smith displayed great nerve, and gave directions coolly, to sell his horse and saddle and some few other trinkets, and send the money to his mother, in Vernon, Texas.

After the remarks the ready ropes were fastened on the necks of the robbers, the end tossed over a limb, and in a moment more their bodies swung in the wind. So ends the chapter. Mob law is to be deplored under almost any circumstance, but in this case the general sentiment of the community will uphold the summary execution of justice by the taking of these murderers' lives.

THE VICTIM.

Of the deceased, who was shot down in such cold blood, we have not space to speak in fitting eulogy. He has been a resident of our town for some four years past, and was widely known and universally respected by all his acquaintances. A man of excellent business capacity, he had already accumulated a handsome competence. In the prime of life and vigor of his manhood, with a most comfortable home and a pleasant family, the future seemed to have in store for him abundant years filled with golden fruitage of happiness. The respect of his fellow citizens was shown by the fact that the business houses of the town, we believe without an exception, were draped in mourning. His death has aroused the deepest and most general sympathy. We have lost a most excellent man, a kind husband and father, and one of our most enterprising citizens.

This ends all there was known Thursday morning. While in jail at the Lodge Brown wrote a letter to his wife. We reproduce it below, only leaving out such parts as are of a purely business character and of no interest to the public. They contained minute directions how to dispose of his property and as to the payment of some debts.

BROWN'S LAST LETTER.

MEDICINE LODGE, April 30, '84.

DARLING WIFE:—I am in jail here. Four of us tried to rob the bank here, and one man shot one of the men in the bank, and he is now in his home. I want you to come and see me as soon as you can. I will send you all of my things, and you can sell them, but keep the Winchester. This is hard for me to write this letter but, it was all for you, my sweet wife, and for the love I have for you. Do not go back on me; if you do it will kill me. Be true to me as long as you live, and come to see me if you think enough of me. My love is just the same as it always was. Oh, how I did hate to leave you on last Sunday eve, but I did not think this would happen. I thought we could take in the money and not have any trouble with it; but a man's fondest hopes are sometimes broken with trouble. We would not have been arrested, but one of our horses gave out, and we could not leave him alone. I do not know what to write. Do the best you can with everything. I want you to send me some clothes. Sell all the things that you do not need. Have your picture taken and send it to me. Now, my dear wife, go and see Mr. Witzleben and Mr. Nyce, and get the money. If a mob does not kill us we will come out all right after while. Maude, I did not shoot

any one, and did not want the others to kill any one; but they did, and that is all there is about it. Now, good-bye, my darling wife.

H. N. BROWN.

This shows that he anticipated the doom which awaited him, and realized in his calmer moments the awful atrocity of his crime.

Mrs. Brown is also in receipt of a very kind letter from Sheriff Riggs of Barber county, of which the following is a verbatim copy.

THE SHERIFF'S LETTER.

MEDICINE LODGE, May 1st.

Mrs. H. N. BROWN, Caldwell, Ks.

Madame:—It becomes my painful duty to inform you of the death of your husband, H. Newton Brown, at the hands of an infuriated mob. Your husband and three others attempted to rob the Medicine Valley Bank, and in so doing killed Mr. Geo. Geppert, the cashier, also wounding the president, Mr. Payne, from which wounds he will surely die. I wish to say that in my capacity as sheriff of this county I did my best to protect my prisoners; but by being overpowered I was forced to submit. Perhaps it will be some satisfaction to you to know that his death was instantaneous and quite painless, being shot two or three times, dying instantly, while his comrades in crime were taken some distance from town and hung. There are some effects in this town the property of your husband, and as soon as I can get them together I will forward them to you. I also send to you a letter written by your husband and handed to me to send to you. He wrote it a little before dark last evening.

C. F. RICE,
Sheriff.

Friday morning last Messrs. Ben. S. Miller, John A. Blair, S. Harvey Horner and Lee S. Weller started over to the Lodge, Messrs. Miller and Blair to give their sympathy to the bereaved families, and Messrs. Weller and Horner to look after property that belonged to them. From them we learn the full details, and give them below as nearly as possible:

Mr. Payne and Mr. Geppert had been warned of the attack, and had agreed to surrender. When Brown and Wheeler entered the bank, the positive character of Mr. Payne asserted itself and to defend his property he reached for his revolver. This was his death warrant. Brown shot him, and Wheeler immediately shot Geppert while that gentleman had his hands up! Wesley, thinking to add to the terrible work already done, shot him again to make assurance doubly sure. After being shot twice, Mr. Geppert, true to his trust, staggered to the vault and threw the combination lock on, and then sat down in front of the vault a corpse, the contents it guarded safe from the profaning hands of his murderers.

The story of the capture is briefly told. Nine men were the principles in it. Barney O'Conner was the first man to mount his horse and start in pursuit, and in all of the short, final run guided the pursuing party to ultimate success. After the failure the robbers were completely demoralized. They had not taken failure into consideration in their plans. They were without an appointed leader, and all wanted to lead; hence the capture. One horse began weakening, and they left the main road and turned into a canyon in the gypsum hills. This led into a small pocket thirty or forty feet deep, with only one exit, that by which they entered. The bottom of the canyon was

covered with water from a foot and a half to two feet deep, and it was raining hard and water running down the sides. Here resistance was kept up for two hours, many shots being exchanged but no one hit, all having to shoot at a disadvantage. The cold water was the greatest friend the pursuers had. It cooled the ardor of the pursued, and in two hours after they entered this place they surrendered. Brown was the first to lay down his arms and walk out, and was followed by the rest. When they rode into the city the people were wild, and loud threats of lynching them were made; but not until night were they put into execution. In the afternoon comparatively good pictures of the band were taken, and also of the captors. They ate two hearty meals while in the jail, and Brown wrote the above letter. Wheeler tried to write, but broke down.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

Henry Newton Brown is the only one of the band who has achieved any notoriety as a desperado. He was a native of Rolla, Phelps county, Missouri, but at an early age left his home for the West. He went first to Colorado, and from there drifted into a cow camp in Northern Texas, where he killed a man after firing three shots at him. He shortly went into the band of the celebrated "Billie the Kid," and participated in many of his most daring exploits. In the Lincoln county war he was with the Kid's party when they lay ambushed for Sheriff Brady's party and killed him and nearly all of his men. In the fall of 1878 he was at Tuscosa, Texas, with the Kid with between 75 and 100 stolen horses. In a short time he went to New Mexico and was employed as boss of a ranch, but owing to a shooting scrape there he left for Texas, having been among the number pardoned by the governor of that State for participation in the Lincoln county war. He was appointed deputy sheriff of Oldham county by Capt. Willingham in 1880, but only held the office a short time, when he started up the trail and came to Caldwell. Batt Carr was then marshal of this city, and having known Brown as deputy sheriff in Texas, had him appointed as his deputy marshal in the summer of 1882. In the fall of that year, Carr having resigned, he was appointed marshal, and has since held that position, being reappointed the third time only four weeks ago. Since in office he has killed two men. The only fault found with him as an officer was that he was too ready to use his revolver or Winchester. He had gained the entire confidence of the people however, and had conducted himself in such a manner that the doors of society were always open to him. He neither drank, smoked, chewed nor gambled. In size he was rather under the medium, but compactly built, and such a man as would be supposed capable of great physical endurance. He was very light complexioned, blue eyes and light mustache. He was twenty-six years old last fall. He leaves relatives in Rolla, Missouri, and a sister in Iowa. Only six weeks ago he was married to a most estimable young lady in this city, Miss Alice M. Levagood.

Ben Robertson, alias Ben F. Burton, alias Ben F. Wheeler, was a native of Rackdale, Milam county, Texas, where he was born in 1854, and where he has a number of relatives who are most estimable people. One of his brothers was at one time general land agent of the State of Texas. Wheeler, as he was known here, left Texas about six years ago on account of a shooting scrape in which he severely wounded a man. He went to Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory,

where he stayed for some time and then started south again with cattle. At Indianola, Nebraska, he met Miss Alice M. Wheeler. In November, 1881, they were married under the name of Burton, at her parents' residence in that place, where they lived happily together until the next spring. He then left and came to this place, where he was soon appointed deputy marshal. She came in a few months, but he refused to keep her here, and told her if she would go away he would support her. She stayed away most of the time, but last winter spent several weeks here. Her father died last December, and she is left alone to support her aged mother and one sister, and also her eighteen-months-old child. She is willing and anxious to work for their support, and in her brave resolution she will no doubt meet with ready help from the kind-hearted ladies of this city.

Of Smith and Wesley little is known other than that they were natives of Texas, one of Vernon and the other of Paris. Smith was employed on the T5 Range, and had just been given charge there. He was about 28 years of age. Wesley has been employed on Treadwell & Clark's ranch all winter, and when he left Sunday afternoon he stated he was going to meet Smith in Kansas. He was always considered a hard citizen, but a good hand about the ranch. He always carried his six-shooter, and never retired at night without his Winchester was within his reach. He was about thirty years old.

Wheeler is said to also have a wife and four children in Texas, under the name of Robertson.

FINALE.

There was another heavy sound,
A hush and then a groan,
And darkness swept across the sky,
The work of death was done.

The tragic death of the robbers has already been told. That it was just, all know; that it was a terrible penalty for their crime, visited on them by the iron hand of judge lynch, all admit. There have been cases before where it was surely justifiable and there will be others to come. The near relations which two of the principals bore to the citizens of this city made it doubly horrible. They had made many warm friends in this city, and while here had made two as good officers as the city has ever had. They had been given credit for honor and bravery, and while here no man can say, and say truthfully, that they had not been worthy this trust. That they have brought disgrace on the city, no one can help; and that they met their just deserts, all rejoice. But let the mantle of charity fall over their memory, and like the tear of the repentant sinner which the peri brought to the gates of heaven, let it obliterate them as it did the sins of the penitent, blot them out from existence, and let them be judged by the Higher Court where we are taught to believe that all shall receive justice. Let them fall into the past as beings that are gone and forgotten; and while the dark cloud that obscures the final ending is rent by a few rays of golden light, let no rude hand be stretched passionately forth to close forever from sight those redeeming glimmerings.

1. *Caldwell Post*, September 28, 1882. 2. *Caldwell Commercial*, November 9, 1882. 3. February 1, 1883. 4. *Caldwell Commercial*, April 5, 1883. 5. "Police Docket," Records of the City of Caldwell, July, 1882-May, 1884. 6. *Caldwell Journal*, April 10, 1884.

BROWN, J. CHARLES

(— — —)

For several days following the August 15, 1873, shooting of Sheriff Chauncey B. Whitney, the city of Ellsworth had police problems. The men on duty at the time of Whitney's death were summarily dismissed by the mayor and not until August 27 did the police force assume any semblance of permanence. On August 28, 1873, the *Ellsworth Reporter* gave the names of the new officers in this article: "The entire police force was changed at a special meeting of the City Council yesterday, Richard Freeborn was appointed City Marshall, with power delegated to select two policemen. He selected J. C. Brown and DeLong."

In September Brown shot and killed John Morco, a former Ellsworth policeman, for wearing weapons within the city limits. "The coroner's inquest over the body of 'Happy Jack' decided that 'John Morco came to his death from the effects of two bullet wounds, discharged from a six-shooter in the hands of Chas. Brown, a police officer of the city of Ellsworth, in self defence, while in discharge of his duty, and was justified in the act,'" said the *Reporter*, September 11, 1873. The article which reported the shooting may be found in the section on Morco.

Marshal Freeborn resigned on November 18 and apparently Brown was then promoted to the higher position for on December 11, 1873, the *Reporter*, in its "City Officers" section, began to list him as marshal.

Several months later Charles Brown assisted the Ellis county sheriff to arrest "Dutch Henry," a widely known horse thief. The *Ellsworth Reporter* carried this article on June 18, 1874:

HENRY BORN ARRESTED.—AN EXCITING CHASE.

Last Monday afternoon an arrest was made near this city that occasioned considerable stir among our population. Sheriff Ramsey came down from Ellis county, and armed with a United States warrant and revolver proceeded to obey orders, having called to his assistance under-sheriff Stephens of this city.—About five miles from town as they were riding horseback they discovered their man riding across the prairie. Riding after him Ramsey ordered him to surrender—in answer Born raised his revolver. Ramsey and Stephens dismounted from their horses and each fired at Born. Born galloped off to Oak creek where he secreted himself in the bushes. Ramsey ordered Stephens to ride to Ellsworth for more men and some guns. Stephens returned with City Marshal Brown and S. G. John, each being armed with guns. Arriving at the creek it was found that Born had hid himself in a cave and had afterwards crept up a ravine. He was soon found by the party, hid in the grass.

Not answering the sheriff's orders to give himself up, a shot from that officer's revolver, which inflicted a slight wound on his face, and the presentation of three long guns in different directions, brought him to terms and he was disarmed, brought into the city and lodged in jail. The people here meanwhile knew what was going on and were out en masse watching the result. When the party rode in, a great crowd of men and boys gathered at the jail to see the prisoner. He was wounded in three places—but none of the shots were dangerous. He was cared for by our physicians. Sheriff Ramsey took his prisoner up to Hays City on the 10:35 train and will duly hand him to the U. S. authorities at Topeka. The prisoner was arrested for stealing mules from the Government. He was once before arrested by Sheriff Whitney, but there being some informality in the arrest he was released.—Born and his brother have had a claim on Oak creek for two years—though it is said that they have never entered their claim at the Land Office.

Nothing more was found concerning Marshal Brown until July 22, 1875, when the following appeared in the *Ellsworth Reporter*:

CITY COUNCIL MEETING

At a regular meeting of the city council, held July 20th, Mr. Beebe introduced the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Our Marshal, J. C. Brown, having resigned his position to fill one of like character on the frontier. Be it

Resolved, That in severing the connection of the Marshal with this city, Mr. J. C. Brown, has for the past two years, performed his duty to the entire satisfaction of our citizens.

That we cheerfully recommend him as an officer who is fearless, prompt, honest, and always on hand to attend to his duty and equal to any emergency.

That a copy of these resolutions be signed by the mayor and, with the seal of the city attached, be presented to Mr. J. C. Brown.

On motion of Mr. Montgomery, the above resolution was adopted and ordered spread upon the record, and the minutes of this meeting containing such, ordered published in the *Ellsworth Reporter*.

M. NEWTON,
Mayor

Attest:

W. F. TOMPKINS, *City Clerk*.

BROWN, JOHN

(—-—)

The *Dodge City Times*, April 13, 1878, reported that "Joseph Mason and John Brown have been placed on the Police force to serve temporarily." On May 7 Brown was paid \$52.50 for "salary as Ass't Marshal," according to proceedings of the city council published in the *Times* on May 11, 1878. Also it reported that on "motion of C. M. Beeson the appointment of John Brown as policeman was confirmed." The *Times*, from its issue of April 20 through the issue of May 11, 1878, listed Brown as assistant marshal in its "Official Directory."

Brown served as policeman under Marshal Charles E. Bassett and Assistant Marshal Wyatt Earp. "Dodge City is practically under an efficient guard," wrote the editor of the *Dodge City Times*, May 18, 1878. "The city fathers have wisely provided for the honor, safety and character of the city by the appointment of an excellent police force. We believe no better men for the positions can be found anywhere."

In May, June, and July Brown remained on the police force. At a city council meeting held August 6, 1878, it was decided that "the police force [should] be reduced; and the clerk be instructed to notify Policeman John Brown that his services would no longer be required."¹

A few weeks later Brown was taught a lesson in etiquette, Western style. The *Ford County Globe* reported the affair on September 24, 1878:

THE FESTIVE REVOLVER.

A man named Brown, formerly one of our policemen, spat at Al Manning's face last Wednesday. Al very promptly responded to this insult by emptying a six-sho[o]ter at Brown, who being an expert runner and dodger, evaded the bullets. We are, however, sorry to say that a young man by the name of Wm. Morton caught one of the bullets in his foot. He is at present confined to bed nursing his wounded foot. While we regret very much to hear of the use of the revolver where innocent parties are liable to be hurt, we are glad to believe that Mr. Brown has learned a lesson he'll not forget soon.

The last mention found of Brown in Dodge City was in the proceedings of the city council meeting of December 3, 1878, as reported in the *Times*, December 7. At this meeting Brown was paid \$12.50 for "balance of salary," perhaps for the six days he had served in August.

1. *Dodge City Times*, August 10, 1878.

BROWN, NEIL (NEAL)

(1847?-1926)

James Masterson and Neil Brown were appointed marshal and assistant marshal of Dodge City on November 4, 1879. These "off season" appointments were occasioned by the recent resignations of Marshal Charles E. Bassett and Assistant Marshal Wyatt Earp. In reporting the appointments, the *Dodge City Times*, November 15, 1879, concluded with the statement that "these men make good officers." Brown and Masterson each received \$100 per month for their police services.¹

On March 30, 1880, the *Ford County Globe* reported that "Capt. Dan Gardiner officiated as police officer yesterday in the temporary

absence of the marshal. He succeeded in steering another weakneed rooster over to the dog house, but his courage failed when policeman Brown arrived and proposed to put the two in together."

Both James Masterson and Neil Brown were reappointed by the city council on May 4, 1880.²

In June Brown arrested one of Dodge's first citizens and roughed him up somewhat in the process. The *Globe* reported the incident on June 8, 1880:

IN THE BASTILE.

Dr. Galland and Capt. Howard, proprietor and clerk, respectively, of the Great Western Hotel, were, after a short preliminary skirmish, in which the Doctor received a patronizing welt or two from the festive revolver of Policeman Brown, arrested and locked up in one of the dismal cells of the bastille, where they remained until the Policeman saw fit to kindly liberate them. The cause of the arrest was for a failure to pay hotel license. Yesterday the two culprits were brought before Judge Weaver who fined the Doctor one dollar and cost and dismissed the case against Howard. The Doctor and his friends claim that he was mistreated and abused by the policeman, and that the affair was caused by the Doctor's resignation last week as a member of the Council. Such cases of "unpleasantness" are not proper amusements for Christians to indulge in, and our voice is for peace.

Action was brought against Brown for his method and the trial was reported in the *Ford County Globe*, June 15, 1880:

The case of the State of Kansas vs. Policeman Brown, charged with a felonious assault upon Dr. S. Galland, late member of the City Council, was called last Saturday in Chief Justice Cook's court. Nelson Adams, of Larned, appeared for the defendant and Jones and Frost for the State. The court took the case under advisement until Monday, and when Monday came he took the case under advisement for another week. In the fullness of time we presume the judge will render an elaborate opinion.

The case was finally concluded in January, 1881. Brown was convicted and fined \$10 and costs.³

In August, 1880, Brown wounded a man while making an arrest. The *Globe*, August 24, 1880, reported:

Policeman Brown undertook to disarm a stranger last Friday, who was carrying a pistol in his pocket. The stranger refused to disgorge and started to run, whereupon the policeman gave chase and fired two shots, one of them passing through the stranger's foot and bringing him to a stand-still. He was taken to the calaboose and fined eight dollars, which he paid and took his departure from this beautiful city on the first train, taking with him quite a severe wound.

The city council, at a meeting held October 5, 1880, decided to reduce the salaries of the marshal and his assistant. The Dodge

City *Times* reported the action on October 9: "On motion of W. C. Shinn, seconded by T. J. Draper, that after the 31st of October 1880, the expense of Marshal and Assistant be reduced to one hundred dollars per month, which passed; the mayor will take notice to have such offices filled for amount named above."

The decision was reaffirmed at the December 7, 1880, meeting of the council:

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved, after they were corrected by motion of W. C. Shinn and seconded by M. W. Sutton, that the motion of W. C. Shinn in the previous minutes in regard to expense of city to read as follows: That after the 30th day of October, 1880, the total expense of the city marshal and assistant be reduced to one hundred dollars per month to keep the peace and quietude of said city, and the mayor take notice to have such offices filled for amount named above, passed the council Oct. 5, 1880.

The following bills were presented and allowed.

Jas. Masterson, salary for 1 month	\$100 00
Neil Brown, "	100 00. . . .

The bills of James Masterson and Neil Brown, as marshal and assistant in the month of November, for one hundred dollars each, was presented, and on motion of W. C. Shinn, seconded by T. J. Draper, That fifty dollars be paid (the bills reduced that amount) and remainder laid over until the next meeting of the council for consideration, passed the council Dec. 7, 1880.⁴

On April 6, 1881, after the annual city elections, the newly elected city council met and declared the positions of marshal and assistant marshal to be vacant and new officers were appointed. Brown and Masterson were each paid \$420 on April 12.⁵

When the trouble occurred between Luke Short and the city authorities in the spring of 1883, Brown was still a resident of Dodge. Though his part in the troubles is difficult to ascertain, he was prominent enough to be included in the famous photograph of the "Dodge City Peace Commission." The story of the "war," and what is known of Brown's role, will be found in the section on Luke Short.

The Dodge City *Times* of August 30, 1883, printed a list of members of Dodge's recently formed militia unit, the Glick Guards. Neil Brown appeared as a member along with Luke Short, Bill Tilghman, Clark Chipman, and others famous in Dodge City's early history.

In January, 1889, when Cimarron and Ingalls were fighting a "war" for the county seat of Gray county, Brown was involved in a sharp and bloody battle in the streets of Cimarron. Other former Dodge City policemen were also participants: James Mas-

terson, Fred Singer, Ben Daniels, and Bill Tilghman. The full story of the fight may be found in the section on Tilghman.

1. *Dodge City Times*, January 17, April 10, May 8, July 10, August 7, September 11, October 9, December 11, 1880. 2. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1880. 3. *Ford County Globe*, January 25, 1881. 4. *Dodge City Times*, December 11, 1880. 5. *Ibid.*, April 7, 14, 1881.

BUGG, THOMAS

(——-1883)

Contemporary evidence of Tom Bugg's law enforcement career is sketchy at best. In July, 1881, Bugg testified at the coroner's inquest over the body of Joseph McDonald who had been killed by Dodge City Marshal Fred Singer. At that inquest Bugg is quoted by the *Ford County Globe*, July 26, 1881, as saying "I am deputy sheriff. . . ." (The testimony may be found in the section on Fred Singer.)

The sheriff at that time was George T. Hinkle; the under sheriff was Fred Singer. Just when Bugg was appointed deputy sheriff of Ford county is not known. On November 3, 1881, the *Dodge City Times* reported that "Thomas Bugg, Deputy Sheriff, has resigned his office. Sheriff Hinkel has not yet designated Mr. Bugg's successor."

Apparently Bugg was reappointed a deputy sheriff for on March 7, 1882, the *Globe* mentioned that "Sheriff Hinkle has relieved Thomas Bugg of his office as Deputy Sheriff. Sensible move."

Bugg held another law enforcement position as this article from the *Times*, August 10, 1882, shows: "Thos. Bugg, acting constable, was yesterday accidentally shot. The ball passed through the left leg above the knee, and left arm above the elbow. He was scuffling with a man and the pistol fell out of the scabbard and was discharged. The wounds are not dangerous."¹

In October, 1882, Bugg was a member of a posse, led by Ford county Under Sheriff Singer, which went to Lakin for several cowboys who had shot into a Santa Fe passenger train. (The account of the cowboys' capture may be found in the section on Singer.)

Tom Bugg died on February 10, 1883. The editor of the *Dodge City Times* was quite eloquent in this obituary which was published on February 15, 1883:

THE DEATH ROLL.

Like the plant that has stood the variable climate, wither and die the early citizens of the border. There is nothing remarkable about the death of the old-timer, but to the surviving old-timers there is a lurking spirit of sadness on the sudden demise of those who have borne the brunt of the

battle on the plains. None here who have not enjoyed the full measure of life's pleasure, endured its hardships and for a period survived its vicissitudes. But there is a limit to physical endurance. Energy and work will sustain life, but poor whisky, the bane of the hail fellow, saps the foundation and soon destroys the manly physical body. Tom Bugg, who died Saturday night, after a brief illness, deserves no particular mention for either good or bad deeds. He was a hero withal. He struggled for an existence and bore the burden of his life's troubles. Whisky has done for Tom Bugg what it will do for all who tarry long at the social glass. It was heart disease, the doctor said; and how many more of the poor wanderers, sentinels on the border, are there in our midst, barring against that fate that awaits all of the human family! But these are of Tom Bugg's class. Their ebb of life is fast flowing and the receding stream is drawing them—

"Nearer, my God, to thee."

The preacher Sunday night delivered a doleful sermon on the grave. He preached the funeral service of the countless millions who pass to the other shore, unwept, unhonored and unsung. Appropos, the spark of life had no sooner left Al Updegraff, than came eternity's chariot and carried away Tom Bugg. Another, less known, but no less a man, though of a dark skin, also passed in his chips, and called the turn. Wm. Davis, the colored barber, died in Speareville, of pneumonia caused by exposure and over indulgence in strong drink. . . .

Tom Bugg was a carpenter by trade, and followed that business until about two or three years ago. He held the office of deputy constable at the time of his death. He resided in Dodge for several years. Of his antecedents we know nothing. His death was rather unexpected, he apparently being in the enjoyment of good health a few days previous to his death.²

1. See, also, *Ford County Globe*, August 15, 1882. 2. See, also, *ibid.*, February 13, 1883.

CARR, B. P.

(—-—)

The murder of George Brown, June 22, 1882, left Caldwell without a city marshal. Only one arrest was recorded in the Caldwell police court docket between the date of Brown's death and July 1, and that was on complaint of J. A. Neal, a policeman. On July 1, 1882, the name of Marshal B. P. Carr began to appear on the docket. Both the Caldwell papers, the *Post* and the *Commercial*, in issues of July 6, 1882, mentioned that B. P. Carr had been appointed but no exact date was given.

"Carr is a quiet unassuming man, but there is that look about him which at once impresses a person with the idea that he will do his whole duty fearlessly and in the best manner possible. We have not the least doubt that he will give entire satisfaction . . .," said the *Commercial's* article.¹

Apparently Carr gave immediate satisfaction, for within two

weeks the citizens of Caldwell took up a collection and presented him a gift of appreciation. The *Post*, July 13, 1882, reported the presentation:

ARMED.

The citizens of Caldwell, seeing the necessity of having an officer well armed, proceeded to raise seventy-five dollars yesterday morning by subscriptions from business men on Main St, Col. Jennison heading the list. He purchased a brace of fine six-shooters, and presented them to Mr B P Carr in behalf of the citizens. Col. Jennison said, in substance: Mr Carr:—In behalf of the citizens and business men of this city, I present you with these weapons, not that we would encourage the use of them, but that you may better protect the rights of property and life, and maintain the dignity and honor of the city and your office as Marshal. It is not for the intrinsic value of the present we offer you, but in it our appreciation of your services as an officer. I request you to accept these pistols from the citizens of this city as a slight token of their confidence in your ability to protect the same from being used for any purpose other than the defense of the city and maintaining peace and quiet in the same.

The presents were handsome ones, and Mr. Carr fully appreciates the sentiments that induced the citizens to present them to him.²

In the same issue the *Post* had occasion to mention Marshal Carr's dexterity with that type of weapon:

City Marshal Carr put it onto a wild and woolly negro that was promenading the street the other day. Carr concluded that the fellow had a six shooter on him and asked him for it. The negro instantly went down to get it, with the intention of standing the marshal off; but quicker than thought a "45" was shoved up under his nose, accompanied by a gentle request to throw up. He threw up both hands in short order, and was disarmed and taken to Judge Kelley's sanctuary and stuck for \$12 50, and told that he had better leave his gun off, in the future.

Bat Carr put a new twist in the interpretation of law at Caldwell when he saved a cowboy from going home completely broke. The *Commercial*, July 20, 1882, carried the story:

City Marshall Carr had to bruise a fellow last Friday, and all about a cowboy. It seems the latter came in from camp a day or two previous, with a couple of horses, one of which he sold. A chap running one of the gambling games in the city got hold of the cowboy, filled him up with whisky and then played him out of his money. The next morning the cowboy, partially sobered up and dead broke, undertook to sell the other horse, when Marshal Carr was informed of the circumstances. The marshal hunted up the youth, put him on his horse, and started him off for camp. Supposing everything all right, the marshal went off to attend to some other matters, when his attention was called to the fact that the gambler was endeavoring to have the cowboy remain, and had offered the latter \$40 on his horse in the game. The marshal went up and invited the gambler to move on and let the cowboy alone. The man of games couldn't see it, and not content with refusing to go off, gave

the marshal some slack. The latter settled the question very promptly by flooring the gambler, and compelling the cowboy to go to camp. Of course there was some indignation at the course of the marshal, but the more considerate portion of the community think he did just right. It has, in the past, been too common a thing for some of the sporting fraternity to beat every cowboy they could get hold of out of his hard earned money, and apparently without any det [*sic*] or hinderance on the part of the police force. That a change in that state of affairs has been inaugurated, and for the better, gives cause for congratulation. Our present force seem to comprehend the fact that men coming into the town are not to be openly robbed without any interference on their part, and we are glad of it.

The editor of the *Caldwell Commercial* seemed pleased on August 24, 1882, to report the growing use of fists over six guns:

Civilization is advancing in the west, particularly in that portion of it covered by the town of Caldwell. And for why? Because the Winchester and self-cocker have given place to nature's arms, good "bunches of fives," and perhaps a stick. Two ructions of that kind occurred last week, one on Thursday and the other on Saturday. Uncle Bill Corzine says the first row arose from the circumstance of one of our well known citizens having attended church or prayer meeting (we have such things in Caldwell) the night previous, where he learned for the first time that the Jews had killed the Gentile Savior something over eighteen hundred years ago. It incensed him to such an extent that the next morning he pitched on the first Jew he met. Bat. Carr and Henry Brown, both of whom appear always to be in the way when any fun is going on, stepped up just in time to stop the citizen in his mad endeavor to avenge the wrongs of eighteen centuries standing, and quietly conducted him before his honor Judge Kelly. Uncle Bill says that his honor, putting on all his magisterial dignity, asked the prisoner in his most impressive tones: "What have you to do with Christ, anyhow?" Being unable to answer the conundrum his honor told him to contribute to the depleted city treasury the amount of five dollars, with an extra "In God we trust," to maintain the dignity of the court. The next imitation of a Democratic ward meeting, was brought about by a difference arising from a financial settlement. Both parties got the worst of the row, physically and financially. But while they may feel sore and somewhat distressed, we must congratulate them upon being pioneers in the new order of things that makes the six shooter in this community of no more account than a toy pistol.

Civilization was indeed advancing in Caldwell and in "the new order of things" a local saloon had discovered the value of sex appeal. "A new device to get the cow boy's money—and we are afraid it catches a good many others—a woman dealing hazzard in one of the saloons," the *Commercial* reported on August 31, 1882.

Carr could also clamp down on the cowboy when it became necessary. The *Commercial*, September 7, 1882, said:

Monday is rather an uninteresting day in Caldwell, either in police, or other circles, but last Monday proved an exception. At least Bat Carr, our city marshal, thought so. A hilarious chap from the range came into town Monday

morning, and enthused by the pure air and easy going surroundings of Caldwell, undertook to have a little fun all by his lone self, so he mounted his kyuse and gaily galloped about the village. In his wild career he run across Dr. Noble's place where some of the doctor's fine sheep were sauntering around, like tony men saunter in front of a popular place where beverages are sold, and he proceeded at once to practice throwing the lariat upon them. It was fun for the ranger, but the sheep did not appear to enjoy the matinee. While engaged in his pleasant pastime, Bat. rode up along side of the ranger's pony, relieved the chap of his shooting iron, and conducted him to the presence of Judge Kelly. He gave his name as William St. John, but the St. John part did not relieve him from contributing a goodly sum to the city treasury, and when the shades of evening hovered o'er the village, William took his departure, poorer in purse, but doubtless happy in the consciousness that he had a "good time."

It appeared that gamblers were the particular prey of Marshal Carr. "Bat. Carr, our city marshal, the other morning rounded up a lot of gamblers who had been in the habit of going around with pops stuck down in their clothes. They had to pay a fine and give assurance that hereafter they would obey the city ordinance against carrying concealed weapons," reported the *Commercial*, September 28, 1882. On October 5, 1882, the *Commercial* said:

Some of the gamblers in Caldwell are terribly worried because Bat. Carr thinks the low down thieving games, such as "nine dice," three card monte," etc. ought not to be allowed. The final result was, that Bat. had some of them interview Judge Kelly on Tuesday morning, and the city treasury is richer by several dollars. We admire Bat's pluck, and hope he will keep up the fight until he runs every thieving gambler out of the town. Gambling in its mildest and most correct form is an injury at the best, but where it descends into down-right robbery, with no show whatever for the victim, it ought to be suppressed.

Caldwell citizens apparently approved of their marshal's actions for in October, 1882, they presented him a solid gold badge. The *Caldwell Post*, October 12, 1882, reported:

A little the handsomest badge we ever saw is the one worn by Batt Carr, our City Marshal, and presented to him last week by the citizens of Caldwell. It is solid gold in the form of a shield suspended from a plate at the top by chains. The lettering is in black enamel, and bears the inscription, "Batt Carr, City Marshal, Caldwell, Kan." On the reverse is, "Presented by the Citizens of Caldwell." Take it all together, it is the handsomest thing in that line we ever saw. Batt is deserving of the best regards of the citizens of Caldwell by reason of his excellent management of the rougher element that is common in any new community, and they take this method of showing it. The cost of the jewel was over \$75, and was bo't through Henry Auling, our jeweler, by a few of our businessmen and stockmen.³

"Bat Carr has obtained a leave of absence and leaves on a business visit to Colorado City, Texas, next Monday," reported the *Com-*

mercial, October 12, 1882. "Bat expects to return in fifteen or twenty days. We request the Colorado folks to handle him with care and send him back on time and in good condition." Henry Brown served as marshal in Carr's absence with Ben Wheeler acting as assistant city marshal.

On November 9, 1882, the *Caldwell Commercial* announced Carr's return:

Bat. Carr, our city marshal, returned last Thursday from his visit to Texas. The *Commercial Clipper*, of Colorado, Texas, makes mention of his visit in the following style:

Capt. Battie Carr, city marshal of Caldwell, Kansas, is in our city shaking hands with his numerous friends and looking after his interests here. He has located at Caldwell, and has this week put his property here on the market. He has six neat residences north of and near the public square, which he offers cheap for cash. Battie was one of the early settlers of Colorado City, and showed faith in its future by investing in town lots and improving them as soon as lots were exposed to sale, showing a spirit of enterprise that enthused others to invest, and so the city started and has been rapidly improving all the time until we now have a lovely city of 3,500 souls and still the rush goes on. Carr is a man of cool nerve, and anything he undertakes he goes at it with a determination to win. He can now dispose of his property at an advance of 100 per cent. on first cost, and will reinvest in the thriving young town of Caldwell. From the handsome gold badge that he supports on his breast we see that his worth as a brave and efficient officer is appreciated by the city of his adoption, it having be[en] presented to him by the good citizens.

Bat brought back with him a splendid gold-headed cane, which he presented to Mayor Colson.

Robert Gilmore, more commonly known in his time as Bobby Gill, was a tramp familiar to nearly all the cowtowns of Kansas. Caldwell was no exception. The *Commercial*, November 9, 1882, recorded a visit in this article:

EXIT "BOBBY GILL."

Nearly all the tramps, bunko steerers, bummers and dead beats who have traveled over the main lines and prominent branches in Kansas, know "Bobby Gill." Bobby is and has been an odorous citizen for several years, one of those unfortunate contrasts necessary to show, by comparison, the advance made in civilization by the mass of humanity. Well, Bobby projected his carcass into Caldwell a few weeks ago, fuller than a tick and with a crowded case of samples of his ordinary meannesses. After remaining in his abnormal state a short time, he pulled himself together and toned down to a clean shirt and sobriety—for a few days. But Bobby couldn't stand that course for any length of time. It was too rich for even his aristocratic blood, and he soon went back to his old lay. By persistent effort Sunday evening found him with his tank full and his shirt looking as if it had been worn by a Cheyenne Indian ever since the white man began to follow the aforesaid aborigine's track.

To make a long story short, being in that condition, Mr. Gill concluded to

go to church, for a change, and while Brother Foster was reading the usual Bible lesson at the beginning of services last Sunday night, Bobby walked into the door, up the isle, and planted himself right into the amen corner, in close proximity to Bros. Edwards, Ross and Lange. Bobby took in the entire services, and we must say in truth, conducted himself in a more reverential manner than many professed worshippers usually do. At the close of the services he retired quietly and unostentatiously, seemingly deeply impressed by the singing of the choir and the tender appeals of the pastor to erring humanity.

But alas, for good conduct. The next morning the gamblers insisted on Bobby leaving town. He had disgraced the profession by going to church, and they couldn't stand it; so they raised some money to pay his fare to the home of all such refugees, Dodge City, and at three o'clock, Bat Carr escorted him to the depot in style and saw him safely ensconced in a reclining chair, and we hope, that by this time, he is under the protecting care of Mayor Webster.

Poor Bob! His career and condition, if we look at it philosophically—only serves to show what many of us, who hold our heads so high above him, might have been under like adverse circumstances.

There are vessels made to honor, and vessels made to dishonor, and no man can say, given the same conditions, that he is better than another.

The *Caldwell Post*, November 9, 1882, reported more of Carr's activities against the gambling element: "Bat Carr, Chief of Police, is making it lively for the slick-fingered gentry and gamblers. He fired half a dozen or so out yesterday and pulled several others." On November 23, 1882, the *Post* said that "Bat Carr gathered in five hurrah fellows one day last week between six and seven o'clock, and two more the next morning—and it was not a good time for the business, either."

In December a shoe thief was caught. The *Commercial*, December 7, 1882, had this article:

In going to the postoffice on Tuesday, we met Marshal Bat Carr with a pair of ladies' shoes, and wondered what was the meaning of such a freak. Upon inquiring, we found that the colored man working for Dr. Noble had stolen the shoes from F. W. Leonard, our young enterprising boot and shoe man, and had been trying to sell the stolen goods to different parties. Bat went to him and told him he would take his company down town. The n—— said "Does you want dem shoes, Mr. Carr?" whereupon Bat told him he did, and if they were not forthcoming, he would take him to the cooler. The gentleman in question replied: "I nebber stoled dem shoes, I jest borrowed 'em," and he went to a small house and after a time brought forth the property. Bat watches the pilferers closely and their way is a hard one to travel while he is around.

On December 21, 1882, the *Commercial* announced that "City Marshal Carr, left last week for Texas, and it is rumored around that he will bring back with him a frau. Wish you much joy, Bat." The same day Henry Brown was appointed city marshal of Caldwell.⁴

The next summer it was rumored that Bat Carr had been killed in Texas. The *Caldwell Journal*, August 30, 1883, said: "A report comes to us to the effect that Bat Carr, formerly marshal of this city, was recently killed in one of the border towns of Texas. The report lacks confirmation, still it is possibly correct."

But Bat Carr was very much alive:

BAT CARR HEARD FROM.

DALLAS, TEXAS, Sept 7, 1883.

ED. JOURNAL:—I notice in the local columns of the JOURNAL of the 30th, ult., a paragraph setting forth that Bat Carr, former city marshal of Caldwell, had been killed in one of the border towns of Texas. This short message from Bat himself will suffice to deny the report; and through the columns of your valuable paper let me extend to the citizens of Caldwell my kindest regards and well wishes for their future prosperity; through life will I cherish in memory the fond recollections of my sojourn in your little city. When the JOURNAL is returned, marked by the P. M., "Not taken," then you may suspect the correctness of a like report.

Respectfully, BAT CARR.⁵

1. See the section on Henry Brown for reprints of these two articles. 2. See, also, the *Caldwell Commercial*, July 13, 1882. 3. See, also, *ibid.*, October 12, 1882. 4. *Caldwell Post*, *Caldwell Commercial*, December 28, 1882. 5. *Caldwell Journal*, September 13, 1883.

CARSON, THOMAS

(—-—-)

Tom Carson was temporarily appointed to the police force of Abilene during that town's last trail-driving season. The marshal of Abilene then was Wild Bill Hickok. On June 14, 1871, the city clerk of Abilene recorded Carson's appointment in these words: "Thomas Carson appointed as policeman pro tem with the understanding that he should be appointed regularly his pay dating from the time he commenced work."¹

Carson was appointed a regular member of the force on June 23, 1871.² In less than a week he was in trouble with the city authorities over a difficulty he had with fellow policeman J. H. McDonald. The official records of the city carry this entry dated June 28, 1871:

The Hon Mayor of the City of Abilene. You are hereby requested to call on the evening of the 28th day of June 1871. For the purpose of investigating a certain affray occurring between Thomas Carson and J. H. McDonald policeman of said City on the 28th day of June A. D. 1871. "Signed"

J. A Gauthie

S. H Burroughs

J. A Smith

Dr Boudinot

Samuel Carpenter [members of the city council].

Whereupon it is hereby ordered by J. A. Gauthie acting president that a Meeting be held on said evening. On Motion the Council proceed to make an investigation as aforesaid. J H McDonald Thomas Carson Jessee Moon. Thomas & Craiman were duly sworn to make true statements in regard to said controversy. The Council after having heard the testimony moved that the said officers be sent forth again to their duty, after being first reprimanded by the President (Carried) J. A. Gauthie then proceeded to advise the officers & to admonish them that if brought up again they would be discharged. . . .³

While Abilene was having its last cattle driving season in 1871, Newton, a new town sired by the Santa Fe railroad in Harvey county, was having its first. And it was in Newton that Thomas Carson next showed up as a police officer.

Born in March, the town of Newton was a lusty, brawling adolescent in August. By then it was reported that ten "dance" houses were running full blast and three more were under construction. One writer said:

. . . I have been in a good many towns but Newton is the fastest one I have ever seen. Here you may see young girls not over sixteen drinking whisky, smoking cigars, cursing and swearing until one almost loses the respect they should have for the weaker sex, I heard one of their townsmen say that he didn't believe there were a dozen virtuous women in town. This speaks well for a town claiming 1,500 inhabitants. He further told me if I had any money that I would not be safe with it here. It is a common expression that they have a man every morning for breakfast.⁴

Early Sunday morning, August 20, 1871, Newton suffered a gun battle which left nine men dead or wounded. Referred to by many as "Newton's General Massacre," it was described in *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth* of Topeka, August 22, 1871:

NEWTON.

MORE WHOLESALE BUTCHERY.

THREE MEN KILLED.

SEVERAL WOUNDED.

While at Newton, a few days ago, we were informed that inasmuch as a man had been killed there on the morning of the day of our arrival, a week would probably elapse ere another killing scrape would occur; that usually after a killing in that town no events of any moment, saving an occasional head breaking or an unimportant stabbing affray, occurred for a week or so. That information was correct for just a week sped by before a season of bloodshed and slaughter was again inaugurated. On Sunday (which is the devil's favorite day for big operations in that town) last, the demon of discord was again let loose, and riot, blood and murder was rampart to an unusual degree. It seems as if the week of respite had sharpened the appetite of the devil and given him additional vigor and disposition to riot in a carnival of blood. The following particulars are furnished us by an eye witness:

Ever since the shooting affair between McCluskie and the Texas man,

Bailey, which resulted in the death of the latter, a great dissatisfaction has been not only felt but expressed on the part of Texas men and "war" was declared to the bitter end against McCluskie should he ever again venture to put in his appearance in the town. But as the natural result of all such broils, McCluskie was to come and McCluskie did come and McCluskie saw but did not conquer. The affair started at one of the dance houses about 2 o'clock A. M. on Sunday morning. McCluskie was warned that his life was in peril, but thinking himself proof against powder and ball, scorned the warning and went into the dance to come out a dead man. A great many shots were exchanged before any serious damage was done.

John Martin, a Texan, was the first man killed and the only one that was killed instantly, and he received an accidental shot as he was trying to effect a reconciliation between the parties. Martin was a general favorite among all the boys and was called "good natured Martin." McCluskie received three wounds, any one of which would probably have proved fatal. He only live[d] a few hours. Since he died, another wounded Texan has died whose name we did not learn. Two railroad men were hit by chance shots, who were not in the muss at all but were hit by shots intended for others. One was a foreman on the track named Hickey. He was shot through the calf of the leg making only a flesh wound; the other was a brakeman on the freight train named Pat Lee; who was wounded quite seriously through the abdomen. Three men are now dead. Six others were wounded, and some of them quite seriously. One Billy Garrett, a Texas man, was shot in the arm, and it is thought, was internally injured by some blow. He lies in a very critical state, and is not expected to live. Many are inclined to blame the Texas men for all the trouble, but it is the opinion of our informant that others are just as much to blame as they are, and that in very many instances more so. How all this will end is a problem that must yet be solved. It seems to be a great mistake that a town can only be incorporated and get an organization in the three first months of the year, as something seems to be quite necessary in Newton—a good efficient police force and a set of officers that mean business and will take some measures to make it safe for people to walk the streets. It is worse than "Tim Finnegan's wake."

Since the foregoing was in type we received at 11 P. M. yesterday, by the night train on the A. T. & S. F. R. R., the following full and graphic account of the Newton tragedy, from the pen of a correspondent of the *N. Y. World*. We publish it to the exclusion of our usual variety of local matter, knowing that it will be read with interest by our readers:

NEWTON, Aug. 21, 1871.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

The air of Newton is tainted with the hot steam of human blood. Murder, "most foul and unnatural," has again stained the pages of her short history, and the brand of Cain has stamped its crimson characters on the foreheads of men with horrible frequency.

The cessation of travel on the railroad and the want of telegraphic communication from this town on the Sabbath, have prevented the data contained in this letter from reaching you until the present date; but with the exception

of a single dispatch transmitted yesterday to the mother of McCluskie in St. Louis, announcing his death, no particulars have passed on the wires, and your readers will consequently have as prompt and complete a narrative of the tragedy of Sunday morning as is possible under the circumstances.

Your exhaustive and highly graphic article of a few days since, in which Newton, and particularly that part of it known as "Hide Park," appeared as the central figure, created a flutter of excitement in this community, and, notwithstanding the caustic, even stern criticisms on the general looseness of morals and disregard of both state and municipal laws, the almost unanimous verdict was that it was "true, temperate and unbiased." Nay, more than that: the wish has been loudly and earnestly expressed that the Editor of the COMMONWEALTH had been an eye witness of the tragedy in order that, with its horrible features ever fresh in his recollection, his indignant pen might be persuaded to cut still deeper into the rottenness which underlies and pervades the social and political system of Newton. I may be pardoned for the statement that the opportunity is yet a golden one, and for the hope that it will not be thrown away.

It will be remembered that about ten days since a Texas desperado by the name of Baylor, a man who is reputed to have killed at least two men in drunken brawls, met his death while murderously assaulting one McCluskie, lately in the employ of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. The common belief is, and the probabilities are, that McCluskie fired the fatal shot; whether true or not, however, such was the impression that obtained among the Texas men, nearly all of whom in this vicinity, are cattle owners or drivers. These latter are a large and distinctive element of the population, and though generally of a rough and forbidding exterior, still show some sterling qualities of character; standing by one another with a dogged obstinacy that might be called chivalrous, were it not so often exercised in a bad cause. The deceased was popular among his fellows. Good natured, generous, dangerous only when maddened by liquor, his bad qualities were forgotten and Texas sympathy was oblivious to ought but what endeared him to them. Sympathy, strengthened by bad counsels, intensified itself into rage; rage feeding on itself, verged into revenge; revenge, muttered and whispered and finally outspoken, culminated in murder. Of murder we have now to deal. It was past midnight. The moon had sought her couch, and the stars alone were nature's watchers. Away out on the prairie from among a cluster of low-roofed houses, twinkled lights and issued sounds of revelry and mirth. The town was buried in repose and naught animate was visible save an occasional pedestrian, hurrying home or the ghostly outline of a distant horseman returning to his camp.

To the casual looker-on, the scene was bewitching; bewitching through its quietness and natural beauty; bewitching through its *promise* of quiet and rest. Of a sudden, however, the scene changes. Groups of men walking hastily and conversing in low, hurried tones, are seen approaching the town along the road leading to the place where the lights still twinkle and the sound of mirth flows on unbroken.

Of what are they talking?

"There will be a fracas to-night, boys, and Mac is a dead man," says one, a heavily bearded man, around whom his companions cluster in respectful attention. "Texas is on the rampage to-night in dead earnest, and before

morning there will be lively music over yonder," pointing with his thumb to the place they had just left. "We haven't more than quit in time. I would have told Mac, but they were watching me, and I didn't get a chance."

Another group crosses the railroad track and pauses to look back. "I shouldn't wonder but what there will be shooting at Perry's before long," remarks one. "I know it," says another; "and I," "and I," so echo the rest. "The boys have sworn to kill McCluskie, and they are going to do it to-night; You see, if they don't," says a bushy-haired man, with two revolvers in his belt, and a huge bowie knife protruding from his shirt front. These were Texans, who knew what was on foot, but who by their criminal silence, have made themselves "accessories before the fact."

Still groups and stragglers came along the road, the majority talking in the same vein, and nearly all actuated by the one motive of self preservation. They wanted to take no risk of chance bullets, and they hurried away. But did any one try to avert the impending danger? No, not one. "It's no business of mine," was the common sentiment. "Every one for himself, and the devil for the hindmost." "I'm sorry, but it can't be helped."

A walk of a few moments brings us to the dance houses, one kept by Perry Tuttle, and another, the Alamo, by E. P. Crum. They are but thirty yards apart, and around them are the other houses, built and used for purposes which the reader can divine without unnecessary explanation. Women are the attraction and—. The grass is stubbed and yellow hereabouts, and dim lanes, worn by the feet of customers, radiate in every direction. Men are continually crossing from one house to the other to seek occasionally a change of music, but oftener a fresh partner. The proprietors of these houses are all men who have many friends, and who by their personal qualities are universally popular. Quiet, never intoxicated, and generous to a fault, their constant aim has been to keep quiet and orderly establishments; and they or their employees have always suppressed any signs of tumult or disorder immediately on their inception. It must be said, to their credit, that no disturbance would ever occur could their efforts quell it. One of the houses, the Alamo, had closed shortly after midnight. The music had been discharged, and business for the night was over. In the other house the dance was prolonged until after 1 o'clock, when, the crowd thinning out, the proprietor gave the signal for closing.

Now begins the tragedy. The victim was ready and the sacrificial priests stood waiting to receive him. The victim was Mike McCluskie, or, as he afterwards on his deathbed stated his name to be, Arthur Delaney. The priests were all Texans, Hugh Anderson, Solado, Belle county, Texas; Jim Martin, Refugio, Texas; Wm. Garrett, Solado, Texas; Henry Kearnes, Texas, Jim Wilkerson, Kentucky, and J. C. U., Solado, Texas. One of the priests sat talking to the victim with the evident intention of distracting his attention in order to allow one of the order to give the death blow. The order stood back watching, and waiting for the entrance of the high priest, their eyes roving alternately from the victim to the door. The high priest enters, and striding along the room, confronts his victims and begins the death song. His weapon is in his hand, with death looking grimly from its muzzle. His words come hot and hissing, beginning low and rising with his passion until they are shrieked out with demoniacal force. "You are a cowardly s-n of a b—h! I will blow the top of your head off", are the words that fall from his lips, at the same time the hammer falls, and a ball goes crashing through the neck of the victim.

The latter rises partially to his feet and presenting his weapon full at the breast of his adversary, presses the trigger. Malediction! The cap hangs fire, and the victim, bathed in his own blood, but still discharging his weapon, falls to the floor. The high priest now gives the death stroke and reaching over, again taps the fountain of life by sending another bullet through the back of the prostrate man. The work is done, that is partially.

As the leader rises to his feet, the attendant priests discharge their weapons. Whether they found another victim, no one can say. Murder has already accomplished its mission, and the days of McCluskie are numbered. But there is an avenging Nemesis on the track. A stalwart figure suddenly appears on the scene. For an instant he remains motionless, as if studying the situation. Then a sheet of flame vomits forth, apparently from his hand, and a Texan staggers from the room across the area and falls dead at the door of the "Alamo." Another and another and another shot follows, until six men, all priests, have bowed to his prowess.⁵

There were others injured, one, Patrick Lee, a brakesman on the railroad, who was a quiet and inoffensive looker on, shot through the bowels, and another, Hickey, a shoveler on the same road, wounded in the leg.

There was work enough for the doctors. The only two in town were immediately summoned. They were Drs. Gaston and Boyd, and they were untiring in their professional efforts.

By the time they arrived, the dead man, Martin, had been taken into the Alamo, where he lay saturated with his own blood. McCluskie had been taken upstairs as soon as he was shot. Both dance houses were turned into hospitals. The dying and wounded have received every care and attention. The women nursed them with touching assiduity and tenderness. The floors and sides of both halls were everywhere sprinkled with blood, and the gory stains yet remain. The magistrate of Newton declares his intention to suppress all dance houses in the future. Many question his authority to do so, but the citizens will nearly all support him in case a demonstration is made to that effect. Coroner C. S. Bowman held an inquest over the remains of Martin and McCluskie yesterday morning, and a verdict was returned that Martin came to his death at the hands of some person unknown, and that McCluskie came to his death at 8 o'clock a. m., this 20th day of August, by a shot from a pistol in the hands of Hugh Anderson, and that the said shooting was done feloniously and with intent to kill McCluskie. A warrant was accordingly issued and served by Marshal Harry Nevill upon Anderson. It is ascertained what will be the fate of some of the wounded men. Two at least, it is thought, will die. The following is a list of the names of the sufferers in the fracas: Arthur Delaney, St. Louis, neck, back and leg, dead. Jim Martin, neck, dead. Hugh Anderson, high priest, thigh and leg, doing fairly. Patrick Lee, bowels, critical. Jim Wilkerson, nose, slight. — leg, slight. — Hickey, leg, slight. Henry Kearnes, right breast, fatal. William Garrett, shoulder and breast, fatal.

Last evening, some of the Texans having made threats that they would kill Tom Carson, a nephew of the late Kit Carson, if he were appointed on the police, a large number of the citizens went about thoroughly armed to preserve the peace. No disturbance arose, however, and never is likely to arise, as the number of law abiding citizens is fully equal to that of the desperadoes,

and the latter unless they think they have an overwhelming majority, will never initiate a disturbance.

By to-morrow's mail I hope to be able to send you further particulars.

ALLEGRO.

In the *Abilene Chronicle's* report of the affair, August 24, 1871, it was stated that Mike McCluskie had been appointed to the Newton police force after the shooting of Bailey. The *Chronicle* also included this paragraph on Carson's appointment:

On Monday evening last threats were made, by many desperadoes, that in case Tom Carson, late a policeman in Abilene, was placed upon the police force, that they would kill him. He was, however, appointed a police officer, and that evening patrolled his allotted beat as unmolested as if he were in Abilene, no disturbance whatever occurring.

Further news appeared in the *Commonwealth* on August 23, 1871:

THE NEWTON TRAGEDY.

DEATH OF THREE MORE VICTIMS.

SIX DEATHS IN ALL.

From passengers on the night train of the Santa Fe railroad, who arrived at Topeka last evening, we learn that three more persons who were wounded during the murderous affray at Newton on Sunday morning last, died yesterday. Lee, the brakeman on the Santa Fe railroad, was one of the unfortunate victims. His body arrived on the train last night and will be buried in Topeka to-day.

This is the most terrible tragedy that has ever occurred in Kansas during civil times. It is a burning shame and disgrace to Kansas, and measures should at once be adopted to prevent a repetition. It will be remembered that Newton has no municipal government, and then it is dependent upon its township authorities for protection. As they are inadequate to govern such a lawless and reckless class as predominates in that town, we believe it would be an act of humanity for the military branch of the government to take possession of it and control it until a civil organization can be formed, and in which there is strength enough to offer protection to its people. Let us have no more of such sickening and shocking tragedies.

On August 27, 1871, the *Commonwealth* reported some progress toward the enforcement of law in Newton:

NEWTON

"AFTER THE BATTLE"—A DODGE TO SECURE
ANDERSON'S ESCAPE—CONDITION OF THE
WOUNDED. . . . "QUIET REIGNS IN WARSAW"
—THE HATCHET BURIED BETWEEN THE "LONG HORNS"
AND "SHORT HORNS"—THE DESPERADOES
"VAMOOSSED"—SAFETY OF LIFE IN NEWTON
—NO SOLDIERS WANTED—A CALABOOSE
ERECTED—ORGANIZATION OF A CITY GOVERN-
MENT—A TOWN HOUSE. CHURCH AND
SCHOOL HOUSE TO BE ERCTED.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

The wave of agitation set in motion by the late terrible tragedy at "Hide Park" has not yet spent its force, although the oil of peace has been freely poured forth, and the clouds of danger have dissipated and scattered, and left the horizon once more clear and bright. The "seven day's excitement," which the popular saying attaches to everything which runs out of the ordinary groove of every day experience, and which partakes of a morbidly interesting nature, has yet to run its course, and the dead and the wounded, and the incidents which led to their condition, are as freely, though more calmly discussed, as they were on the morning of the day of the tragedy.

In my first letter I stated that a warrant had been served on Hugh Anderson for the murder of Delaney. This turns out to be partially incorrect. A warrant was filled out and handed to the marshal, but in the condition in which the wounded man then was it was not deemed advisable to serve it, as any unusual excitement (it was going out) would prove fatal. This proved to be simply a dodge to get Anderson out of the way, for three nights since he was secretly removed from town, and it has been impossible to ascertain his whereabouts. Some say he has been taken to Kansas City or St. Louis, while others are positive that he is now in the Indian territory. If the latter surmise be correct, he is far from being safe from arrest, as a United States marshal can serve the warrant at any moment, and cause him to be brought back to trial. There have but four men died of those who were wounded. Lee and Garrett were buried on successive days. Anderson's wounds will no doubt prove fatal, and Kearnes is in a very critical situation. The others are doing well, and will shortly be about. . . .

All parties, and particularly the Texans, who own at least a third of the town, are keen and unyielding in the determination to preserve peace and the majesty of the law. A meeting was held a few days since, at which it was resolved to bury all past difficulties, and to appoint a police force composed of Texas men and Newtonians. It departed amid a burst of enthusiasm and good feeling, which showed how sincere was the common wish for, and the determination to, maintain a peaceable, law-abiding town. The few desperadoes who have been in the habit of making their neighbors uncomfortable by a bravo display of pistols and knives, have wisely taken to the prairie, and an ordinance is published and rigidly carried out which disarms any and all persons who may be found carrying dangerous weapons within the township of Newton. There has been considerable talk about the propriety of applying for a company of soldiers with which to keep order. The suggestion is by no means a necessary one. Ten days ago it might have been well timed, but with the increase of the police force by the appointment of five deputies, the town may be considered as able to protect itself. By to-morrow evening a calaboose will have been erected, capable of containing any reasonable number of prisoners. There has been nothing of the kind heretofore. Judge Muse, who seems to be the head and front of the peace movement, declares that the history of Newton is now to begin afresh. Who will not rejoice to hear of it?

Last evening a mass meeting of the citizens was held to take steps to form a city government. Another meeting will be held to-night to nominate candidates. The offices to be filled are those of mayor, police judge, marshal and

five councilmen. All persons now living here, who intend to locate or remain for a reasonable length of time, will be permitted to vote. The election takes place to-morrow, when, undoubtedly, a heavy vote will be polled. Steps are also being taken to raise the necessary funds to build a town house, church and school house.

ALLEGRO.

Since writing the above, at an informal meeting of some of the principal citizens, the following ticket was put in nomination: For mayor, Mr. Spivey; for councilmen, Messrs. Steele, Cunningham, Gregory, Dow, Hurd; for police judge, J. J. Baker, the present justice of the peace; for sheriffs, Tom Carson and C. B. King.

NEWTON, August 25.

Both Carson and King were hired, but in exactly what category is not certain. The following article in *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, September 28, 1871, reported King a "deputy sheriff" and Carson as "acting constable":

NEWTON.

THE CARNIVAL OF BLOOD—THE ASSASSIN
STILL AT WORK—MURDER OF OFFICER
C. B. KING.

NEWTON, Sept. 27, 1871.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

A several day's absence on a buffalo hunt, from which I have but just returned, has prevented me from mailing you the details of the murder of Deputy Sheriff King on Saturday last. Your readers are already acquainted with the fact of his death. A few particulars may, perhaps, be found sufficiently interesting to warrant a perusal, and I give them, apologizing in the outset for the *bous trophedon* style of description.

The coroner's jury rendered this verdict: That C. B. King came to his death by a pistol wound inflicted by one Thomas Edwards, and that the shooting was done feloniously and with intent to kill.

On Saturday evening last, about ten o'clock, Officer King, in accordance with the requirements of the law, discovered Edwards while the latter was in one of the dance houses. As he met with some resistance, Tom Carson, an acting constable, stepped to King's assistance, and leveling his revolver ordered him with an oath to "throw up his hands." The pistol was then given up and Edwards was released. Carson returned to Newton while King remained on the premises. Some two hours later, as King was standing outside of the door, in the same fated area which drank the blood of Martin and others of the victims of the Sunday morning horror of a month ago, Edwards approached him and placing a Derringer close to his breast, fired, the ball lodging near the heart. King staggered into the house, exclaiming "Who shot me?" and immediately fell over on his arm. His friends caught him and the blood gushed from his mouth in a thick, black stream, and a moment later he was dead. Edwards fled and has not since been seen.

Thus perished Officer King, than whom there was no better gentleman nor truer friend, and no more respected man in Newton. Thus does the red hand of the assassin continue to do its bloody work, for the taking of King's life is

known to have been a premeditated act,—plotted by others and accomplished by Edwards.

Newton is tremendous with excitement and indignation over it. The officers of the law say they are on the lookout for the murderer and his accomplices, but no one as yet has been arrested, and, if the chances be properly weighed, no one in all probability will be arrested. Cannot Topeka send us a couple of detectives who will do their duty fearlessly and vigilantly? Brute force without sagacity is plenty enough here, but we want men who possess both.

The funeral of King took place on Monday, and was largely attended. Business houses generally closed during the funeral ceremonies.

The man who was accidentally shot by Edwards during his scuffle with King, is doing well, the ball having entered the fleshy part of the thigh.

ALLEGRO.

By November, 1871, Carson was back in Abilene and on the police force again. "On motion Tom Carson and 'Brocky Jack' [John Norton?] were allowed fifty dollars each for police duty, and the same ordered paid," wrote the city clerk in the minute book of Abilene's city council, November 4, 1871 (p. 99).

The Junction City *Union*, November 25, 1871, reported that "A shooting affair occurred at Abilene, during the fore part of the week, which resulted in the wounding of John Man, a bar tender, at the hands of Tom. Carson, who was acting as policeman at the time. It is said the shot was fired without provocation. Man was struck somewhere about the hip, and is slowly recovering."

On November 27, 1871, the city clerk made this entry in the minute book (p. 105): "On Motion City Marshall be instructed to discharge Thomas Carson & Brocky Jack from off Police force from & after this 27th day of Nov 1871 (Carried)."

1. "City Council Minute Book," Records of the City of Abilene, p. 70. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 69. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 74. 4. *Wichita Tribune*, August 24, 1871. 5. The identity of the *Commonwealth's* "avenging Nemesis" remains unknown to the compilers of this sketch. Though most latter-day authors call him Jim Riley, a youthful and "consumptive" friend of McCluskie's, no contemporary source has been found which identified him further than did the *Commonwealth*. Thus one of the West's better marksmen—who moved in and mowed 'em down—goes un-sung, and the questions "where did he come from?", "who was he?", and "where did he go?", apparently went unanswered in the contemporary records.

CHIPMAN, CLARK E.

(1856?—)

On June 10, 1882, the mayor and council of Dodge City appointed an entirely new police force. Peter W. Beamer was named marshal, C. E. Chipman, assistant, and Lee Harlan, policeman. "The appointment of the new police force will give general satisfaction. They are sober and honest men, and will no doubt discharge their duties faithfully and satisfactorily," wrote the editor of the Dodge City *Times*, June 15, 1882.¹

The same day he was appointed assistant marshal, the 26-year-old Chipman, in his concurrent role as township constable, captured a wanted man after a grueling chase. The *Times*, June 15, 1882, reported:

C. E. Chipman, Constable, had quite an adventure after a prisoner on Saturday last. The man was charged with a State offense, but eluded the vigilance of the officers. Constable Chipman pursued his man over the prairie, never relaxing his speed until opposite Ryan's ranch, 18 miles down the river, having in the meantime changed horses. At this point the Constable "rounded up" the man in short order. The prisoner was brought to this city, and after paying a fine was released. On the route Constable Chipman lost some money and valuables from his pockets, together with the "using up," of the horses, did not compensate him; but he has the proud satisfaction of having done his duty, well and faithfully, but at the sacrifice of some loss and a few injured limbs of his own body, caused by the excessive ride. The distance traveled was about 55 miles. This should be a warning to evil doers in Dodge township. Constable Chipman is an officer who will follow his man until the last horse is run down.

In July, 1882, Jack Bridges replaced Beamer as city marshal but Chipman remained in the number two position. Harlan was relieved in September, leaving only the marshal and assistant on the force.

The Dodge City police did not make the local press again until the outbreak of the "Dodge City War" in the spring of 1883. Chipman was involved since he was on the police force, but the Luke Short faction considered him one of the chief instigators of the plot to oust the little gambler. At least one source believed the refusal of Mayor L. E. Deger to dismiss him, as W. H. Harris (Luke Short's partner in the Long Branch saloon) had requested, was a prime cause of the trouble.² The Dodge City war and the part played by Clark Chipman may be found in the section on Luke Short.

About the first of June, 1883, Chipman was replaced by Mysterious Dave Mather and reduced to the rank of policeman. His subsequent dismissal provoked an indignant letter published in the *Ford County Globe*, July 17, 1883:

DODGE CITY, KAS., July 12, 1813 [1883].

EDITOR GLOBE.—Why was C. E. Chipman put off of the police force. A man that was as good an officer as ever was on the force, and the only man that had any interest in the city, the only officer that pays a cent of taxes. Why is it that the Mayor and Council puts on Tom Dick and Harry, men that are imported in here from other countries. There are citizens here that would like to have it and would give just as good satisfaction as men from Colorado and New Mexico. There are men here that are citizens, have families and are property owners that would like to have it at a reasonable salary per month. It is a shame and a disgrace on the citizens at Ford County and at Dodge City

to pay men one hundred and fifty dollars per month, when our own men would do it for the same. Now let their be a warning to tax payers at this city and at the next city election elect a man that is a property owner and a citizen, and a man that will work to the interest of our community. Look at the condition of our town. Has there been any reform about which Deger puffed and blowed so much? An ignorant man is not competent to tell what to do. That is what is the matter with our mayor.

As we stated above the only tax payer on the force was put off and what was he put off for? No one knows. There is not any one that can say a harmful word of him and he is a man that has always done his duty, always could be found at any time and as good a lawabiding citizen as there is in our city.

He is the only officer that got out and worked for the Deger ticket, and the way he has been treated is a shame. If he has done anything to be discharged for, why don't the Mayor and Council investigate it.

CITIZEN AND TAXPAYER,

As well as a former Deger supporter.

The exact end date of Chipman's police services has not been determined. He was paid \$40.00 for June service and \$50.00 for "special services in July."³ His name does not appear on subsequent salary lists.

On July 31, 1883, the *Globe* published this letter in answer to the questions put by the "citizen and tax payer":

DODGE CITY, July 26, 1883.

EDITOR GLOBE:

The "former Deger supporter's" able letter and pertinent questions as to the whys and wherefores of Clark Chipman's removal as assistant marshal are to the initiated easily understood. Here it is. In 1876, Deger being marshal, arrested a man named Blake and placed him in the same cell of the calaboose with Ferguson, Henderson and Boyle, three horse thieves since hung. This against the remonstrance of Blake, who begged him to place him somewhere else, telling him they (F., H. and B.) would surely kill him. The autocratic Deger "didn't care a d——," and in fifteen minutes Blake's yells brought aid, when Blake was found with one eye cut out by the use of a jack knife, and nearly dead from kicks and stabs. Blake sued the city, who employed four attorneys to aid Mr. Colburn, city attorney, whereupon Judge Peters held that the city was not liable, but that the marshal was the wrong doer. The great Deger being at that time totally worthless (financially) no suit was brought.

All this was known to Clark Chipman, and right here comes the gist of Clark's removal. A few days after the scepter of absolute power as Mayor had been clutched by his Greatness, and while he was preparing to remove to his castle OUTSIDE OF THE CITY OF DODGE CITY, (see Dass. Stat., chapter 19, article 1, Sec. 12, page 188,) and where he now resides contrary to said Statute, meeting Clark upon the street, Deger in manner and voice imitating our idea of the Czar of Russia, ordered Clark to "immediately throw that d—— [D. M.] Frost [editor of the *Ford County Globe*] into the calaboose." Chipman knew he must either be cognizant of an offense having been committed or have a warrant, and he so told his royal highness,—it was

enough. Clark was dismissed and taught "not to contend with the Spirits of Heaven," and learned that this was an absolute majority, whose gratitude for favors closed with the closing of the polls, and whose election meant "pap for my supporters and persecution for those who differed with me and my clam."

JUSTICE.

On August 30, 1883, Chipman was listed by the Dodge City *Times* as being a member of the Glick Guards, a militia unit of Dodge City. Many of the Luke Short faction in the recent troubles were also listed as members.

Chipman, as a special deputy sheriff, aided Sheriff Pat Sughrue in taking a prisoner to court in Larned in January, 1884. (*See the section on Sughrue.*) This was the last mention found of C. E. Chipman as a police officer.

1. *See, also, the Ford County Globe*, June 13, 1882. 2. *Daily Kansas State Journal*, May 17, 1883. 3. *Ford County Globe*, July 17, August 14, 1883.

CODY, WILLIAM FREDERICK

(1846-1917)

William F. Cody received only occasional mention in the pages of Kansas newspapers in the 1860's. One of the earliest notices found, provided the "Buffalo Bill" mentioned was Buffalo Bill Cody—and not William M. "Buffalo Bill" Mathewson, who is reputed to be the original "Buffalo Bill"—appeared in the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, November 26, 1867. A hunting excursion had taken several Ohio and eastern Kansas gentlemen to Fort Hays where on Friday, November 22, they embarked on a buffalo chase. "Much anxiety was created on Saturday night by the non-arrival of Judge Corwin, who had strayed from the party on Friday. On Sunday, Lieut. Kennedy, of Co. G, 5th cavalry, with a party of his men, and Buffalo Bill, with fifteen or twenty citizens volunteered to go out and look for him," reported the *Conservative*. "After a long ride the latter named party, found the lost man about five miles from the fort, nearly starved and almost exhausted."

On January 11, 1868, the *Conservative* printed this item from the Hays City *Advance*:

Buffalo and elk meat is as plenty as cranberries in Michigan or shad in Connecticut, and as cheap.

Bill Cody and "Brigham" [his horse] started on a hunt Saturday afternoon, and came in Tuesday. The result was nineteen buffalo. Bill brought in over four thousand pounds of meat, which he sold for seven cents per pound, making about \$100 per day for his time out.

The Lawrence *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, February 20, 1868, reported:

At Hays City considerable anxiety exists in regard to the safety of a party of the citizens who were out buffalo hunting. There were ten in all in the company, among whom were George and Henry Field, brothers of Mr. Samuel Field, of this city, and Mr. Parks, the traveling correspondent of the Journal, all under the direction of Cody, the noted guide and hunter. They left Hays ten days since, and were to return on Friday last, but have not been heard of since. Fears are expressed that they have been captured or killed by the Indians, who have shown decided symptoms of hostility of late. Some efforts are being made toward organizing a party to go in search of them.

The Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, March 5, 1868, again borrowed from the *Advance*: "Bill Cody has made a match to run the Brigham pony ninety miles in twelve hours. Brigham is to 'tote' 175 pounds, and the race is to come off next month."

Cody and Wild Bill Hickok visited Topeka on official business in March, according to the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, April 2, 1868:

BAND OF ROAD MEN CAPTURED—W. F. Cody, government detective, and Wm. Haycock—Wild Bill—deputy U. S. Marshal, brought eleven prisoners and lodged them in our calaboose on Monday last. These prisoners belonged to a band of robbers having their headquarters on the Solomon and near Trinidad, and were headed by one Major Smith, once connected with the Kansas 7th. They are charged with stealing and secreting government property, and desertion from the army.

Seventeen men, belonging to this same band, were captured eleven miles from Trinidad, on the 13th March, and sent to Denver, Colorado Territory, for trial.

One other newspaper item has been found concerning a long disputed phase in the career of Buffalo Bill Cody and though far removed from Kansas it is worthy of being reprinted here. The *Ellis County Star*, Hays, August 3, 1876, carried the story in the form of a correspondent's letter:

THE BLACK HILLS.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD OF OPERATIONS.

FT. LARAMIE, July 22d, 1876.

EDITOR STAR:

Again I find time to send you a few lines regarding our trip. Since my last our time has been occupied by scouting over the country lying between this point and the Black Hills. . . . On the morning of the 17th two men of "C" company overtook us, bearing dispatches to Col. Merritt, who was down the creek about five miles. They pushed on, but had not gone more than a mile when we saw a large body of mounted men on a ridge east of us. At first we took them to be a portion of our command, but soon discovered that they were Indians. The two companies of Infantry that were

with us tumbled out of the wagons remarkably lively and took their places beside them.

Three or four Indians started out on a run to cut off the dispatch bearers. They had not seen the command, and were not aware that we were in that vicinity; but Bill Cody and his scouts were watching them, and when he saw what they [were] up to, he thought that several more might play at the same game. He then got around the Indians and when they felt sure of the couriers Cody raised up from behind a little hill and shot the pony of one of the redskins. Then starting after his victim he soon had him killed and his scalp off. As soon as he fired the command charged and after a run of three miles killed three more and wounded five. Taking two days rations we pushed on after the Indians and run them right into Red Cloud Agency. Private Seffers of "D" company was hurt by the falling of his horse down an embankment, being the only person injured during the entire trip.

The Indian killed by Buffalo Bill proved to be Yellow Hand, a sub-war chief of the Southern Cheyennes. He was leading a band of 75 warriors to Sitting Bull's army. . . .

COUNCELL, J. L.

(———)

The Ellsworth *Reporter*, in its directory of city officers, listed J. L. Councell as city marshal from its first appearance on June 6, 1872, through August 15. Issues of the *Reporter* for May 30 and August 22 are missing from the files of the State Historical Society.

Councell may have been marshal of Ellsworth when this article appeared in the *Reporter*, May 16, 1872:

FEMALE POLITICIAN.—The other morning we witnessed the Marshall and assistant arguing a point with a woman. The point in dispute seemed to be the proper way to go to the cooler. The Marshall insisted on her walking and she insisted on being carried. As is always the way the women came out victorious. Drunk was no name for it.

Ellsworth's first shooting of the 1872 cattle season occurred while Councell was marshal of the town. The *Reporter*, August 1, 1872, published the story:

THE FIRST SHOT!

TWO MEN WOUNDED, NO ONE KILLED.

Ellsworth, which has been remarkably quiet this season, had its first shooting affair this season last Saturday at about six o'clock, at the Ellsworth Billiard saloon. The room was full of "money changers" at the time, busily at work, and lookers on intently watching the games. Among others I. P. Olive was seated at a table playing cards. All of a sudden a shot was heard and sooner than we can write it, four more shots were fired. Kennedy came into the room, went behind the bar and taking a revolver walked up in front of Olive and fired at him—telling him "to pass in his checks." Olive threw up his hands exclaiming "don't shoot."—The second, third and fourth shot took effect,

one entering the groin and making a bad wound, one in the thigh and the other in the hand.

Olive could not fire, though he was armed; but some one, it seems a little uncertain who, fired at Kennedy, hitting him in the hip, making only a flesh wound. The difficulty arose from a game of cards in the forenoon, Kennedy accusing Olive of unfair dealing. Olive replying in language that professionals cannot bear. The affair made considerable excitement. The wounded were taken in custody and cared for. Drs. Duck & Fox extracted the bullet from Olive and a piece of his gold chain which was shot into the wound. It was feared that Olive would not survive, but the skill of the doctors save[d] him. Kennedy was removed to South Main street and put under the charge of three policemen, but by the aid of friends he escaped during the night from the window and has not since been heard of.

All has been quiet since the affair and is likely to remain so.

In the same issue the *Reporter* said: "Eight policemen are taking care of this city."

On August 8, 1872, the *Reporter* told of a disagreement within the city administration: "Our city officers can't agree on a marshal. The Mayor appointed Mr. Councell but the councilmen will not confirm him. Meanwhile we have peace and order."

By September 19, 1872, the *Reporter* was carrying the name of Edward Hogue as city marshal.

CRAWFORD, ED

(—-1873)

The murder of Sheriff Chauncey B. Whitney, August 15, 1873, inaugurated a series of shootings and killings in Ellsworth which did not end until nearly three months had passed.

The first of these affairs occurred on August 20 and was recorded in the *Ellsworth Reporter*, August 21, 1873:

ANOTHER TRAGEDY.

CAD PIERCE KILLED BY A POLICEMAN.

Yesterday about four o'clock the citizens of Ellsworth were startled at the report of two pistol shots. In a moment there was a large crowd in front of J. Beebe's store, and it was ascertained that Cad Pierce was shot. The report was true. The excitement of course, was great. Pierce was a leader of the Thompson element and upheld and defended them in all the disturbances they have made. While the police were out searching for the murderer of Whitney, it was Cad Pierce who offered \$1,000 reward for the capture [murder] of the whole police force. We have interviewed the city marshal, Mr. Hogue, who gives the following particulars:

"John Good, Neil Kane and Cad Pierce came up to me and said they heard by certain parties that I had given Happy Jack [Morco] papers, ordering them to leave the town. I told Cad Pierce that it was no such a thing, that he ought to

know better. He then told me to come with him, that he wanted to give Happy Jack a talking to and he wanted me to go with him. I told him that I would not do it, for there had been too much talk already. Ed. Crawford was standing in the crowd; he said yes, a d--m sight too much talk; and he said, bad talk on your side. Crawford asked what did you say yesterday when you had that shot gun in your hands? You said this gun had killed one short horn son of a bitch, and that it cost \$100 and you would not take \$200 better for it. I then spoke to Crawford, don't multiply words! Come away! Cad Pierce then made a reply, but I could not hear what it was; but I heard Crawford say, what is that you say?—If you want to fight here is the place for it—as good as any! He then stepped back, laid his hand on a six shooter, but did not draw it until Cad Pierce put his hand behind his back—apparently to draw his six shooter; when Crawford drew his and fired twice. At the first shot, Cad Pierce ran into Beebe's store, the second was fired just as he ran into the door."

Policeman Crawford says that Pierce wanted a fight and he reached for his revolver but "I was to quick for him."

Pierce lived but a few minutes. Neil Kane had a narrow escape. Happy Jack presented two revolvers at him.—Kane begged for mercy and at the intervention of the city Marshal he was saved. He took his horse and fled.

We cannot but deprecate such scenes of violence as were enacted yesterday—but the battle had to come off. Whitney has been partly avenged. There are threats of burning the town and policemen are also threatened—but it will be hardly safe to do either. If it is done, or the attempt made the crime will be fastened upon some of the leaders and they will have to suffer for it.

The police showed the greatest bravery yesterday, appearing separately among the excited crowd. They are resolved to stand by the city at the sacrifice of their lives, if necessary. Let the brave boys be upheld. Perfect quiet reigns now and it is to be hoped that our city has had its last shooting affair.

Policeman Crawford, along with the rest of the Ellsworth force, was relieved on August 27, 1873.¹

The death of Ed Crawford, on November 7, 1873, ended the long period of violence Ellsworth had suffered that year. The *Reporter*, November 13, 1873, carried the story:

ED. CRAWFORD SHOT.

Last Sunday Ed. Crawford came to Ellsworth. His presence here was a surprise, as it was understood that his life would not be safe here, on account of his shooting Cad Pierce. He was warned that his life was in danger, but he "was not afraid." Thursday he was pretty full of whiskey, and Friday evening we noticed he was considerably under the influence of liquor. With some friends, or possibly decoying enemies, he went down to Nauch-ville and visited two houses; he was pretty drunk and rough; at the second house he visited there was a crowd of men, mostly Texans, and he had been there but a few moments, before, having stepped into the hall, he was shot twice, the first ball passing through his head, the second into his body. It is not known for certain who fired the fatal shot, but it is supposed to have been one, Putman,

and that he did it to avenge the murder of Cad Pierce. It was reported that Crawford fired, but it was probably incorrect. He was shot down by some person secreted in the hall and he made no fight or scarcely a struggle. With this last murder we hope the chapter of crime in this city is complete for 1873, and for many years to come.

1. *Ellsworth Reporter*, August 28, 1873.

D'AMOUR, GEORGE

(——-1875)

George D'Amour was appointed second assistant marshal of Wichita on October 4, 1871. His salary was \$60.00 a month.¹

In April, 1872, he was elected constable of Wichita township.²

D'Amour was made first assistant marshal on the city police force when first assistant Thomas Parks was relieved, June 5, 1872. The same day D'Amour was paid \$416.00 for services as "asst Marshal and Special Policeman."³

It may have been that D'Amour's service on the force was not continuous from his appointment as second assistant marshal to the appointment as first assistant, for the *Wichita City Eagle*, June 7, 1872, reported that the "city council at their meeting on Wednesday night appointed two additional men on the police force of the city, viz: Geo. D'Amour and D. F. Parks. . . ."

In August, 1872, D'Amour assisted Marshal Mike Meagher in arresting one Teets. The article reporting the arrest may be found in the section on Meagher.

On December 4, 1872, the city council authorized the mayor "to order Geo D'Amour to settle Judgment against the City of Wichita as garnishee." On March 5, 1873, it resolved "that the salaries of all City officers be allowed for the month of February A D 1873 with the exception of Geo D'Amour," and that "the matter in regard to Geo D'Amour . . . [be] referred to Committee on Jail & Police."⁴

The *Wichita City Eagle*, March 27, 1873, reported: "Our city marshal, Mike Meagher, returned last week from a fruitless pursuit of the absconding and multifarious officer, George D'Amour." Unfortunately no information has been found which would indicate the cause of George D'Amour's leaving Wichita.

Two years later the *Eagle*, February 25, 1875, reported the end of the one-time Wichita peace officer:

Geo. DeAmour, sometimes called George Moore, here, formerly deputy marshal under Mike Meagher, and deputy sheriff under Johnny Meagher, was shot and killed in a saloon at Oro City, Colorado territory, on the 7th inst., by one John Murphy. It seems Murphy charged George with having

stolen three hundred dollars from him while they were drunk together. After getting duly sober, Murphy walked into a saloon where DeAmour was engaged at a game of cards, drew a revolver and shot a ball through his right temple, which from the proximity and force of the discharge, went clear through, and out at the back of his head. DeAmour only lived a few moments. Murphy slid away on snow shoes.

Geo. DeAmour was a member of the masonic lodge of this city, to whom the following letter in confirmation of the killing has been sent, and which the secretary has permitted us to copy:

ORO CITY, COL., Feb. 14th, 1875.

SECRETARY, Masonic Lodge, Wichita, Kan.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Geo. DeAmour, a member of your lodge, was shot and killed here on the 7th inst. Please inform me of his place of birth, as I want to inform his friends. If you wish I will send you particulars of his death.

Yours Fraternally,

C. H. STONE.

1. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, p. 115. 2. *Wichita City Eagle*, April 12, 1872. 3. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, p. 182. 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 272, 273.

DANIELS, BEN

(— — —)

Ben Daniels was appointed assistant marshal of Dodge City on April 8, 1885, to serve under Marshal William M. Tilghman.¹ Daniels' salary was \$100 per month while that of the marshal was \$125.² Assistant Marshal Daniels served until April 10, 1886.³

Five days after a change in the city administration had relieved Daniels from the force he shot and killed Ed Julian. *The Globe Live Stock Journal*, April 20, 1886, carried the story:

ANOTHER KILLING FOR DODGE.

On last Thursday evening at about six o'clock, a shooting scrape took place on the south side of the railroad on the sidewalk in front of Utterback's hardware store, two doors west of Ed. Julian's restaurant, the latter gentleman being the victim in the affray; and his antagonist, ex-assistant city marshal Ben Daniels. Four shots were fired, all by Daniels, all of which took effect on Julian. While Julian was found to be armed, he however, did not get to fire a shot; there is much diversity of opinion in the matter, some claiming it to have been a deliberate murder, while others assert it to have been justifiable. The evidence taken at the preliminary trial does not fully sustain either. It was a well known fact that these parties had been bitter enemies to each other for a long time, and both had made threats against each other, which fact was not only elicited at the preliminary, but was known to many of our people long before the shooting took place. Ben Daniels, at the preliminary before Justice Harvey McGarry, was placed under a \$10,000 bond for his appearance at the next term of court.

The remains of Ed. Julian were taken in charge by the members of Lewis Post, G. A. R., of this place, who gave them a very respectable burial with appropriate ceremonies. This was a very unfortunate occurrence for this place, and that too at a time when everything appeared to be moving along so harmoniously and quietly. But it appears that no one could have prevented this tragedy, not even our officers, no matter how vigilant they might have been; the bitterness which existed between them was almost certain to bring them together sooner or later, and as many predicted, that one or the other, or perhaps both would be mortally wounded, if not killed outright.

In January, 1889, Daniels, Tilghman, Fred Singer, Neil Brown, James Masterson, and others were involved in the Gray county seat war. On January 12, while attempting to take the county records from Cimarron to Ingalls, they were fired upon by local citizens. In the resulting battle one man was killed and several wounded. For a full account *see* the section on Tilghman.

1. *The Globe Live Stock Journal*, April 14, 1885. 2. *Ibid.*, June 9, July 21, August 11, September 15, October 13, November 10, December 15, 1885, January 12, February 9, March 9, April 13, 1886. 3. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1886.

(To Be Continued in the Autumn, 1960, Issue.)

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, 1958, through September 30, 1959. 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 in the Spring, 1960, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

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Bypaths of Kansas History

STORY OF A BUFFALO STAMPEDE

From the *Washington Weekly Republican*, July 18, 1873.

A beautiful little story comes to us from down the Kansas Pacific. Out on the plains, about two hundred miles from Denver [near the Kansas-Colorado border], is a vertical bluff seventy-five feet high. A party of hunters recently stampeded a herd of buffaloes right to the brink of the precipice. The foremost brutes, appreciating their critical situation attempted to avert the calamity, but the frightened hundreds behind crowded forward with characteristic persistency. The front rank, with legs stretched toward each cardinal point of the compass, bellowed in concert and descended to their fate. Before the pressure from behind could be stopped, the next rank followed, imitating the gestures and the bellowing of the first. For thirty seconds it rained buffaloes and the white sand at the foot of that bluff was incarnadine with the life-blood of wild meat, and not until the tails of fifty or seventy-five of the herd had waved adieu to this wicked world did the movement cease.—*Denver News*.

ANOTHER "GOOD OLD DAYS" ITEM

From the *Holton Recorder & Express*, November 4, 1875.

BREAD AND MILK SOCIAL.—The ladies of the M. E. Church will hold their social Friday evening next, at Walker's Hall. Bread and milk and cake and coffee will be served for refreshments.

PRESUMABLY SHE GOT HER MAN

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, July 27, 1876.

The *Kirwin Chief* tells how a couple from Nebraska came to Kirwin to get married. The preacher told them he could not go ahead without a license from the Probate Judge who lives at Logan. The bride "lit out" for Logan Saturday evening and was back by Sunday morning having traveled sixty miles.

IT MAY NOT HAVE BEEN GOOD POOL—

From the *Greensburg Rustler*, April 15, 1886.

There was a little sensation at the billiard hall a few evenings ago. A husband, who had gone out to meet the boys at the club room, stayed too long; the wife went out in search of her truant, but could not get admission. Mild and persuasive language failed to get him out, so the wife had to resort to the same method the farmer did to get the boy out of the apple tree. A few stones found their way through the window, causing the "hubby" to come out and go where all good husbands go—to the bosom of his family.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Several letters written by S. G. Crain to his family during the opening of the Cherokee strip in 1893 in which he participated, with an introduction and notes by Hilda Billman, were printed in the *Caldwell Messenger*, August 20, September 7, 14, 1959.

Among brief histories of Kansas churches published recently were: Mt. Orum Baptist church, near Redfield, Fort Scott *Tribune*, October 7, 1959; Alert Evangelical Covenant church, near Leonardville, Clay Center *Dispatch*, October 15; First Presbyterian church, Fort Scott, Fort Scott *Tribune*, October 30; Preston Methodist church, Pratt *Tribune*, December 3; Halstead Presbyterian church, Halstead *Independent*, January 15, 22, 1960; and St. Agnes church, Grainfield, Grainfield *Cap Sheaf*, January 15.

History associated with the Little Town well, on the site of present Oswego, was discussed by Wayne A. O'Connell in an article appearing in the Oswego *Democrat* and the Oswego *Independent*, October 16, 1959. Recently the well curbing was restored, and a bronze tablet, giving a brief history of the spot, has been erected.

Biographical sketches of two senior citizens of Winfield, by Maudine Banks, recently appeared in the Winfield *Daily Courier*: Mrs. Charles Parks in the issue of November 9, 1959, and Mrs. Lottie Abbott, December 1.

The life of 90-year-old Percy L. Miller was reviewed in Elizabeth Barnes' column, "Historic Johnson County," in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, December 10, 1959.

In December, 1869, Joseph Douglass platted the Butler county town that bears his name, according to a brief history of Douglass by Gladys Sherar, in the Douglass *Tribune*, December 16, 1959. The reminiscences of Mrs. Hattie Nash Adamson, pioneer Douglass resident, were published in the *Tribune*, March 9, 16, 23, 1960.

Mrs. Kate Marshall's reminiscences of life in early Thomas county appeared in the Colby *Free Press-Tribune*, December 24, 1959. On February 25, 1960, the *Free Press-Tribune* began publication of a series of reminiscences by early settlers of the Colby area, including: George H. Kinkel, Mrs. A. J. Allen, John Hubbard, and Mrs. Anna See Kiefer.

Historical articles in recent issues of the Hays *Daily News* included: "Pioneer Justice Administered in Old Stone Barn at Ellis," by Kittie Dale, January 3, 1960; "Buffalo Hunting Relieved Monotony for Hardy Pioneers in Old Hays City," January 10; "Baptist Minister [Rev. A. L. King] and Family Led Tennessee Colonists Here," and "Early Ellis County Settlers Included Not Two, but 26, Separate Colonies," January 24; "Legislator [W. N. Morphy] Foiled [Gen. Philip] Sheridan Attempt to Make Fort Hays Permanent Post," by Mollie Madden, February 14; "Hays Mapped College in '80s but Plans Just Disappeared," February 21; and "March of Time Changes All but Church and Unser Leute [in Hersog]," by Mollie Madden, March 27.

Historical articles in recent issues of the Jetmore *Republican* included: biographical information by Mrs. Annie Mooney on the family of her pioneer grandfather, Daniel Gleason, January 28, 1960; impressions of pioneer life in Hodgeman county as experienced by Jessie Ruff as a child, February 11; "A History of Mould Family," by Dan C. Mould, February 25; and the story of the settlement of Kidderville, in present Hodgeman county, by the late Sam H. Pitts, March 10.

Recent historical articles in the Independence *Daily Reporter* included: "Montgomery County Carved Out of Indian Land in 1869," by Wilma Schweitzer, January 31, 1960; and "Oak Valley Was Once Quite a Town," by Ed Guilinger, February 21.

"The Abilene Promoter," an article on Joseph G. McCoy and Abilene when it was a cowtown, by Joe Sanders, was printed in *The Cattleman*, Fort Worth, Tex., February, 1960.

"It's Worth Repeating," Heinie Schmidt's historical column in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, included the following articles in recent months: "Lewis History Identified With Edwards Physician [Dr. Frank G. Meckfessel]," February 18, 25, 1960; a history of the *Kansas Cowboy* of Dodge City, March 3; "Colorado Old Timers [George Glenn, Howard Anderson, R. J. Lamborn] Tell About Open Range Days," March 10; "Hardships, Dangers Recounted in Kansas Blizzards," March 17; and "Biographies [of Alexander H. Swan, William "Bill" Tilghman, James Henry Cook] Show Panorama of Frontier History," April 7.

With the issue of February 25, 1960, the Belleville *Telescope* began printing a series of sketches of Republic county history from A. O. Savage's *History of Republic County*, published in 1883.

Kansas Historical Notes

Perce Harvey was elected president of the Shawnee County Historical Society at a meeting of the board of trustees in Topeka, January 8, 1960. Horace Wilkie was chosen vice-president, Mrs. Grace Menninger was re-elected secretary, and Mrs. Frank Kambach, treasurer.

Officers of the recently organized Rush County Historical Society include: Fay O. Jennings, president; H. G. Ficken, Ted Appl, Mrs. Milton Krug, and Jerry Bornholdt, vice-presidents; Robert Hamilton, co-ordinator; W. Bryan Jefferies, secretary; Stanley T. Merrill, treasurer; Mrs. Harry Grass, corresponding secretary; and Dick Ramsey, publicity director.

Temporary officers elected by the newly organized Gray County Historical Society at a meeting in Cimarron, March 7, 1960, were: Francis Hamlin, chairman; Helen Riepl, cochairman; Alice Dillman, secretary; and Merle Dillman, treasurer. The following were elected vice-chairmen from over the county: Helen Rennie, Faye Ward, Lillibelle Egbert, and Edna Nance.

A Barton County Historical Society was formed at a meeting of about 50 persons in Great Bend, March 11, 1960. Ray S. Schulz was chosen temporary president of the society. Assisting in the organization was I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, special representative of the Kansas Centennial Commission.

Mrs. Walter Umbach was re-elected president of the Ford Historical Society at a meeting in Ford, March 16, 1960. Other officers chosen were: Mrs. Harold Patterson, vice-president; Mrs. Addie Plattner, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. Lyman Emrie, historian; and Mrs. W. P. Warner, custodian.

Officers of the Fort Riley Historical Society, elected at a meeting of the directors at Fort Riley, March 18, 1960, are: Maj. Gen. Theodore W. Parker, honorary president; Robert K. Weary, president; Col. A. E. Forsyth and Lt. Col. Orval Abel, vice-presidents; Lt. Edward J. O'Connell, secretary; and Col. E. B. Skinner, treasurer. M/Sgt. L. E. Downer is curator of the society's museum. Lee Rich was the retiring president.

The Augusta Historical Society met April 1, 1960, and elected the following officers: W. M. Hedrick, president; Maymie Kibbey,

vice-president; Florence Hudson, secretary; and Mrs. Ethel Shriver, treasurer. Stella B. Haines was the retiring president, having served many years.

Leslie A. Powell, Marion, was named president; Al Riffel, Lincolnville, vice-president; and Mrs. O. J. Shields, Lost Springs, secretary-treasurer, of the Marion County Historical Society at an organizational meeting of the directors held in Marion, April 4, 1960. Directors of the society include: J. V. Friesen and Prof. S. L. Loewen, Hillsboro; Mrs. Floyd Rice, Florence; Charles A. Borton, Durham; Ben J. Klaassen, Goessel; F. G. Unruh, Lehigh; Mrs. S. H. Bennett, Peabody; Mrs. Henry Shubert, Ramona; Mrs. Leonard Bezdek, Tampa; Vladimir Urbanek, Pilsen; Charles Brunner, Burns; and Ed Navrat, Marion.

The 34th annual meeting of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and the Social Sciences was held in El Dorado, April 8, 9, 1960. Speakers and their subjects included: Dr. Preston W. Slosson, Kansas State University, "Dictatorships in Modern Fiction"; Vaclav Mudroch, University of Kansas, "Herbert Butterfield's View of History"; C. Robert Haywood, Southwestern College, "Mercantilism in the Southern Colonies"; Mark Plummer, University of Kansas, "Governor Crawford and the Appointment of a U. S. Senator"; Robert W. Richmond, state archivist, Kansas State Historical Society, "The Lighter Side of Kansas History"; and Rolla Clymer, El Dorado publisher, discussed the work and plans of the Kansas Centennial Commission. New officers elected were: W. Stitt Robinson, University of Kansas, president; Sister Evangeline Thomas, Marymount College, vice-president; and John Zimmerman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, secretary-treasurer. Edwin J. Walbourn, El Dorado Junior College, was the retiring president.

In 1959 the University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, published a 374-page book entitled *Issues and Conflicts—Studies in Twentieth Century American Diplomacy*. Composed of a group of essays, the volume was edited by Dr. George L. Anderson of the University of Kansas. Among the essays is "The Contriving Brain as the Pivot of History . . .," by Dr. James C. Malin.

The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley, by Gerald Carson, published recently by Rinehard and Company, is a 280-page biography of Dr. John R. Brinkley, Kansas' medical maverick and three-time candidate for governor.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Correspondence concerning articles for the *Quarterly* should be addressed to the managing editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

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THE COVER

Downtown Topeka as it appeared in the horse-and-buggy days: looking south from Sixth and Kansas in 1873. The large building in the center, slightly altered, still stands. It is currently occupied by Parkview Drugs. For a description of Topeka in 1873 see pp. 294-297.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXVI

Autumn, 1960

Number 3

Wyandotte and the First "Exodusters" of 1879

GLEN SCHWENDEMANN

FROM the stage of the Topeka Opera House, Gov. John P. St. John looked out upon the great crowd thronging the building. At 7:30, a half hour before the meeting was to commence, the hall had been completely filled, some people even standing in the aisles. The gathering, for which the churches of the city had dismissed their evening congregations on this Sunday, April 20, 1879, had been called to consider the problem of providing relief for the destitute freedmen from the South who were pouring into the state.¹

The governor could have recalled the events responsible for this meeting with little difficulty. Since early March, the Negroes from the river parishes and counties of Louisiana and Mississippi had been pushing up the Mississippi river aboard steamboats bound for Kansas. Most of the migrants, however, became stalled in St. Louis from lack of money, and were only able to resume their journey to Kansas with the help of their colored brethren of that city.² To those who had watched the northward progress of the migration, it came as no surprise, therefore, when the first group of 150 to 200 freedmen arrived at Wyandotte, Kan., during the week of March 23 aboard the steamer *Fannie Lewis*.³

Wyandotte, which was conspicuously located at the junction of the Missouri and Kansas rivers, a short distance from the state line, was the first Kansas town of importance encountered en route from St. Louis.⁴ This feature, which had previously aided the

GLEN SCHWENDEMANN, native of Oklahoma and graduate of the University of Oklahoma, Norman, is teaching in the Torrance, Calif., public schools.

1. For an account of the Opera House meeting see the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 21, 1879, and the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 22, 1879. Although the *Commonwealth* announced the meeting for 7:00 P. M., the *Daily Capital* gave the opening time as 8:00.

2. Glen Schwendemann, "Negro Exodus to Kansas: First Phase, March-July, 1879" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, University of Oklahoma, 1957), pp. 36-83.

3. *Wyandotte Herald*, April 3, 1879. See, also, the *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal* of unknown date as quoted in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 2, 1879.

4. From its settlement in 1857 until after the Civil War Wyandotte was rivaled only by the former "free-state" town of Quindaro, a few miles north on the Missouri river, and Armstrong, a small settlement to the south. After 1865, however, Kansas City, Kan. (1869), Rosedale (1872), and Argentine and Armourdale (1880), were laid out, all of which form modern Kansas City, Kan.—"Kansas City, Kansas," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 15th ed., v. 13, pp. 263, 264.

growth of the settlement, had now become a liability, being mainly responsible for the flood of destitute Negroes soon to descend upon the city. For following the arrival of the *Fannie Lewis*, came the steamer *Joe Kinney* on March 31 with 350 migrants on its deck, while the largest group ever to arrive in Wyandotte, 450, came aboard the *E. H. Durfee* on April 6.⁵

The astonished residents of Wyandotte had witnessed the invasion of close to 1,000 migrants in less than two weeks. Two colored churches, the Methodist and Christian, opened their doors to these travelers, and the church of the "Christian Brotherhood" sheltered some even though it was unfinished. Many of the newcomers naturally resided with the colored people of the city,⁶ and a large detachment had been sent to nearby Quindaro, where they were housed on the Freedmen's University campus.⁷ With this sudden influx of dependent Negroes, numbering almost one-fourth of the population of the community,⁸ it was small wonder that the whistle of every boat filled the residents of Wyandotte with "anxious thoughts."⁹

The seriousness of the situation was brought to the governor's attention by a letter from A. N. Moyer, a real estate man of Wyandotte. With the endorsement of the Rev. R. M. Tunnell of the First Congregational church, Moyer urged the intervention of the state government as a "war measure." Besides making it plain he wanted the newcomers to "move on," he showed particular concern regarding the possible outbreak of disease as a result of the migrants, and the probability that an epidemic would spread into other cities of the state.¹⁰ "Many are sick," explained Moyer, "and their dead are scattered along the way. The dead and dying you could see at any time were you here to look about you."¹¹

5. Wyandotte *Herald*, April 3 and 10, 1879, and *Kansas Pilot*, Kansas City, April 5, 1879.

6. On April 24, 1879, the Wyandotte *Herald* remarked that "there is as much difference between these Southern niggers and the colored people of Wyandott as there is between day and night."

7. The Freedmen's University was founded by the Rev. Eben Batchley in 1857 in the then flourishing Free-State town of Quindaro. Following the Civil War the community declined and the university passed into the hands of the colored men of the city. They placed it in the hands of the African Methodist church of Quindaro when it was chartered as Western University. The institution led a precarious existence until 1899 when the state began appropriating money for its operation.—William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas State and People* (Chicago, 1928), v. 2, p. 1076.

8. In 1879 the population of Wyandotte was 4,612, exclusive of the migrants then in the city. This was an increase of 400 over the previous year. See an unofficial census taken by a "Capt. Nelson" as reported in the Wyandotte *Herald*, April 17, 1879.

9. Letter, A. N. Moyer of Wyandotte to Gov. John P. St. John, April 7, 1879.—"Governor's Correspondence," Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

10. The spread of yellow fever was a constant danger. The arrival of the Negroes and their filthy baggage was especially feared since they came from areas frequently plagued by this disease.

11. Letter, A. N. Moyer to Gov. John P. St. John, April 7, 1879.—"Governor's Correspondence," *loc. cit.*

Meanwhile, these unfortunates had been provided with whatever the citizens of Wyandotte could supply. But as the numbers grew and demands became greater, it was necessary to put relief on a more organized basis. Accordingly, a public meeting was held on the afternoon of April 8 in the city hall. It was agreed that the newcomers "should be aided only to such extent as they are unable to help themselves," and assistance was pledged to the migrants "in continuing their search for homes." A committee of five persons was appointed to carry out the wishes of the meeting.¹²

If the situation had formerly been considered serious, it now began to assume the aspect of desperation. The governor recalled having received a telegram from Mayor J. S. Stockton, asking for the sake of "God and humanity," for help in transporting 400 of the newcomers from the city.¹³ More alarming, however, was the news that on April 13, the steamer *Joe Kinney* had made its second appearance in the city with around 200 more migrants, while over 300 had left St. Louis April 14 on the *E. H. Durfee*.¹⁴

With the continued arrival of the freedmen, a part of the local citizenry, including some members of the relief committee, began calling for force to prevent future landings. Criticism was also directed at the relief group. In answer to a charge in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, that Wyandotte would like to rid herself of the Negroes, but that the committee was not "the most efficient organization in the world," R. M. Tunnell, speaking for the group, listed the following accomplishments: medical attention had been provided, a daily supply of bread was furnished, and, although meat was not available daily, the newcomers were receiving more than they were accustomed to. Most important, however, was the news that plans had been made to transport the migrants from the city as soon as money was available. Up to April 15 the committee had received only \$6! This meant, of course, that the local residents had contributed practically no money, but rather had made their donations in kind. Little could have been expected from solicitations made in New York, Chicago, and Kansas newspapers,

12. *Wyandotte Herald*, April 10, 1879. The committee consisted of Mayor J. S. Stockton, Councilman Dan Williams, O. C. Palmer, the Rev. Anthony Kuhls of the St. Mary's Catholic church, and the Rev. R. M. Tunnell.

13. Telegram, J. S. Stockton to Gov. John P. St. John, April 12, 1879.—"Governor's Correspondence," *loc. cit.*

14. *Wyandotte Herald*, April 17, 1879, and the *Atchison Daily Champion*, April 16, 1879.

for scarcely a week had elapsed since these appeals had been placed.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the citizens of the community demanded a release from the burden of caring for so many indigent persons, and Mayor Stockton, as chairman of the relief committee, was forced to take action. To expedite the matter, an executive committee was appointed. The most pressing problem confronting the new group was the lack of funds with which to work. It, therefore, immediately appealed to "The Generous Citizens" of the country to help relieve the "1,70[0] entirely destitute" and the "thousands more in the same destitute condition" en route from the South.¹⁶

With the conditions then prevailing in the community, the committee realized that the only proper course was to provide transportation from the city as fast as possible while working to turn the tide in other directions. Until then, however, the newcomers had to be fed. If the members entertained hope of obtaining provisions from Fort Leavenworth, this was soon abandoned when Mayor George W. Shelley of Kansas City, Kan., telegraphed Secretary of War George W. McCrary, asking for provisions from the fort. The secretary replied that he lacked authority to comply with such a request and advised the mayor to petition congress for the desired aid.¹⁷

As the hope for an adequate supply of relief material faded, the migrants, the objects of so much solicitation, were promising to increase. With the news of the approach of the steamer *E. H. Durfee*, came also rumors that "Drought Rifles" might have to be used to prevent the landing of the vessel.¹⁸ Mayor Stockton had taken the unprecedented action of proclaiming "most respectfully, but emphatically," that Wyandotte would hold everyone concerned with transporting destitute persons into the city "to the strictest

15. *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 17, 1879. V. J. Lane testified that the relief committee received some money but used it to build a barrack on Walker road instead of transporting the Negroes away.—See "Report and Testimony of the Select Committee of the United States Senate to Investigate the Causes of the Removal of the Negroes From the Southern States to the Northern States," *Senate Report No. 693*, 46th Cong., 2d Sess., 1880, pt. 3, pp. 326, 327. N. C. McFarland, in his account of his trip to Wyandotte, reported giving \$100 to help move the building to a more convenient location.—*Topeka Commonwealth*, April 24, 1879, and the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 24, 1879.

16. *Atchison Daily Champion*, April 17, 1879, and the *St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch*, April 17, 1879. The executive committee consisted of V. J. Lane, G. W. Bishop, and George H. Miller, superintendent of the Kansas Institution for Education of the Blind.

17. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 17, 1879.

18. See the *Leavenworth Times*, April 19, 1879, as quoted in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 20, 1879. The *Wyandotte Herald*, as quoted in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 27, 1879, referred to the stories concerning "Drought Rifles" as "sheer fabrications," and stated that while the people would be "inclined to do all they can to discourage" the migrants from coming, they would not place themselves "in an attitude of hostility to the laws of the country."

legal consequences and penalties of the law attaching to such offense." ¹⁹

While the prevention of more migrants entering the city would have been a rewarding accomplishment, the members of the relief committee realized that the problem confronting Wyandotte would thereby be only partially solved. A new appeal for funds must be made. Now, however, the committee apparently decided to so phrase their plea that success would be more likely. Either this motive, or extreme emotion would have caused the members to declare, quite erroneously, that there were "still 1,000 [Negroes] in our midst *perishing daily for want of proper food and shelter.*" ²⁰ The appeal continued:

Surrounded by the present horde of sick, dying and destitute men, women and children that must starve unless the generous-hearted people of the United States will respond to our call for aid; . . . with our city to-day almost a general hospital, business largely suspended, we ask in the name of our common humanity, donations of money to provide for and forward these suffering and destitute . . . [migrants].²¹

Such a petition, of course, could not fail to produce results, and money began coming in, at least enough to send a group of 100 of the Negro families to Lawrence, which had previously agreed to receive some of the newcomers. The executive committee made arrangements for the transportation of the group on Saturday, April 19.²² With the great number of migrants then in the city, it was, of course, no problem to find the 300 Negroes finally sent to Lawrence. This was only the first of several shipments made to neighboring towns. At a later date 28 migrants were sent to Tonganoxie, 140 to Leavenworth, 200 to Manhattan, and 250 to Ottawa, in addition to 150, who left Wyandotte on their own resources.²³

Wyandotte's neighbors were not the only ones who had finally taken an interest. The New York *Daily Tribune*, appealing for aid for the Negroes, compared the exodus to the flight of the Israelites of old, but unlike their predecessors, the freedmen from the South had "no pillar of fire and cloud to lead them; no bread from Heaven

19. As quoted in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 20, 1879.

20. The italics are mine. There were closer to 1,300 migrants in the city at this time.

21. *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 20, 1879.

22. *Wyandotte Herald*, April 24, 1879. See, also, a letter, from a "D. Shelton" to Gov. John P. St. John, April 21, 1879.—"Governor's Correspondence," *loc. cit.* Shelton was in the Kansas Pacific railroad offices when arrangements for the shipment were made by the committee on April 18. See, also, V. J. Lane's account of the shipment in *Senate Report* 693, pt. 3, pp. 326, 327.

23. *Wyandotte Herald*, April 24, 1879. For other reports on the distribution of Negroes by Wyandotte, see *ibid.*, May 1, 1879, and the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 25, 1879. Some of the migrants remained behind and erected a little village on some public land near the levee.—See the testimony of W. J. Buchan of Wyandotte in *Senate Report* 693, pt. 3, p. 483.

to feed them." While there were those able to extend a hand of relief, pleaded the *Tribune*, let it not be said that "God's help has failed for them out of the world!"²⁴

Of more immediate satisfaction to the residents of Wyandotte, however, was the action of the capital city. The Topeka *Commonwealth*, taking its cue from the *Tribune*, asked if it would not be wise for Kansas to organize a state relief group to properly distribute the money that would soon be pouring into the state. Not only that, but "advice as to where those people should go," individuals to "select lands, make arrangements for transportation, and the thousand details of such a movement," would be needed. "We trust," concluded the *Commonwealth*, "that the Mayor, or perhaps what might be better, the Governor, will take such steps as may be deemed the best to devise a plan which will best effect the object desired."²⁵

The governor was not averse to such humanitarian labors,²⁶ and undoubtedly quickly assented to lend his time and influence for the relief of the migrants. As a result, a call for the meeting, signed by Governor St. John and over 60 of the leading personalities of Topeka and the state, appeared in the Sunday morning, April 20, edition of the *Commonwealth*. This journal viewed the proposed meeting with such concern that it recommended "every citizen having interest in the welfare of our city and State" to attend. To remain silent, warned the article, "may now be a crime."²⁷

With these events as a background for this momentous meeting, Governor St. John rose to speak to a hushed and serious audience. To speculate upon the causes of the exodus, began the governor, would now be idle and untimely. The inescapable question was simply what Kansas was going to do with those already arrived and the thousands more en route from the South. Could Kansas reject her glorious history on behalf of the down-trodden Negro? No! That was precisely the reason the freed-men were now pouring into the state. Could Kansas turn her back upon a people whose blood had mingled with that of the

24. New York *Daily Tribune*, April 14, 1879. The quotation also appeared in the Topeka *Commonwealth*, April 17, 1879.

25. Topeka *Commonwealth*, April 19, 1879.

26. Born in 1833 in Indiana, St. John left home at the age of 12 with a meager education. Through his own efforts, however, he was later admitted to the bar in Illinois. He entered Kansas politics in 1873, and by leading the woman's rights and antiliquor movements in the state was elected governor in 1878 and again in 1880. For other aspects of St. John's life see Edna Tutt Frederikson, "John Pierce St. John," *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 16 (1935), pp. 303, 304.

27. Topeka *Commonwealth*, April 20, 1879.

whites to preserve an endangered Union? Could the state refuse succor to a race whose members had helped Northern soldiers in their flight from Southern prisons? The idea was unthinkable! As Kansas had met and conquered other emergencies, so she would not rest until these Negroes were settled in the state. "Negroes are not beggars," the *Commonwealth* reported the governor as saying. "He had fed at his house many tramps, but never a black tramp."²⁸

These penetrating remarks were followed by those of the Rev. James E. Gilbert, pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal church, who spoke briefly while the resolutions committee was completing its task. He stood on the same ground that St. John had occupied. "Would Kansas be true to herself?" If the Negroes were told to stay at home and the exodus was discouraged, Kansas would be false to herself. His referral to the state as the asylum of the oppressed brought a hearty round of applause from an enthusiastic audience.²⁹

The resolutions committee had likewise warmed to its work, and submitted an important and well designed plan of action. Since the state government could not provide aid in such an emergency,³⁰ the report called upon the people of the state to shoulder their "respective shares." It provided for a committee, with the governor at its head, "to receive such contributions of money, food, etc., as charitable citizens in all parts of the country shall contribute for distribution by said committee."³¹ Relief work was put on an operating basis when those attending contributed \$533 for immediate aid.

Early the following morning, April 21, Governor St. John appointed a 12-member executive committee and summoned them to an 11:00 o'clock meeting in the office of N. C. McFarland, a

28. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1879, and the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 21, 1879. The reference to "tramps" was timely, since their presence in Kansas at this time constituted a serious social problem. St. John's speech was regarded by some as a direct invitation to the Negroes to come to Kansas. Dr. F. M. Stringfield, the recently defeated Independent candidate for the mayoralty of Topeka, and who had also donated his professional services for the migrants, said: "Governor St. John, in his speech at the Opera House, threw the doors of the State wide open, and said he wanted a million of them to come in."—*Senate Report* 693, pt. 3, p. 329. M. Bosworth, the first treasurer of the relief committee, thought the governor "did perhaps go a little too far . . . and they might construe from what he said that he was rather bidding for them."—*Ibid.*, p. 289.

29. *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 22, 1879, and the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 21, 1879.

30. The *Topeka Commonwealth* of April 19, 1879, reasoned that the legislature would not be in session for nearly two years. Even if it were in session and could provide aid, the *Commonwealth* thought a "private organization" would be preferable.

31. *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 21, 1879. The resolutions also appeared in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 22, 1879.

prominent Topeka attorney.³² As further donations would be needed by the committee, the governor appointed a group of women to solicit throughout the city for money, clothing, and other items, and ordered the corresponding secretary, J. C. Hebbard, journal clerk of the state house of representatives, to find a place of deposit for contributions of bulky goods. The most urgent business, however, was to provide relief for Wyandotte, and after discussion, McFarland was chosen to proceed to that city with some of the previous night's collection and furnish such pecuniary aid as was possible.³³

When McFarland stepped off the train at Wyandotte that Monday evening, April 21, he was walking into a city seething with discontent. Following Mayor Stockton's proclamation of April 18, threatening with legal action those bringing migrants into the town, Stockton had obtained a warrant for the arrest of the captain of the steamer *E. H. Durfee*, which was due in the city that very day. This action sent the Wyandotte relief group into a long and earnest conference. Realizing that those within the city were only "the vanguard of thousands to follow," the committee agreed at first, apparently unanimously, "to stop the immigration at all hazards, and use radical measures for that purpose." This must have been a temporary stand, however, for "wiser measures" were reportedly adopted.

The group subsequently decided to allow the migrants to come into the city, under protest, and send them on immediately. The change of attitude was demonstrated by the unanimous support of R. M. Tunnell's motion calling for the withdrawal of the mayor's warrant for the arrest of the *Durfee's* captain.³⁴ The course of action taken by the committee probably saved the city from much public condemnation. To convince the community as a whole that this was the wisest course was to prove more difficult!

Although the committee had agreed to allow the newcomers to enter the city, those aboard the *E. H. Durfee* were not destined to enjoy that privilege, at least not immediately. In the evening following the meeting of the relief committee, Mayor Stockton met the vessel upon its arrival in the city, and persuaded the cap-

32. The executive committee consisted of Governor St. John; M. H. Case, mayor of Topeka; the Rev. T. W. Henderson, editor of the *Topeka Colored Citizen*; M. Bosworth; Willard Davis, attorney general; A. H. Washburn; Bradford Miller; C. H. Bowen; J. K. Hudson; N. C. McFarland; Mrs. E. Chrisman; and J. C. Hebbard. For a sketch of the life of N. C. McFarland, see James L. King, *History of Shawnee County, Kansas, and Representative Citizens* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 324, 325.

33. *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 21, 1879, and *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 22, 1879.

34. *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, April 22, 1879, as quoted in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 23, 1879.

tain to unload his passengers across the river on the Kansas City side.³⁵ There they remained all night without food and shelter. On the following day, April 22, McFarland used \$17.50 of the Opera House collection to buy 100 loaves of bread and 250 pounds of bacon and had it sent over to them.³⁶

While McFarland was relieving a suffering humanity in Wyandotte, an attempt was made to obtain assistance from congress. On April 21 Rep. James A. Garfield of Ohio introduced House Resolution 523, which provided for an appropriation of \$5,000, and authorized the Secretary of War to issue tents and rations, to relieve the "temporary distress" of the freedmen.³⁷ Rep. D. C. Haskell of Kansas telegraphed Governor St. John the day following the introduction of Garfield's bill, expressing fear that passage was improbable. The Garfield sponsorship was prompted by the thought that since his state was not immediately affected by the exodus chances of success would be greater. Even with this advantage, however, Haskell presumed the appropriations committee would kill the bill by refusing to report it.³⁸

The senate became a part of the exodus drama when Mayor Stockton appealed to Sen. John J. Ingalls of Kansas, reciting the sufferings and privations of the migrants and the limited resources of the city. On April 22 Ingalls read the letter to his colleagues, remarking that the "great free communities" of the West could absorb the unfortunate Negroes, but that certain cities should not be called upon to bear the whole burden of what he apparently felt was a national responsibility. In line with his feelings, therefore, he introduced Senate Bill 472, for the relief of the "destitute colored persons now migrating from the Southern States."³⁹ He reminded his fellow senators that they had given aid to relieve suffering upon other occasions similar to the exodus, and urged "immediate and efficient action on the subject."⁴⁰

35. *Ibid.* See, also, McFarland's account of his Wyandotte trip in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 24, 1879. Although the verbal exchange was not reported, a similar conversation between the mayor and Captain Vickers of the *Joe Kinney* has been preserved. The captain reminded Stockton, in answer to the latter's warning not to bring more migrants to Wyandotte, that steamboats were common carriers and bound to transport paying passengers. Stockton then threatened the boat with quarantine, whereupon the captain replied, that in the absence of an epidemic, he would ignore such a proclamation.—*St. Louis Missouri Republican*, April 21, 1879.

36. *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 24, 1879. A more detailed account of conditions at Wyandotte appeared in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 22, 1879.

37. *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong., 1st Sess., 1879, v. 9, pt. 1, p. 620.

38. See a telegram and letter of April 22 and 28, 1879, from D. C. Haskell to Gov. John P. St. John.—"Governor's Correspondence," *loc. cit.*

39. *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong., 1st Sess., 1879, v. 9, pt. 1, p. 661. See Mayor Stockton's letter of April 19, to Ingalls and Sen. Preston B. Plumb of Emporia, quoted on p. 661. In a letter to J. C. Hebbard, Ingalls revealed that his bill called for rations and clothing.—*Topeka Daily Capital*, May 8, 1879.

40. *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 29, 1879.

Meanwhile, discontent had reached a head in Wyandotte. On Wednesday evening, April 23, a mass meeting was held in the city hall with the intention of taking strong action. After organizing with Probate Judge R. E. Cable in the chair, the resolutions committee returned the recommendation that "having done all in our power to prevent the emigration, and having been utterly disregarded, we resist the landing of any more of the refugees on our shores, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."⁴¹

It was further recommended that a committee of "public safety" be formed, "to act in any manner they may see fit, and we hereby pledge our support to them, in any measure that they promulgate."⁴² With this radical proposal, the two factions present prepared for a showdown. The "peace party" was able to carry a motion to strike out the words "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must," and to substitute, "by all lawful means in our power." The opposition, which controlled the meeting, would allow no further weakening of their resolution. Following the defeat of a motion to postpone final vote on the resolves, the crowd approved them by "a large majority." The advocates of moderation were conclusively defeated when V. J. Lane's move to reconsider the vote was decided by the chairman to be "lost."⁴³

State Senator W. J. Buchan of Wyandotte felt the opposition to the migrants in the city stemmed from two factors: the fear of yellow fever, the germs of which were thought to be carried in the Negroes' baggage, and the increased expense of caring for so many helpless persons.⁴⁴ V. J. Lane was particularly concerned about the "safety" committee. "I opposed those resolutions," testified Lane, "and said that this was a free country, and these people had a right to come. Of course it was unfortunate for us to have such a large indigent population set down on us; but we could not prevent them by force from coming."⁴⁵

Discontent in Wyandotte had reached its climax, however, and only the sober second thoughts had saved the city from disgrace at the hands of the radicals. Even then, the reputation of the

41. *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, April 24, 1879, as quoted in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 25, 1879.

42. *Ibid.* See, also, *Wyandotte Herald*, April 24, 1879. Twenty-five persons were appointed to form a "committee of safety."

43. *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, April 24, 1879, as quoted in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 25, 1879.

44. See the testimony of W. J. Buchan in *Senate Report* 693, pt. 3, p. 474.

45. See the testimony of V. J. Lane in *ibid.*, p. 327. "The mayor was called upon to appoint a police force of fifty to go down to the wharves and prevent them from landing from the boats," testified Lane. "I told him not to do it, and if he did he would see more bloodshed there than he had ever seen anywhere in his life."

city, and finally the state as a whole, became suspect because of the very mention of sending an armed force to the river front.⁴⁶ Much distrust of Kansas relief was dispelled, however, by the resolute and energetic measures taken by the executive committee in Topeka.

That body was no longer solely concerned with the explosive situation in Wyandotte, but was now endeavoring to extend its organization state wide. On the morning of April 24, the committee met in the office of N. C. McFarland, to draft an address "To the People of Kansas." The various communities throughout the state were invited to organize freedmen's aid societies through which contributions of relief materials could be distributed to the Negroes. The central committee in Topeka could also be advised by these auxiliary organizations concerning the number of migrants that could "be provided with employment or homes in their respective localities."⁴⁷

An effective organization would be useless, however, without money, food, and other relief materials. With this in mind, no doubt, Governor St. John wrote Maj. Gen. John Pope, commanding the Department of Missouri, Fort Leavenworth, requesting the use of spare facilities at the fort, or at least tents and rations for the migrants. The governor realized, of course, that the installation, located on the Missouri river, would make an ideal place for the reception of the Negroes as they arrived on the river boats. Maj. E. R. Platt, assistant adjutant general, writing for General Pope, who was absent in New York, answered the governor's request by stating that no surplus facilities were available for the freedmen and that he had no power to allow tents or rations to be used for such a purpose.⁴⁸ It should have been plain to St. John, especially after a similar request made to the Secretary of War by Mayor Shelley of Kansas City was so clearly denied, that no help could be expected from that source.

With prospects for federal aid for the migrants becoming increasingly hopeless, dependence upon local benevolence was as-

46. The Topeka *Commonwealth*, May 2, 1879, reported the Chicago *Journal* as saying that a "current" report mentioned Negroes being turned back by river bank patrols. "Bleeding Kansas" is not a good place for the exhibition of such a bull-dozing spirit," commented the *Journal*. One M. Howard of Washington, D. C., wrote to Governor St. John telling of a card being published in the "daily papers" of that city, in which it was reported that "a sort of volunteer militia" was patrolling the banks of the Missouri river "with loaded guns."—Topeka *Commonwealth*, May 4, 1879.

47. For the text of the address see the Wyandotte *Herald*, May 1, 1879, the Coffeyville *Journal*, May 3, 1879, and the Topeka *Commonwealth*, April 25, 1879.

48. Telegram and letter, Major E. R. Platt, assistant adjutant general of the Department of Missouri, Fort Leavenworth, to Gov. John P. St. John, April 25, 1879.—"Governor's Correspondence," *loc. cit.*

suming greater importance, and, with few exceptions, the various municipalities were taking their shares of the burden of caring for the migrants. One of the exceptions, of course, was Wyandotte, which, after narrowly averting a serious clash between the races, was launching a redoubled effort to turn the stream of migration in other directions.

On April 25, Mayor Stockton met with the Colored Refugee Relief Board of St. Louis and received assurance that the group would contact the executive committee in Topeka and send the migrants to places designated by the Kansas authorities.⁴⁹ On the following day, April 26, V. J. Lane and George H. Miller conferred with the executive committee in Topeka. They asked that "sufficient measures" be taken by the central committee to assure their city relief from the continuing arrivals of Negroes from St. Louis. They received assurance that measures would be taken to give them the desired relief.⁵⁰

The Wyandotte visitors were likewise gratified when the committee turned its attention to the drafting of a long overdue and much-needed address to the Southern Negroes, explaining the true conditions in Kansas. This action was occasioned by the general belief that the migration had been initiated by circulars giving exaggerated accounts of opportunities in Kansas. Many of these promised free land, implements and animals, and government subsistence for one year to all who arrived in the state.⁵¹ The committee's plan to counteract the influence of the "lying circulars" was hailed by the Topeka *Daily Capital* as a step toward preventing the Negroes from being deceived.⁵² The Atchison *Daily Champion*, which had been calling for such action for some time, felt that if the freedmen came to Kansas fully informed of conditions awaiting them, their chances of becoming successful residents of the state would be greatly improved.⁵³

Both newspapers were to be disappointed, for at a meeting on the evening of April 26, the majority of the committee decided to

49. Stockton was accompanied by State Senator W. J. Buchan and William Albright, deputy county treasurer of Wyandotte county.—Topeka *Daily Capital*, May 6, 1879. See, also, an article, possibly from the Chicago *Tribune*, April 26, 1879, in the "Horatio N. Rust Scrapbook; Relating to the Negro Exodus From the South to Kansas, 1880," p. 45.—Kansas State Historical Society library.

50. Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 26, 1879, and the Topeka *Commonwealth*, April 27, 1879.

51. St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 12, 1879.

52. Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 26, 1879.

53. Atchison *Daily Champion*, April 29, 1879.

suspend action "for the present," while the matter was given further consideration.⁵⁴ The temporary suspension soon became an indefinite postponement, the members feeling that such an address would be "garbled by the Southern press" and the desired object of the effort would be defeated.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, apparently not content with the answer he received from Fort Leavenworth concerning his request for quarters and rations for the migrants, Governor St. John telegraphed Rep. D. C. Haskell of Kansas asking him to contact the Secretary of War for permission to use the facilities of the fort. In his reply of April 28, Haskell explained that the secretary was "more than willing personally" to comply with the request, but to do so "would be like exposing himself to a drove of wolves," since the Southern congressmen were "wild over this exodus & they hope & pray (apparently) that enough of the poor creatures will come to want [in Kansas], to deter the rest from leaving."⁵⁶ There was no hope of aid from congress, and Haskell felt it had been a mistake to introduce bills into that body for relief of the Negroes. Besides there being no chance of passage, he feared such proposed legislation would only tend to diminish private contributions.⁵⁷

This correspondence extinguished the last flickering hope of receiving federal assistance. It likewise left Wyandotte in her unenviable position of being the main recipient of migrants in Kansas. In spite of assurances from the relief groups in St. Louis and Topeka, it was not until C. W. Prentice, chairman of the St. Louis transportation committee, arrived in Topeka to confer with the relief authorities there, that any help for Wyandotte was possible. At a meeting of May 3, it was agreed that the St. Louis group could send the migrants to Kansas City, Kan., by water, and a member of the Topeka committee would superintend their transportation from Kansas City to Topeka by rail. This would certainly answer the demand of Wyandotte that the flow be diverted from that city, and in this manner the sudden invasion of a host of destitute persons upon an unprepared community would be avoided. J. C. Hebbard, committee secretary, was dispatched

54. *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 28, 1879.

55. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1879.

56. Letter, D. C. Haskell to Gov. John P. St. John, April 28, 1879. In a telegram of the same date to the governor, Haskell warned that if the secretary of war granted supplies from Fort Leavenworth, "impeachment proceedings would be commenced at once. Southern feeling is intense."—"Governor's Correspondence," *loc. cit.*

57. Letter, D. C. Haskell to Gov. John P. St. John, April 28, 1879.—*Ibid.*

to Kansas City to meet the first group arriving on the *E. H. Durfee* on May 5.⁵⁸

With Wyandotte now freed from the burden of caring for the migrants, Topeka emerged as the center of the relief movement—a development of great significance. As already noted, the various cities of the state were now relieved of the costly and often distasteful necessity of providing food, shelter, and transportation for the migrants. In addition, this development provided for the creation of centralized relief necessary to care for the greater numbers soon to descend upon the state. Further, relief was now in the hands of men whose names commanded respect, and donations sufficient to meet the needs of the impending deluge were thereby assured.

The members of the central committee also recognized the importance of their new role. At a meeting on May 2 the incorporation of the committee under state law was discussed, the members feeling that “a proper organization might do much toward assisting the immigrants to establish small colonies in different parts of the state.”⁵⁹ On May 5, the matter was given additional consideration,⁶⁰ but it was not until the following day, May 6, that the committee decided definitely that the move was necessary to give “stability and responsibility” to relief efforts in the state.⁶¹ On May 8 the committee was incorporated as the Kansas Freedmen’s Relief Association with St. John as president.⁶²

One of the sorest problems confronting the new organization was still the matter of maintaining cordial public relations. This became increasingly difficult, especially in North Topeka where the migrants arrived on the Kansas Pacific railroad, and where they remained. There were protests concerning the manner in which the newcomers’ necessities were managed. Many of them were suffering from a variety of diseases. In one group of around 70 persons, such ailments as measles, pneumonia, pleurisy, consump-

58. See an account of the meeting in a report by Prentice to the Colored Refugee Relief Board of St. Louis in the “Benjamin Singleton Scrapbook,” Kansas State Historical Society library. While the *Topeka Daily Capital* carried no report of the meeting, the *Topeka Commonwealth*, May 3, 1879, related the substance of the agreement. Hebbard arrived in Kansas City on May 5.—See the *Wyandotte Herald*, May 8, 1879. Arrangements of a “favorable nature” were reportedly made with P. B. Groat, general passenger agent for the Kansas Pacific railroad, for the transportation of the migrants to Topeka.—See the *Topeka Commonwealth*, May 1, 1879. This was prior to the Prentice visit, and whether the arrangements were made by Wyandotte or Topeka is not known.

59. *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 3, 1879.

60. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1879.

61. *Atchison Daily Champion*, May 7, 1879.

62. Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, a Cyclopedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, etc.* (Chicago, 1912), v. 1, pp. 685, 686. See, also, the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 10, 1879.

tion, and the bloody flux were reported. Nearly all were suffering from "a sort of dietetic diarrhea."⁶³

Until the first few days of May, the Negroes had had to shift for themselves. Most of them had finally settled along the Kansas river in tents, dugouts, and other temporary shelter. On April 29, the *Topeka Commonwealth* reported the probability of the migrants being quartered for the time being at the Topeka fair grounds. On May 1 some of the Negroes had taken possession of the facilities there, and these were joined the following day by 20 more.⁶⁴

No sooner had the executive committee begun lodging its charges at the fair grounds, however, than dissatisfaction developed,⁶⁵ and the county commissioners, who were responsible for the grounds, requested the relief committee vacate the premises in order to permit repair of the buildings.⁶⁶ As early as May 3 the committee had discussed the possibility of erecting some temporary barracks, and as time went on and the exodus showed little indications of cessation, this plan began to take shape.

It was not until late in June, however, that the relief committee was able to begin work on the shelter. After a building site had been promised but later denied by one Charles Curtis, the committee found land in the western part of the city, and hauled materials to the spot to begin construction. The following morning, June 18, the lumber was found in the river. Efforts were renewed, but discontinued when some of the "best citizens" intervened. The structure was finally erected near the junction of the Kansas Pacific and Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroads, north of the Kansas river.⁶⁷

The erection of the barrack was immediately followed by the committee's appeal for more relief money—both sufficient indication that the end of the exodus was not in sight. In an address to "The Friends of the Colored People," dated June 25, 1879, the directors of the relief association reminded the country that the

63. *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 29, 1879, a report of the attending physician, Dr. F. M. Stringfield. See, also, the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 24, 1879, for a report on the physical condition of the migrants.

64. *Topeka Commonwealth*, May 1, 2, 1879. John Jennings and George Wesley Jones, "members of the Board of Directors of the late Kansas Freedmen's Bureau," were reported "managing for them [the migrants]."

65. *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 3, 1879.

66. See the testimony of M. Bosworth, first treasurer of the relief committee, in *Senate Report* 693, pt. 3, p. 290, who reported that the "county commissioners got a little tired of it, and wanted to use the fair-ground, and claimed they wanted to put it in repair."

67. *North Topeka Times*, June 20, 1879. This journal advised the relief committee to "use the Capital grounds, or go a respectable distance out of town," if they wanted to erect a shelter for their wards.

migration contained the answer to a national problem—the future of the Southern freedmen. The movement was, therefore, not the concern of Kansas alone, but of the nation as a whole.

To show what the relief committee had already done for the Negroes, the appeal recounted the following accomplishments: between three and four thousand migrants had received aid in Topeka.⁶⁸ A total of \$5,819.70 had been received, and the whole either spent or designated for “incurred obligations.” A large amount of clothing and blankets had been donated, and a considerable quantity remained. The committee’s most pressing need, therefore, was for money with which to provide shelter and treatment for the sick, as well as to transport the Negroes to areas where employment and homes awaited them. Without the contributions of money, concluded the appeal, “all further efforts at organized assistance to these refugees” would have to be discontinued.⁶⁹

It is doubtful, however, that the members of the association felt that relief would no longer command their attention. Certainly Governor St. John was hardly thinking along these lines when he predicted the migration from the South would continue “for many years.” In an interview by a reporter of the *New York Daily Tribune*, he voiced his opinion that the state of Kansas would feel little effect from the exodus, since being an agricultural region, great tracts of land were yet to be placed in cultivation. The governor believed that the colored people could settle much of the land by establishing small colonies of not more than 30 families, with from 40 to 80 acres allotted to each family.⁷⁰

St. John foresaw a bright future for the Negro in Kansas under the colonization plan he wished to see inaugurated, but he thought the colored people would profit by remaining in the South, with, of course, some very important reservations. The Negroes must have “full protection of life and property,” political rights equal to that enjoyed by the whites of that region, and equal educational opportunities for colored children. Unless the South developed a “sense of justice” and assured the freedmen these three consti-

68. It has been estimated that between the arrival of the first group in Wyandotte and the middle of June, 1879, a total of about 5,100 migrants had arrived in Kansas.—See Glen Schwendemann, “Negro Exodus to Kansas” (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1957), p. 161.

69. See an address “To the Friends of the Colored People,” issued by the directors of the Kansas Freedmen’s Relief Association, dated June 26, 1879, in A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 291, 292.

70. *New York Daily Tribune*, June 7, 1879.

tutional guarantees, he predicted an exodus from the South that would involve two million Negroes.⁷¹

The governor was wrong in one respect. The migrants arriving in Kansas in the future would be numbered in the thousands instead of the millions. But they would continue to come—and those who smiled at the idea of comparing this exodus to that of the Israelites of old, were soon forced to admit that the impending deluge of Negroes from the South was sufficient evidence that these modern Israelites had apparently received the command to "go in to possess the land."

71. *Ibid.*

Monument Station, Gove County

CHARLES R. WETZEL

ON THE rolling bottom land of the Smoky Hill river, 22 miles south and four miles east of Oakley, are the "Smoky Hill Pyramids." Of the many travelers who come to view them, few realize that less than a mile to the south are the deep ruts that mark the old Smoky Hill trail which carried so many pioneers from Leavenworth to Denver, Salt Lake City and the West coast. Nor do they suspect that about a mile west of where the trail strikes the present road is the site of Monument station. To go a step further, they could stand on the very ground of this old military post and not have the slightest idea that it was once graced with the title "fort."¹

All that is left are a few scattered rocks that once were part of the foundations of the buildings and a long L-shaped trench that reaches out to the bluff of the river and might easily be mistaken for a washout were not both ends closed. Several holes, some almost covered, are still to be seen, and denote the position of the "dug-out" of the early post. An occasional tin can and perhaps a few square nails may be found near the depression that one time served as the trash pit. Other than these scanty marks of identification it might easily be mistaken for just another part of this Gove county ranch.

Monument station received its name from the previously mentioned pyramids directly to the northeast, which in the early days were referred to as the "monuments."

The first mention of Monument station is in a letter dated September 12, 1865, from Isaac E. Eaton of the Butterfield Overland Despatch to Thomas Carney, then mayor of Leavenworth. At that time the Smoky Hill route was to be used by Eaton's company in transporting freight and passengers from Leavenworth to Denver and the purpose of the letter was to promote trade. Stations were located between nine and 21 miles apart along the trail with approximately every third station being a "home" station. At these home stations passengers would be fed and kept by a family.²

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1. There is some argument as to whether or not this post was ever referred to as a "fort," although this is the common reference used today.

2. Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier," *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 17 (1926-1928), pp. 194, 195.

It was claimed for the Smoky Hill route that it was better than either the Santa Fe or the Oregon trails because it had a sufficient supply of water along its entire course. What its sponsors did not point out was that it bisected the vast Indian hunting grounds between the other trails. From the outset Indian depredations were a common occurrence.

The first attack on a Butterfield Overland Despatch coach near Monument station was on October 2, 1865. About 30 Indians made the attack. The passengers fought for some time but finally had to abandon the coach, taking the horses and starting east. The Indians plundered and burned the coach, burned the station house, and drove off some mules.³ Before the year was ended Gen. G. M. Dodge placed troops on the road west from Fort Ellsworth at Big Creek, Monument station, and Pond's Creek.⁴

Troops were at Monument station on November 20, 1865, for in the post returns of Fort Fletcher it was mentioned that a portion of this command was called east to help patrol the road because of the especially difficult situation with the Indians that winter.⁵

In December of that same year the station was mentioned once again, as Lt. George Handy accompanied by a sergeant, eight corporals, and 21 privates went to Monument station to escort the paymaster back to Fort Fletcher.⁶ At this time a Captain Stroud was serving as commanding officer of the post.⁷

Evidently there was no commissioned officer at this garrison shortly after, for on January 12, 1866, one was sent there.⁸ Two days later Lieutenant Bell of the 13th Missouri cavalry was sent from Monument and Pond Creek stations with two wagons and 20 men to Fort Fletcher for supplies. The commander of the post reported that they had rations for only 15 days, and he felt that he might have to abandon the station. These troops were still there six days later (January 20, 1866), for the post surgeon of Fort Fletcher was there on that date attending to the sick.⁹

3. *The Daily Rocky Mountain News*, October 16, 1865, as reported in "The Smoky Hill Trail in Western Kansas, 1859-1869," a thesis by John W. Neyer.

4. Montgomery, *loc. cit.*, p. 198. There seems to have been some kind of evolution of names in the development of these stations. The station that is specifically called "Pond's Creek" here is later called simply "Pond Creek" while Monument station is sometimes called "Monuments Station."

5. "Fort Fletcher Post Returns of November 20, 1865," as found in the *Records of the United States Command*, selected pages from v. 456, Department of the Missouri, National Archives, Washington, 1948 (microfilm).

6. *Ibid.* (Pages not numbered.)

7. Neyer, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

8. "Fort Fletcher Post Returns," *loc. cit.*

9. *Ibid.*

Perhaps the necessary supplies never reached Monument, for the post was evidently abandoned. On March 1, 1866, Companies A, E, and I of the First United States volunteer infantry were ordered to march to Monument station and "re-establish" it.¹⁰ On March 28 we find the commanding officer at Fort Fletcher sending one company of cavalry and one of infantry there.¹¹

Except for a single mention of supplies being sent to this post in November, 1866,¹² the voice of history is silent until June, 1867, when J. H. Betts, having recently experienced an Indian attack at Big Creek station, moved to Monument and established a sutler's store.¹³

July 14, 1867, saw the coming of 1st Lt. David E. Ezekiel, commanding I company of the 38th infantry.¹⁴ In the same records which give this information it was reported that Ezekiel had relieved a Lieutenant Nolan of the Seventh cavalry, who had previously occupied the post with his troops. This may have been the company of cavalry dispatched to Monument from Fort Fletcher on March 28, 1866, but this is not conclusive since there was apparently a great deal of rotation at this post.

Root and Connelley, in their *Overland Stage to California*, tell of an incident supposed to have taken place at Monument station. It seems that Enoch Cummings was a driver of one of 40 wagons belonging to Powers & Newman of Leavenworth, and on August 22, 1867, he found himself camped on the Smoky Hill river at Monument. "Several hundred" Indians surprised the caravan at about 5:00 o'clock in the morning. The defenders immediately secured their stock and prepared for battle. The Indians made a grand charge from the west as the sun was rising. All were mounted and their bodies were painted with a variety of color. Cummings described the early morning rays of the sun striking their painted bodies and polished shields and guns as one of the most magnificent spectacles he had ever seen. The battle lasted 32 hours; when the Indians finally withdrew and the travelers counted up the casualties and losses for both sides, they found that one Indian pony had been shot and one mule belonging to the travelers had been run off.

A check of this account suggests that either Cummings was

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. Montgomery, *loc. cit.*, p. 197. A sutler's store sold food and drink to troops.

14. "Monument Station Post Returns," August, 1867, as found on photostatic copies obtained from Edward Beougher of Grinnell.

farther away from Monument station than he thought, or that this is something which was evolved in his thinking at a later date, for the post returns of this month show that Company I of the 38th infantry consisting of about 100 men, was stationed there at the time, yet no mention is made of the troops or of the travelers seeking help from them during the battle.¹⁵

Capt. John B. Conyngham was sent to Monument station in August of 1867, to assume duties as commanding officer of the post. He relieved 1st Lt. D. E. Ezekiel who remained there as second in command. At the time he assumed command, he wrote:

This Post is situated upon the Smoky Hill stage route in the state of Kansas, ninety (90) miles west of Fort Hays and forty-seven (47) miles east of Fort Wallace.

No post office has been established at the post. Communications addressed "Monument Station, Kansas" are received with some regularity by the "way pocket" which is carried upon the coaches of the United States Express Co.¹⁶

The winter of 1867 was not too eventful for the inhabitants of this station. Although there was still some difficulty with the Indians along the trail, nature proved to be the greater enemy, for heavy rains made the trail impassable. The railroad was gradually pushing its way westward and was receiving the same opposition from the Indians as did the coaches and wagons over the trail.

By the spring of 1868 the railroad had reached as far west as present Oakley. Due west some ten miles was Antelope station. Antelope station was renamed "Monument" and has retained that name to the present day. It is a community of 200 people. Actually it is 35 miles northwest of the original Monument station.

With the decrease in travel on the Smoky Hill trail, and an increase in Indian attacks on the railroad workers, Co. I of the 38th infantry was ordered to abandon the place on June 24, 1868, and march to "Monument [formerly Antelope station] to guard government stores and protect the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern District."¹⁷

The troops were there but a short time, for on August 23, 1868, they were ordered to march to Fort Wallace.¹⁸ And thus closed the short history of this temporary military post.

15. Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, published by the authors, 1901, and reprinted by Long's College Book Co., Columbus, Ohio, 1950), pp. 367-370.

16. "Monument Station Post Returns," *loc. cit.* The Butterfield Overland Despatch sold out to the Holladay Overland Mail & Express Co., April 15, 1866, who in turn sold out to the United States Express Co., February 1, 1867.

17. *Ibid.*, June, 1868.

18. *Ibid.*, August, 1868.

In recent years, Dean Carver and Zack Phelps, making an investigation of all the stations in Logan and Wallace counties, did some research at the ruins. They estimated that there had been a stone building about 75 by 100 feet and a walled parade ground of perhaps an acre. The stables, corrals, blacksmith shop, commissary, and houses were south of the main fort building and along the bank of the river. They also believed they had found an underground tunnel to the river which could have been used to get water in case of siege by the Indians.¹⁹

All of which could very well be true, but very little could be proved from the ruins now. Rain, wind, and amateur archaeologists have stripped the ground of the identification needed. Early settlers in this area used some of the rocks to build their own homes, and nature and curio hunters have done the rest.

19. Oakley *Graphic*, March 13, 1936, as found in the Kansas State Historical Society's "Trail Clippings," v. 3, pp. 220, 221; and in Neyer, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

Eugene Ware and Dr. Sanger: The Code of Political Ethics, 1872-1892

JAMES C. MALIN

DURING the two decades, 1872-1892, the American political scene, as reflected in the Fort Scott area, possessed characteristics that may be differentiated from what came after. The symbols and the associated political code require explanation to later generations, and in terms that avoid value judgments. Something of the culture content of the political modes of the day is preserved and may be introduced by the story of the friendship between Eugene Ware, Republican, and Increase Sumner Sanger, M. D., Democrat, together with the account of the rites by which political victories were celebrated—a single local instance to be sure, but an illustration of significance far wider than the one community.

On the occasion of the death of Dr. Sanger (1828-1888), Ware furnished, for publication over his own name, the eulogy of a friend, and the only instance of the kind that has been found.¹ The burial of Dr. Sanger had taken place on Sunday, November 25, 1888, when "the November air was filled with the delicious haze of a perfect Kansas day. . . ." Ware referred to Sanger as "an educated doctor," and the full force of his meaning would be apparent only to those who were familiar with Ware's poem, "The Medicine Man," in which the fraudulent pretensions of an "educated fool" were mangled, both by Ware's pen and the heels of an army mule. Without specifying the nature of the affliction that was responsible for Dr. Sanger's death, Ware referred to it as a "grim mockery of science, and medicine and for years his hair has been whiter than snow." But, in spite of pain, his disposition was "one of sympathy and smiles. The head of no philosopher or statesman that Grecian marble has bequeathed us had a finer outline than did his." Furthermore his honor and integrity were above reproach. This Ware was saying of his friend who was a lifelong Democrat of an extreme sort, who in his own vigorous language kicked his party, but always from within.

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The article published here is from material compiled for a book on Eugene Ware.

1. Fort Scott *Daily Tribune*, November 27, 1888.

As a physician, Sanger had spent most of his early career in the United States navy, and had sailed the seven seas in a man-of-war. In consequence of this life "abroad" the United States flag acquired for Sanger a special symbolism. Ware put the matter this way: "If he had any special religious belief he did not allude to it, but if questioned he would have probably said that he would be saved through the efficacy of the American flag, in which he firmly believed." Only the flag, Ware pointed out, took precedence over his democracy. By way of illustration, Ware recounted the incident of the Republican victory parade and celebration of the election of James A. Garfield to the Presidency in 1880. This incorrigible Democrat, Sanger, was a participant—

The doctor occupied, by invitation, a place at the head of the column, and for two hours he carried the American flag—by concession it was the flag of the occasion. . . . It was honor enough for me to walk beside him and hold his hat. Yet the doctor was not there to celebrate a Republican victory. He was there to carry the flag of his country, so that all would remember that there was one thing in the United States even greater than a victorious party. It was pure patriotism, and he was accorded the post of honor because everybody knew how he felt.

And then Ware closed his eulogy—one agnostic to another—with this affirmation of faith:

Rest quietly in peace, O! doctor. The fallen leaves upon your new-made grave bode you no evil. The flag you loved so well has yet nine hundred years to wave, and in such stretch of time it may even gather on its field the stars of heaven. Rest in your quiet grave, O! friend. There are none who bear you malice. You need no marble. We all hope to see you later.

The incident of the Garfield parade serves also to introduce the larger topic of the manner and meaning of celebrations of this kind, which, except in 1876, occurred in Fort Scott every four years, 1872-1892 inclusive. The first of these has its setting in the particularly bitter campaign of 1872 when the Republican party was split, and the revolting liberals were joined in part by the Democratic party. Two incidents became the focus of this particular ritualistic performance. Capt. George J. Clarke, a Democrat, had made an election bet with Dr. J. S. Redfield, a Republican, according to which the loser would deliver a sack of flour to the other in a wheelbarrow.² The second stunt was only slightly more original, but possessed symbolic significance to Democrats of the 19th century, who still insisted that the United States had a fundamental law which limited the power of the central government. A "Ship of

2. "A Wheelbarrow Bet" was announced in the Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, June 23, 1872, and was referred to again just prior to election day. *Ibid.*, November 2, 1872.

State," called the "Constitution" was constructed which, in 1872, was to be "saved" by their hoped for victory at the polls. Instead of celebrating a Democratic return to power, however, the good ship "Constitution" had to be put to a different ritualistic use—it carried the defeated parties, liberals and Democrats, up the mythical "Salt river."³

The "Grand Jollification"—for Republicans—came Saturday evening, November 9, and the Sunday *Monitor's* headlines read: "The Wheeling of the Flour" and "The Ship Constitution and Her Noble Crew. The Departure for Salt River"—"The whole town, women and children, as well as voters, seemed to have turned out to witness the event. . . ." The procession started shortly after 7 P. M., from the Joss mill, led by the German band. Escorted by Dr. Redfield, Clarke pushed the wheelbarrow of flour,

flanked by faithful members of the Liberal party as hearse bearers . . . , and next came the good ship "Constitution," manned by its "Liberal" crew, on their four years' voyage up the uninviting scenes of Salt river. Dr. Couch occupied a position at the helm and mournfully tolled the "watches" of the death of the Liberal party. Dr. Sanger, Charlie Goodlander, and other prominent members of the Liberal party were on board, with Ware, of the *Monitor*, on the "starboard watch." The bootblacks, good Grant fellows, rode proudly in the rear, in an illuminated express wagon.

Accomplishing the delivery of the flour, Redfield addressed Clarke an "amusing speech," and Couch, "on the part of the Liberal 'crew' accepted the defeat. . . ." After the conclusion of the speech making, "Hail Columbia" was sung and the crowd dispersed. The flour was to be sold at a Presbyterian festival. In conclusion, the *Monitor* reported that "The best of feeling prevailed on every hand. . . ."

Another item in the same issue of the *Monitor* recorded the disposition of the ship:

The Liberal ship Constitution was raffled off at Henry's last night, and fell to the lucky number held by Mr. J. E. Trent. It was afterwards purchased by Mr. Shields and will henceforward ornament the roof of his block on Locust Street.

Thus was the Liberal-Democratic symbol preserved for participation in future rituals.

The Presidential election of 1876 ended in a dispute which was decided almost at the last minute prior to the inauguration day by an extra-legal commission of 15 which voted eight to seven on the

3. References to the ship "Constitution" and its first public exhibition appeared in *ibid.*, October 23, 1872, and the preparations for the jollification were described in the same paper, November 7-9 (Thursday, Friday, and Saturday).

controversial issues. Under these circumstances Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, instead of Samuel J. Tilden, became President of the United States. No record of a "Jollification" similar to that of 1872 has been found, but when the decision of the electoral commission was announced in February, the *Monitor*, February 18, 1877, recorded that: "Dr. Sanger mourns. . . . His arm was adorned with crape yesterday. He evidently thinks the Democratic party dead—of suicide." Dr. Sanger replied that he did not mourn for Tilden or the Democratic party, "but I mourn for the utter demoralization of the Republic and the death of the principles upon which it was founded." The editor was reminded that Washington had warned in his "Farewell Address" against the danger of party strife:

I mourn, also, sir, for the blunted sensibilities of my countrymen. . . . I care not, sir, for men or parties, but I do love the Republic and the principles upon which it was founded. . . . I have loved, cherished and defended it in five quarters of the globe, and have been proud to call myself an American citizen, but now, alas! I bow my head in shame. . . . I mourn, however, sir, not without hope. Truth, Justice and Right, though crushed to earth may rise again. . . .⁴

One reader of the *Monitor* was not willing to let well enough alone, and the editor was so indiscreet as to print these lines addressed "To Dr. Sanger":

He mourns the best
Who mourns the least, for other's failings;
Who his own "beam" deplores,
Not other's ailings.

—[Squills.

Sanger cited, in reply, the definition of "Squills" given in *The United States Dispensatory* as a medicine that nauseates—in large doses emetic, and explained that:

If I have a failing I endeavor to correct, not to justify or defend it—never did.

The failing of which "Squills" refers was corrected months ago entirely, and radically, as all my friends know, and rejoice at, but which chagrins and disappoints some canting hypocritical puppies, who take their temperance, morality and religion in small doses like "Squills" that nauseates and disgusts.⁵

The details of Sanger's unhappy story cannot be reconstructed with any degree of satisfaction, but the *Daily Monitor*, October 1, 1870, carried the following: "NOTICE—All persons are cautioned not to give credit to Dr. J. [I.] S. Sanger, as I, his wife, positively

4. *Ibid.*, February 18, March 4, 1877.

5. *Ibid.*, March 6, 7, 1877.

refuse to pay any of his debts." The inference that is suggested by these two items, seven years apart, is that Sanger had become irresponsible from drink, but had conquered his failing. Not only that, such a public confession as he made required a very particular brand of courage.

As the campaign of 1880 drew to a close the Republican *Monitor*, October 26, printed an article "The Old Ship" in which the Democratic party was held up to ridicule, emphasizing the supposed condition of both the party and "The Old Ship":

In passing along Scott avenue a stranger will be likely to have his attention attracted by a miniature ship that stands on the top of the Shields Block, under bare poles, with cordage swaying in the wind and a diminutive flag floating from one of the masts. In the palmy days of 1872, when the Democracy were gallantly battling for success under the lead of that great and consistent advocate of a high protective tariff, Horace Greeley, this emblematic institution, being the most inconsistent that could be conceived of by that party of magnificent blunders, was built for use at a grand Democratic demonstration at Fort Scott. After serving the immediate purpose of construction, it was too fine a work of art to cast aside with the worthless trumpery and paraphernalia of a campaign. Constructed of excellent material and being an exact representation of a ship built to breast the rolling waves and buffet the fierce storms of old ocean's restless domain it was right and sensible that it should be placed on the top of a prominent building as a specimen of Fort Scott handiwork. However inappropriate it may have been, originally, time "which makes all things even," has at last constituted it a fit emblem of Democracy. From its rotten and cracked hull the gloss and glare of paint has long disappeared as the gorgeous pretensions of the party of slavery and rebellion have faded and died. . . . Its masts are shorn of sail and shroud as the political ship of Hancock and English has been bereft of its last shred of canvas by the hurricane generated in Indiana and Ohio. Poor ship! Probably on some stilly *Moonlight* occasion it might be possible to call the *Ross-ter*⁶ of its diminished crew, and get them to lower it from where the bleak winds so relentlessly *Blow*, through its rotten cordage, after which with a gallant commodore *Perry* in command, and by the aid of the trade winds, blowing *free*, it might be safely guided into some (Green) back water and thence up to its proper moorings on the head waters of Salt River.

The victory went to the Republicans and inspired the election jollification of 1880 with which this campaign history began—"a grand old-style riproaring sort of a jollification. . . ."

That consistent old-time Democratic patriot, Dr. Sanger, in company with Senator-elect Ware, headed the list, and while the Doctor truly mourns the defeat of Hancock, yet he is too much of an American not to accept the inevitable, and we judge enjoyed the parade as much as the most enthusiastic.⁷

6. The references are to Thomas Moonlight, and to Former Sen. E. T. Ross.

7. *Daily Monitor*, November 7, 1880; the *Republican Record*, and the *Weekly Herald* did not report the proceedings.

About a month later, political rancor having mellowed substantially, the *Monitor*, December 15, again described the condition of the ship "Constitution," and this time emphasized the devoted care given it by its owner. That this story contradicted the pre-election characterization did not seem to bother the editor. The article closed in eulogy of the ship's symbolism:

Eight years and one month ago yesterday the ship "Constitution" was hoisted on the Shield block and the flag of our country was nailed to the masthead. A flag has been kept there ever since. The ship has received on an average of four flags each year, making about forty that it has borne. Mr. Shields is determined to keep the national bunting flying over the nautical emblem [as] long as he lives. The original cost of the "Constitution" was \$115. After it had filled the purpose of its creation, it was sold at auction to the highest bidder, when Mr. Shields purchased it for the sum of \$24. It cost fully an equal amount to place it on the top of his building. The cost of the Constitution to the present patriotic proprietor up to date has been about \$60. Long may the old "Constitution," the emblem of the gallant ship that did so much for American Liberty, preside over the building. May the beautiful banner of our country float above it, and many a child be borne beneath.

The campaign of 1884 offered something different; the first Democratic victory in a presidential election after the Civil War. Although some doubts existed about the validity of some counts, the Democratic national committee set Saturday night, November 8, as the date for celebrations over the nation of the accession to power of "the grand old party of the people to the control of government." The news of the claim of a Cleveland-Hendricks victory reached Fort Scott during Saturday morning and the local party leaders "peremptorially agreed" upon "a good-natured jollification meeting" the same evening. Hand bills were printed and the call appeared also in the Democratic evening *Daily Tribune*:

Come out with you[r] torches, and your drums and your banners, and help swell the inspiring anthem that will roll over this great country to-night from ocean to ocean.

Sound the loud timbrel
O'er Egypt's dark sea.
Jehova has spoken;
His people are free.

To-night the sixty millions of freemen who live by every rock and rill and people every hill and dale in this lovely land of ours will stand up in the glorious realization of a redeemed and regenerated republic and sing the song of Tennyson: "That men may come and men may go, but this Union shall live on forever." Come out.

The local Republicans refused to concede the defeat, so a bargain was struck that they would go up Salt river Saturday night, No-

vember 8, provided the Democrats agreed to do likewise the next Saturday night should the decision be reversed. The *Tribune's* account of the celebration, printed two days later related that:

The old ship "Constitution," which had been put on top of the Shield's block in 1872, and which was to stay there until a national victory would perch upon the Democratic banner, was taken down by members of the Cleveland and Hendricks club. It was taken to Grant's [carpenter] shop and there placed upon a set of running gears and was put in full-rigged style. She was decorated with flags and banners bearing the portrait of Cleveland and Hendricks and strewed with Chinese lanterns in different parts of the rigging.

. . . The old craft looking as youthful as a bride . . . was drawn by four white horses. . . .

Again Ware was a member of the "crew" whose destination was Salt river. The parade terminated with speech-making at a bonfire in the center of the public square. Ware, who was among the spokesmen for the defeated party, "congratulated the democrats and said the republicans would turn over the government peaceably and quietly, and with the treasury fuller than any democrat in the audience." During the course of his remarks, as the Democratic *Tribune* put it, Ware "got off the following happy bit on St. John," the Prohibitionist Republican ex-Governor of Kansas, and nominee in 1884 of the Prohibition party for President:

He [Ware] said that the first thing a man always did after defeat was to try to explain it, and went on to say, "that twenty years ago there came to Kansas a man from Missouri with a painted mustache, named John P. St. John. In the course of a few years he gave us a Democratic governor. He has now given us a Democratic president, and I do not know exactly what he is doing, but I think he is now working up some scheme to beat Christ and give us a Democratic Redeemer."

According to the Republican Monitor's version: "Senator Ware's remarks were received with loud cheering and tremendous shouts of applause." The celebration "made a great deal of fun for the boys, and did much to allay the bitter hostility that has prevailed to some extent since Tuesday," concluded this paper, and in the rally itself "there was entire absence of bitterness of partizan feeling. . . ." From the Democratic *Tribune's* point of view, the evening passed pleasantly, "with nothing to mar the pleasure of anything or anybody. . . ." ⁸

After four years, 1888, the Presidency was again in Republican hands. The Democratic *Tribune*, November 10, 1888, announced that upon learning definitely of the defeat of its candidate, the

8. *Daily Monitor*, November 9, 1884, and the *Evening Herald*, November 10, have the Republican versions, and the *Daily Tribune*, November 8, 10, told the Democratic story. The *Monitor* and *Tribune* narrations were very similar.

Young Men's Democratic Club took down its manifestations of partisan warfare, and "flung the stars and stripes to the winds of heaven, as an acknowledgment of submission to the supreme will and majesty of the people as expressed at the ballot box, and a token of allegiance to the nation's newly chosen chief magistrate. . . ." The Republicans held their ratifying ceremonies, the central attraction being "two wagons, one containing a platformed float loaded with Republican guards, and the other containing a full rigged boat, the masts flying a variety of bandannas and flags." This time, of course, Ware was one of the speakers for the victors: "Everything passed off in the utmost harmony and good fellowship. The Democrats, generally," the *Monitor* conceded, "entered into the spirit of the thing," the festivities not breaking up until long after 11 P.M. "No doubt," the *Monitor* continued, "Mr. Harrison would have considered himself elected without this ratification, but the General will feel better when he learns how much good it does the lively Republicans of Fort Scott."

The *Tribune's* report on the Republican rally was that they "literally painted things red." Furthermore, "to the great credit of our people, . . . the victor and the vanquished, met most fraternally. . . . Let's all, as one body, pull together from now at least until '92, for the upbuilding of the best city in Southern Kansas. . . ."⁹

The following year the death of Mrs. Michael Shields, widow, prompted a *Tribune* interview with Eugene Ware concerning her husband. Ware recalled that:

[Shields] was the one who rigged up the "ship of state" in 1872. He was then a Liberal, and rowed up Salt River a batch of defeated candidates, and every four years since the ship has done similar service. After its first and second trip Michael put the ship on the top of his building and that became its accustomed dock.¹⁰

Certain inaccuracies of detail should be noted in Ware's accounts as reported, which indicate that already the ship was becoming a folk legend. In this form details of historical facts were being subordinated to the requirements of the symbol. So far as explicit evidence has been found, the ship was placed on top of the Shields building in 1872 and remained there until the Democratic victory of 1884. The reports on the jollification of 1888 described a ship mounted on a wagon, but did not identify it as the historic ship of 1872.

9. *Daily Monitor*, November 14, 1888; *Daily Tribune*, November 10, 14, 1888.

10. *Daily Tribune*, November 23, 1889.

In 1892 the Democrats again won the presidency, sending the Republicans once more "up Salt river." "The water was placid and the journey hilarious enough." The organ of the victors, the *Tribune*, November 15, prefaced its account with the following:

It is a custom immemorial in Fort Scott to ride the defeated party up Salt River after a presidential election. Every four years the old ship that Mr. McElroy dedicated to this purpose many years ago, is taken down from the top of the McElroy block where it was first placed by him, and re-masted for the cabalistic journey up Salt River, its passengers being the defeated candidates on the local ticket and the local leaders of the defeated party. C. W. Goodlander has upon every occasion been at the helm to steer the doleful crew up the mystic stream.

Here again to celebrate a Democratic victory the specific ship was identified, the one that had occupied the place of honor on top of a building. A mistake was made, however, in linking its origin with the name of McElroy rather than with Shields. Also an error attributed the position of helmsman "upon every occasion" to C. W. Goodlander. In 1872 Dr. Couch had been listed at the helm; in 1876 no ceremony occurred; in 1880 no helmsman was reported; in 1884 Goodlander was not named among those participating; in 1888 Goodlander was first mate; and in 1892 only was Goodlander listed as helmsman. Most of the older men who had participated in the initial ceremony were gone, and the stereotypes now being attached to the legend did not square with the facts. But, possibly all this is relatively unimportant, as the whole tradition of the quadrennial parade up Salt river was dropped. No such jollification has been found for 1896, and the one attempted in 1900 proved to be worse than a fiasco. An innovation of that year was a band of Rough Riders who led the short parade. Only one defeated candidate "had the stamina to be rowed up the creek by the republicans." No reference was made to the historic "Constitution." Rowdyism marred the event. As the *Monitor* put it: "Many . . . people had blotted out politics and had settled down to active business life again. . . ." ¹¹ Unmistakably, life in Fort Scott had changed, and in a fundamental manner. In 1912 the Democrats again came to power, but no mention appeared in the press of "Salt creek" or of the "Constitution" which had once been perched upon the Shields building—to be taken down only when the Democrats won a Presidential victory.

11. *Daily Monitor*, November 18, 1900.

CONCLUSION

Under American popular government of the 19th century, the forms of political party organization and practices were largely carried on under an unwritten code, subject of course to change. Political parties were not yet a subject of statutory definition, nor campaigning a game involving the evasion of corrupt practices acts. In politics a man was expected to observe the rules of propriety. A man's political and private life might be quite separate, as was his professional career. The case of Ware and Sanger is only an example of the general situation, not proof of it. Each was a very positive man in his respective views on politics. During a campaign each dealt the other vigorous blows. Neither pulled his punches out of friendship, but the code differentiated between things public and things private. A violation of the code as in the case of Leslie Winter in 1872 resulted in a breach of friendship.

A variable amount of corruption occurred among all factions of political parties, but that offense scarcely qualified as pertinent to the present discussion. The elements that muddled the political waters so frequently and seriously during these decades and which did matter, were the fanatical advocates of causes; people who had convinced themselves that they were bound by "principles" and "morality," but to these must always be added those who climbed on the band-wagon of what appeared to be a popular cause and stayed with it so long as the chance for office seemed propitious. The amateurs in these groups, many of them well meaning, inexperienced in politics, knew not the political code, or cared not to respect the distinctions between things public and things private. They knew not constructive compromise in things public. They talked of "principles" and of "morality," but often practiced neither. Political preachers, prohibitionists, greenbackers, silverites, farmers, labor agitators, advocates of railroad regulation, of Negro rights, of woman's rights, and other reformers, including vindictive disappointed office seekers, drew especially Ware's contempt. He was not a crusader, and frequently found himself caught between the uncompromising elements, usually referred to as radical and conservative, but more often merely self-interested pressure groups. Ware's independent proposals in matters of public policy were sometimes more far-reaching and fundamental in their nature than the purported radical measures, a fact that these groups failed to recognize.

Regular party members, even the much condemned machine politicians, might disagree on men and measures, but they understood Democrat Dr. Sanger, a diminutive man, his white hair blowing in the breeze, heading a post-election parade carrying the United States flag, and Republican Eugene Ware, all six feet of him, marching beside Dr. Sanger, holding the latter's hat. This generation that fought for the Union felt a passionate veneration expressed in religious ideology for the United States flag and for the political system for which it stood. This unique emotional focus was no longer present near the end of the century. Also, concepts of the political code and of the constitution were modified.

In 1888 rather generally the people had responded with a certain enthusiasm to Ware's statement of Dr. Sanger's creed in terms of an essentially religious apotheosis of the United States flag. They were thrilled by Ware's salute to the flag in his long narrative poem on the Civil War—"Neutralia":

There is something in a flag, and a little
burnished eagle,
That is more than emblematic—it is
glorious, it's regal.

But by the end of the century only a dwindling handful of the Ware-Sanger generation would react comparably and see in the flag a faith to live by as in his poem

THE OLD SOLDIER'S RELIGION

The Stars and Stripes have stood by me
In hours of darkest peril;
I worship them as good enough
For me in hours of need.
I know that they will live beyond
All present forms of creed,
Because all present forms of creed
Are sere and drear and sterile.¹²

Unless one appreciates these things to the full and takes them seriously, there can be no real understanding of the history of the post-Civil War generation.

Again, emphasis must be placed upon the fact that the differentiation which focuses upon a tacit code of political behavior pointed out in the foregoing is not a value judgment. Whether or not such a political code was good or bad, or might be abused more or less

12. The exact date of this poem has not been determined, but it appeared in the *Rhymes of Ironquill* for the first time in the tenth edition of 1900.

than any other institution, is not the point. But to recognize the existence and the nature of this mode of operation does explain many things about the much misunderstood generation, which was in power, immediately following the American Civil War. To be sure, the Fort Scott manner of celebration is only a single local instance, but it is small enough to be presented in detail and in terms of named individuals. It is not offered as proof; only as an example. This and other comparable variant cases at the local level afford a solid basis, however, for a sure grasp of the political party aspect of national history for the period.

An Editor Looks at Early-Day Kansas

THE LETTERS OF CHARLES MONROE CHASE—*Concluded*

Edited by LELA BARNES

III. THE LETTERS OF 1873

WYANDOTTE, KAN.; Oct. 20, 1873.

DEAR READER:

It is a long day's ride from Lincoln, Neb., to this point, distant about 250 miles, but the time is well spent in viewing the beautiful prairie and the villages springing up along the line of the Atchison and Nebraska road. This is a sort of cross road, not included in the main through lines of travel, and is therefore not much crowded. The passengers all have two seats each, and can spread out and take as much ease and comfort as their respective dispositions will allow.

After leaving Lincoln, Tecumseh is the largest village along the line, till you reach Atchison, Kansas. It is a county seat, containing about 1200 people, most of whom are in a fever about town lots. The houses have the appearance of having been dumped down upon the prairie, and left without fencing or ornamentation by way of tree or shrub. Still the inhabitants are waiting for a city which is sure to spring up, as they think, and give a demand for lots and an opportunity for speculation. If it were not for speculation in town lots we don't know what would become of a large per cent of western men.

In passing Leavenworth we were strongly tempted to drop off and interview the old acquaintances of 1864. This is the home of Jennison, the Kansas Jayhawker, and of his associates. He was a strong slavery man in the '56 times, but when the rebellion broke out the Union side afforded the best opportunities for robbery, and he was nominally a Union man, but really a plunderer of Missouri property.¹ There are miles and miles of Missouri thoroughfare on the border, on which Jennison and his men burned every house and in many instances slaughtered the people. One old lady tells us her experience: Her husband had been reported a rebel by

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1. The statement is generally made in histories of the period and biographies of Charles R. Jennison that he became active in the Free-State cause as soon as he arrived in the territory in 1857. He was a supporter of John Brown.

some of Jennison's men. In passing his house Jennison called him out, and, without much parleying, ordered his boys to string him up on his own piazza. In spite of the woman's entreaties and crying, a rope was fastened to his neck, and, with the other end thrown over a beam, he was jerked several feet into the air. As his neck was not broken, he struggled violently for release, when Jennison ordered two of his men to jump upon him and break his neck. This was done, in the very face of his wife "and there" said she, "is the very beam where they hung him." This is but one specimen of the numerous cases of out-lawing perpetrated in those times.

Wyandotte is situated at the mouth and on the north side of Kaw river. The county embraces the former reserve of the Wyandotts, who have, till within a year or two, resided here, cultivating the lands and mingling with the society of whites, and in many cases intermarrying with them. The Wyandotts have produced some fascinating squaws, who have in times past turned the heads of prominent whites. Sally Driver, still a resident of Wyandotte, has been among the most prominent belles the tribe ever boasted of. Sally was finely educated in eastern seminaries, had the advantage of the best society during her school days, and when she took her sheepskin and came home she was the most charming woman in the west. She was of medium stature, with black hair and eyes, quick and graceful in motion, lively and entertaining in conversation, and as bright as a new dollar. The floor at her feet has been wiped by the knees of prominent statesmen and lawyers. But Sally is still single. We called on her. Her blooming beauty has departed, and she looks a little more like a squaw than a belle.²

Perhaps the reader would like to consult the county records and learn the names of some of the real estate holders and heads of families in Wyandotte county. We called upon the register, today, who turned to his records of deeds and, among others, read the following: Splitlog, Mudeater, Bigknife, Longhorn, Bluejacket, Whiteday, Whitefeather, Johnnycake, Silverheels, Bearskin, Beaver, Bigsinner, Bigtree, Bigarms, Blacksheep, Baldhead, Choplog, Coon, Coonhawk, Cornstalk, Curlyhead, Fighter, Grayeyes, Halfjohn, Caryhoo, Littlechief, Lumpy, Peacock, Pipe, Porcupine, Punch, Sarahass, Spybuck, Summondawat, Tallman, Wasp, Whitecrow, Whitewing, Bigtown, Longhouse, Nofoot, Standingstone, &c.

2. Gen. George D. Bayard in a letter to his sister dated at Fort Leavenworth, December 18, 1856, wrote: "There are some charming half breed ladies, who resort here from the interior. What do you girls say about it? The great Wyandot Beauty is now here, Miss D."—Samuel J. Bayard, *The Life of George Dashiell Bayard* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1874).

The above are all heads of families, and many of them have been prominent citizens of Wyandotte, and tolerable farmers. The tribe is now quartered in the Cherokee country, altho' many of the descendants are here, amalgamated with the whites.

As a town, Wyandotte has not kept pace with her predictions. She is situated in a splendid country, the Missouri river bluffs, where the finest fruits can be raised, and other crops grow in abundance. Before the war she was the rival of Kansas City, just across the Kaw river and over the state line, in Missouri. She was among the early Kansas towns to take on great expectations. But after the war Kansas City took the growth, leaving Wyandotte as a suburban village. She now contains about 2500 inhabitants, 2 banks, 2 newspapers, a fine graded school, several good churches, blocks and residences, but her fate as a great city is sealed, and she can expect thrift only as an incident in the growth of Kansas City. City lots sell occasionally at good figures, and her expectations as a sideshow are of no small degree. She has spent a good deal of money in cutting down streets, filling up ravines, and for other improvements designed to make the city attractive as a place of residence, a sort of Brooklyn to Kansas City, which is now the ultimatum of her ambition.

But Wyandotte's disappointment is not much compared with that of some other places of "great expectations." Quindaro stood on the Missouri river, two miles above here. Quindaro was, but now she is not. Gov. Robinson thought to make it *the* point west of St. Louis on the river. He interested a Massachusetts colony, who emigrated, laid out the town, and began building. The main avenue of the city ran from the levee back into the bluffs, which were to be cut down to accommodate the grade. A street of blocks were built, including several fine stores, a three-story hotel, &c. A good mill with steam engine was erected and equipped on the levee and the Governor spent some \$40,000 in grading his avenue. We visited the city in 1863 and found but one solitary family there. A poor man and a crazy wife had strayed into the hall of the hotel, and there occupied a bunch of rags. One store with granite front and iron posts stood as good as new, and various other buildings were in good preservation, but empty. Governor Robinson Avenue was graded back into the bluff 75 rods, where it stopped, leaving a perpendicular embankment 20 feet high. Small cottonwoods had sprung up in the street, and the owls were making selections of choice localities for places of abode. The colony had

tired of their enterprise and gone back home, leaving numerous town lots and the city of great expectations to take care of themselves. The lots are there, today, and so is the governor's avenue, but it is covered with a fine growth of cottonwoods. The buildings have tumbled down, and the solitary family even has abandoned the place.³

Kansas can boast of other enterprises, where villages were mapped and lots sold at good figures, out upon the prairie and miles from any house. All over Kansas, wherever two roads intersected, villages were laid out and lots sold to those suffering with the town lot fever. The bubble burst prior to the rebellion, since which time expectations and speculations have been based upon more reasonable foundations. [C. M. C.]

KANSAS CITY, MO., Oct. 25, 1873

DEAR READER:

Did you ever come within one of getting rich? Within the limits of this city is a 40-acre lot of beautiful land. In 1863 this lot was enclosed by a fence, and was a native forest of oak and walnut. In the fall of that year we sported with a double-barrel shot gun, and, on the same lot, took in many a fox squirrel. We were charmed with the land, as it was high and overlooked the city, and in case the city grew it was sure to be in demand for lots. An old gentleman named Judge Smart owned it, and being "right smart" in want of money, desired to sell; \$300 per acre was his price. A real estate dealer employed us to purchase the land at \$250 per acre. We laboured at various times with the owner to secure the tract for \$250, but he was too *smart* to discount a dollar from the \$300, and we were not smart enough to persuade the dealer to authorize us to pay over \$250. This ended the negotiation. But one day we went over the land with the judge, selected the five acres we liked best, and secured a refusal of the same for ten days at \$300 per acre. We went to Leavenworth, and at once sent back word to a friend to take the deed and pay the \$1500 for the land. But the judge backed square down. Today that land is in the best locality of city residences, and is compactly built over. Without the buildings it is worth \$60,000 to \$70,000. But we are still as poor as a printer.

At the foot of the bluff, between Kansas City and Wyandotte, is a plat of level ground containing 3000 or 4000 acres of land. In 1864 this was all wilderness and a resort for hunters. Today it is

3. For the story of Quindaro see Alan Farley, "Annals of Quindaro: A Kansas Ghost Town," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 22 (Winter, 1956), pp. 305-320.

the point where all the railroads center, and is covered with depots, packing houses, cattle yards, second class stores, &c. It is the liveliest piece of ground of its size west of St. Louis. Standing upon the bluff and looking down upon the whole tract you have before you a moving hive of industry. At every hour of the day and night, trains without number are arriving and departing, shifting about, making up, &c. From 20 to 40 engines are constantly in motion, dragging after them trains of various sizes. It is here one gets an idea of the amount of business transacted in Texas cattle. This is a business which would alone build up a city of no small magnitude. We failed to obtain figures of the amount transacted in a month or year. But it employs, in its various branches, an army of men. Every train from the south, southwest, and west delivers at the yards cattle, which are passed through several hands, and either fall into the barrel right here or are shipped ahead to St. Louis or Chicago. A day's stay about the yards makes one feel that all Texas is raising cattle which are poured into this point. The business is simply enormous. The trade has been hard, this fall. Today "bunches"—as they call herds of cattle—were selling from a cent and a half to four cents a pound, live weight. Texas countenances are quite low and many drovers, who are out \$3000 or \$4000 on their drive, declare it to be their last season.

These Texas cattle are not what Vermont would call beef. They come in as thin as shads. No Vermont feeder would think of offering them to the butcher without a season of good feeding. But in good order they do not look inviting. They are built like racers, and are a good match on the hoof for the best of ponies. In front they are quite imposing, with horns spanning about six feet, bright mild eyes, and heavy forequarters. But take a rear view and you are looking at the sharp end of a wedge.

Kansas City people claim this to be the largest beef-packing point in the world. They are probably over-sanguine, but we believe it is conceded that, among their four packing houses, one of them, Plankinton & Armour's, is the largest in existence. At this season of the year this establishment butchers and packs 800 to 1200 beeves a day. You will get an idea of this dispatch by considering that 1200 in ten hours are two beeves a minute, slaughtered, dressed, packed, with the tallow and all waste tried and barreled. We spent this afternoon in this house, witnessing the *modus operandi*. The building covers several acres of land. Attached to outside above the basement story, is a line of pens each large enough to hold two cattle.

In the yards below the droves are kept, and a half-dozen men are constantly driving up the inclined plain leading to the slaughter-pens cattle by twos. When these pens are filled, a man with a rifle passes over them, dropping cold lead between their eyes. It keeps this man with his rifle very busy all day to dispatch his 1200. These pens are connected with the slaughter-house by heavy doors, which are raised as the cattle are wanted. A chain is hitched to them, and by steam they are drawn into position for the knives. There are a half-dozen different sets of butchers. The first man passes along the line, sticking; and then follows a set skinning and amputating the heads; then comes the next set to skin and amputate the legs, and split the hide down the belly; they are followed by "siders" who skin down the sides of the animals, then come the "backers" who put in the gambrels, order the hoist and skin down the backs. Men with cleavers follow when the ox is partly split down, and he is ready for two men with levers who slide him across the blood gutter to the set who finish by splitting down and rinsing. Other sets are engaged dragging away heads, insides, &c.

Every man has just so much to do with no possibility of shirking his part or going slow. The help is so organized that each gang drives the other, thus giving the proprietors the profit of a full day's work from every hand. Every part of the animal is utilized, except the offal and blood, which the proprietors informed us would be saved next year. The inwards are dressed, and by an elevator, carried, with other waste pieces, into the upper story, where they are thrown into steam tanks and drawn out below in the shape of tallow or other useful material. The process of cutting up and packing is equally interesting to the spectator and is attended with all possible dispatch. The pay of the men varies from \$1.25 to \$5 per day. The siders are considered the most skillful and get \$5, while the backers come in next with \$4. The common hand gets \$2 to \$2.50, while helpers, or those who do the carrying away, &c., get about \$1.50. In the season of hog killing this house considers nothing less than 3500 hogs a full day's work. Although this is the largest packing house, there are three other large establishments in the near vicinity which will serve to give the reader an idea of the amount of this kind of business in Kansas City. And it is only reasonable to suppose that it must largely increase during the next few years.

Among the most important institutions organized in the city dur-

ing the past year are the street car companies, of which four are now in existence, and run over thirteen miles of track. They are in their infancy and run at a loss, but they have secured the franchise and are confident in expectation of profitable days to come. This enterprise gives Kansas City a metropolitan appearance, and by its great convenience to the citizen will have much to do with inviting an increase of population.

Game abounds in this locality. Prairie chickens, quail, rabbits, gray and fox squirrels are pursued with greed by men and boys. It is fashionable to own a double barrel shot gun, with necessary accoutrements. Within city limits, even, this small game is common. Any man who owns a ten-acre orchard can supply his table occasionally with game.

Labouring men command about \$1.50 a day, but this season, money being scarce and help plenty, a day's work can be secured for \$1. Mechanics in the city get about the same pay they command in the country towns of Vermont. Corn is worth 40 cents. Poor people get their beef cheap enough. Good Texas sirloin steaks or roasts at the packing houses being 5 cents a pound. Good flour is worth \$8 or \$9. Dry goods, groceries, clothing, agricultural implements, and in fact, most store goods are higher than in the East.

The one thing needful in the city is manufacturing. The West seems satisfied to produce the material and let the East take the profits of manufacturing. Hides taken off here are sent East to be tanned, made into boots, and returned with the cost to the consumers increased by freight two ways. The same may be said with two-thirds of the manufactured articles used in the West. There is not a carriage factory in Kansas City. There are two or three repair shops, which employ a half-dozen hands, make a few heavy wagons to order, and perhaps a half-dozen buggies without much style. The city gentleman does not think of patronizing them except for repairs, because they are not standard for style or finish. What is known as the Lyndon open buggy would sell here for about \$200 to \$225, and it would compare favorably with the best open buggies we see here. Such an establishment as that of Trull and Mattocks, or J. D. Miller of St. Johnsbury, set up here and run by the same help, would coin money fast enough to surprise itself. The city would give it a handsome patronage, and the outside world would overrun it with orders, as soon as its existence became known.

[C. M. C.]

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Oct. 27, 1873.

DEAR READER:

We will not hesitate to put on record the prediction that Kansas City is to be a second Chicago of the west, and that inside of twenty years she will outstrip St. Louis. Of course that great city would elevate her nasal organ at this presumption; but that is nothing new for her. She paid Chicago the same compliment for years, but is now obliged to acknowledge superiority in point of commercial importance and population.

Kansas City was a small village in 1840, and remained so till 1853, when she began to secure business from Texas, Santa Fe, and the south-western country generally. She grew rapidly for a few years and at the outbreak of the rebellion numbered about 10,000 souls, and was really the most important point west of St. Louis. But during the war she had the misfortune to be a border Missouri town, and of course was an objective point for Kansas plunderers. During the dark days of the rebellion she was repeatedly in the possession of both parties, and never had much to choose as to the treatment received. Her wealth was an object of plunder. Union men would charge the citizens with being rebels, and make free use of their property. Rebels would return the compliment on their side. Between them both the business was ruined and turned towards Leavenworth. In McGee's addition a whole line of brick blocks were converted into stables and barracks. In the main streets stores were empty, and real estate was for sale for a song, but no buyers. Scores of citizens secured what of their property they could, took their families and left town for a more peaceful locality. . . .

While the city was under the control of Kansas soldiers, as it was during our stay, it was worse off than it would have been if left alone. They brought with them the old bitterness of 1856, and were only too glad to pay off old scores under color of the law. If some reprobate soldier fell into a quarrel with a citizen or outside farmer, he had only to report him to headquarters as disloyal, when he would be sent for and lodged in the guard-house. He might be heard from afterwards, and he might not. We remember one night 13 persons were thus locked up, and but one of them, afterwards found below the city in the river, was ever heard from again. Scarcely a day passed without one or more assassinations in the city. If a soldier was the guilty party he would get his discharge by finding a few companions to swear that the victim

was a rebel or a sympathizer. It was no trouble to procure such testimony from the murderer's own company. Not half the cases of assassination attracted the attention of the authorities.

The lawlessness of those times drove everything out of the city, and gave it to Leavenworth, a Kansas city, and it really looked as if Kansas City could never again revive. People of Leavenworth were jubilant at the prospect of monopolizing metropolitan importance west of St. Louis, and scouted the idea that Kansas City could ever again be a rival. This idea was so prevalent that even Kansas City merchants sold their property for what they could and moved away. But when the war closed, business began to resume its wonted localities. Instead of passing Kansas City, Southern Kansas, Texas, and a part of New Mexico returned to the old point, and Leavenworth began to smile out of the other corner of her mouth. Railroads, projected and chartered prior to the war, began to be built, and by 1870 seven long lines from seven remote quarters of the country were completed, and centered on the bottom lands below Kansas City bluffs. This gave an impetus of growth which no rivalry could check. Capitalists moved in, large stores and manufacturing enterprises were erected, and in seven years after the war the city grew from 6,000 to 35,000—10,000 larger than any other city west of St. Louis. This growth has not been unhealthy, but is a natural result of circumstances demanding the existence of a large city at this point. Few cities in the Union are more favored by railroads, and none drains a larger or more fertile country, yet principally to be developed.

During the past eight years Kansas has led off in emigration. People have flocked into the state from everywhere, bringing small means but good health, muscle, and a disposition to earn an honest living. Along the lines of all the railroads, lands have been taken up, farms started, and villages built. These are all tributary to Kansas City. But while the development of Kansas has scarcely begun, enough has already been done to sustain a prosperous city of 50,000 inhabitants at this point. Millions upon millions of acres are yet to be improved and to empty their products into this city for exchange. We do not see how there can be but one prediction in relation to the future of Kansas City, and that is a prediction of marvellous growth, and a first rank among the cities of the Union. As she is today the geographical center of the country, she may reasonably expect, not a half a century hence, to be the center of population.

Why is it that many of the most important cities of the world have been located on sites requiring so much expense to prepare for building? Chicago was located in a swamp, and it was found necessary to raise the grade of the streets several times, until 10 feet of earth has been deposited on the original bed all over the city. Two-thirds of Boston has been built up out of the sea. But Kansas City is located in the Missouri bluffs, a country as much up and down as an old-fashioned saw mill. No builder finds his lot in a condition to build on, but has either to cut down or fill up. The city, however, has established the grade of streets, and owners of lots find the expense of cutting or filling, to suit the grade, imperative. In many places streets are cut through hard soil and stone from 10 to 50 feet high. In 1863 we saw three-story buildings standing against perpendicular embankments higher than the buildings themselves. Such instances are still to be seen, but the enterprise of the citizens has cut and filled until the general surface of the city is quite comely. The expenses of this earth moving, when this city shall have reached a population of a 100,000, will be enormous. But the city authorities do not shrink from it and the improved conveniences and the general attraction of the city justifies the outlay.

In one thing the city is fortunate. These bluffs are full of the best stone for building purposes, easily worked and handsome. It also serves a good purpose for McAdamizing or paving the streets, building stone walks for streets and residences. The dirt in the bluffs is a sort of clay, a very hard compact substance, which, in perpendicular cuts 50 feet high, retains its form against time and the weather as securely as a stone wall. On many of these city lots, high above the street, we see numerous brick yards, where the owners are gradually working down to grade, and, at the same time, selling their surplus dirt in the shape of bricks for building. A surplus of clay is not so bad as it might be in a city where the demand for building material is unlimited.

We are informed by the superintendent of schools that seven years ago there was not a public school house in the city, and up to that time, since the war, no appropriation for schooling had been made. There were several private enterprises but nothing free to the general public. But the intelligence of the city comprehended the fact that the growth of no community could be healthy and permanent unless based upon education and good morals. A school board was formed and the work of establishing schools begun.

Today the city boasts of twelve large graded school houses, located at convenient points in the city. The architecture of these buildings is tasty and attractive. They are large, roomy and supplied with modern furniture and conveniences throughout. Last year the city paid her teachers \$50,000 in salaries ranging from \$500 to \$2,000. Most of the teachers employed are ladies who command from \$500 to \$1200 salaries. The superintendent informs us that he gives the ladies preference in all places they are competent to fill.

The schools are now the pride of the city, and are doing much to attract a population of intelligence and refinement.

Churches go hand in hand with schools. The city has many prosperous societies which are gradually increasing their congregations, and two or three are erecting good buildings for worship. But at the present time the city has a great work in this line to do. There is not yet an elegant church standing, and the standard of morals has not yet been raised to that point which renders the building of fine churches an easy matter. Church-going has not acquired that popularity which might be expected from the enterprise in schools. The society contains a large per cent of the rough and tumble business energy, an element more apt to build up saloons and good liveries than fine churches. There is also a large element of real roughs, whose energy is spent principally in the direction of beer drinking, horse racing, street fights and attendance upon the police courts. But this is not to be wondered at in a western city of rapid growth. The population is heterogeneous, coming from everywhere, bringing all sorts of customs and principles. But the good people are active in their efforts to improve society and are rewarded with abundant indications of better days coming.

The country around Kansas City is as good as lies out of doors. The old farms sell from \$100 to \$300 per acre, according to quality and improvements. The land is excellent for grain and stock farms. The farmers are usually independent, solid men and pride themselves upon their fine cattle and horses. As a fruit growing region it is also unsurpassed. Every farm has its large orchards of choice apples, peaches and pears. Grapes are also raised in abundance, also raspberries, strawberries, watermelons, &c. This feature of the locality is what would please everyone. For health and luxury of living, give us a fruit growing country. A few snows with *perhaps* a few weeks of sleighing is all the winter ever known here.

Many winters pass without a single week of sleighing. Not half the people who keep good horses ever bother themselves with sleighs of any description. Isn't this charming? Wouldn't the Vermont reader delight to live in a country where he could hie to the woods in January and sun himself on a log? If you ever come out here at that season of year, it wouldn't be policy to strike for the woods at once, because the log *might* be covered with snow; but there is scarcely a January passes, that during some part of it, the ground is not bare and the weather mild.

All things considered, I believe the latitude of Cincinnati, St. Louis and Kansas City the most desirable for its climate. It is the medium between the frigid North and the sunny South, affording long and mild summers, and winters not severe. The most desirable vegetation has abundance of time to mature. People are not obliged to spend money and patience over hotbeds, to get a ripe tomato or a watermelon. Sewing and planting can begin in March and the harvest time comes long before Jack Frost puts in his appearance.

[C. M. C.]

BAXTER SPRINGS, KANSAS

Nov. 17, 1873.

DEAR READER:

This is down south; 169 miles south of Kansas City and in the southeastern corner of the state, two miles north of Indian Territory and seven miles west of the Missouri state line. We arrived here Monday evening, Oct. 27, and since have been interviewed by disease, "right smart." We have been confined to the bed for a week, and to the house for a longer period, and are now practicing moderately each day with a shotgun to regain 25 pounds of strength parted with during sickness.

Speaking of shotguns reminds us that we see, by actual count 2,000,000 prairie chickens every day. That means an indefinite number, which, actually, cannot be counted. The prairies are alive with them, but they are grown up and know about as much as a green hunter from Vermont. As a general thing they are too much for us, but a few of them, having blundered against our ammunition, have deceased and been buried with pot pies. The time for hunting them is in August and September, when the hen and her little brood occupy together. At this time the pointer starts them up one by one for the hunter to shoot. But now they congregate in flocks of from 20 to 500 or more, are wild and difficult to approach. We took a stroll about the farm a few days ago, and started up

thousands during a two hours' slow tramp. We bagged a few, but an expert with the same opportunity would have secured at least 20 birds. The day was very hot, at which times they sit very still in the grass during the middle of the day. Quail, ducks and geese also abound here, and we have been twice serenaded by prairie wolves. They do not sing in tune, at all. We were complimented with a duet, only, but it sounded as if somebody was whipping a pen of two dozen small curs. It was difficult to believe that only two wolves were capable of getting up such a variety of quavers. Forty miles below, in the Indian nation, is a favorite resort for hunters who spend a fortnight or so there, between now and the first of January, taking deer and wild turkey in abundance. Lovers of sport, who can afford it, are finely rigged with breech-loading shotguns and rifles, schooled dogs, &c., and expect to devote a few weeks each year exclusively to hunting.

The weather of this locality is what charms me most. For the past fortnight, with the exception of two or three days, it has been like a Vermont June, pleasant, mild, and a few days quite as warm as desirable for outdoor labor. This weather, we are told, often continues till Christmas. A foot of snow would cover the entire fall for a winter, and it is rare that a single fall remains upon the ground three days. Farm stock expect no better shelter than that afforded by the warm side of a haystack. The reader may infer from this that the warm summer months are insufferable, but the inhabitants tell a different story. The thermometer seldom reaches 100° and the nights are invariably cool, so that the inhabitants begin their day's work invigorated by a season of refreshing rest. But we must not omit to mention that hurricanes pass this way. This endless prairie is a favorite place for wind frolics. Nor is it altogether in the way of frolics, for the atmosphere often gets on a rampage which threatens serious business. A man can navigate in a rain or snow storm easier than in a prairie wind, and it would be safe to reckon on six days in every month of furious blowing. This, with the drouth which is apt to visit this locality nearly every summer, baking the soil, and, to some extent, retarding vegetation, is the only fault to be found with the climate.

In 1864 we visited Fort Scott, 100 miles south of Kansas City, then the lowest town in southern Kansas. It consisted of a fort, with a few houses built up near it. Olathe and Paola were the only towns of any importance north of it. These towns were all very small. They had been through the fever heat of town lots, but were

crippled by the check of business produced by the war. Real estate holders were blue enough, and in many cases sold out for what they could and moved away. But when the war closed business revived, railroads in different parts of the state were chartered and built, the state adopted the best means to secure emigration, and people and enterprises of all kinds came into the state so fast as to astonish the most sanguine expectations. No state in the Union has secured so large a population of emigration during the past ten years.

Seven years ago that strip of country south of Fort Scott, fifty miles wide, belonged to the Cherokee Indians, and there was but now and then a white settler in it. In 1866 the government, as trustee of the Indians, sold the tract, consisting of about 800,000 acres, for \$1 per acre, to the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf Railroad. The company consisted of Boston capitalists, with James F. Joy of Michigan as their representative. The railroad was commenced in 1870, and in 1871 was running to the Indian line, 159 miles in length.⁴ All along the road little villages sprang up and the older villages grew rapidly. Olathe soon became an enterprising little city of 2000 inhabitants, Paola 3000, and Fort Scott has grown into one of the best towns in the state, numbering some 7000 people. Between Fort Scott and Baxter are several important villages, among them Girard, county seat of Crawford county, 1,200 inhabitants, and Columbus, county seat of Cherokee county, 700 inhabitants. At this point the Memphis & Northwestern R. R., now nearly completed, intersects with the Fort Scott and Gulf road, and will very soon make a flourishing city of Columbus.⁵

Baxter, of all these new villages, has the most peculiar history. While the road was building, certain enterprising people, predicting that the last town on the line would necessarily take a great trade from the Indian Territory and Texas, hurried to Baxter, the terminus of the projected road, laid out a town, began to advertise, sell lots, and build. The town started however in 1866, as a sort of a trading point for Texas cattle, and had grown into a place of about 100 inhabitants when the railroad question was settled. When the engine reached the village in the spring of 1870 it found one of the liveliest little towns in Kansas, containing between 2000

4. The road opened for business to Olathe, 21 miles from Kansas City, December 16, 1868; to Fort Scott, 100 miles, December 6, 1869; and to the south state line, 161 miles, May 2, 1870.—*Report of the Directors of the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad Co.* . . . , June, 1871 (Boston, 1871), pp. 13, 14, 23.

5. The Memphis, Carthage and Northwestern R. R. Co. was reorganized to form the Missouri and Western railway. Its line extended from Pierce City, Mo., to Oswego, a distance of 73 miles.—H. V. Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1877-78* (London, 1877), p. 838.

and 3000 people. Town lots were selling rapidly at fabulous prices. The idea of future growth and importance was up to fever heat. In the latter part of '70 and in '71 the increase surprised the most sanguine friends of the young city. Her population had reached 5,000. During this prosperity Baxter was a fast town. Every third door was a gambling house or a beer saloon. The highest qualification the citizen could offer as a candidate for office was a red nose, and science in handling cards. Fast men got control of and ran the city. But, notwithstanding general tendency to dissipation and fast life, school, churches and public institutions received more than liberal support: \$17,000 was appropriated for a school house, \$10,000 for a town hall, several churches were organized, and money voted liberally for street improvements. The highest point reached by the city was about the close of 1871, from which time she began to decline nearly as fast as she had grown up. The Texas cattle trade was diverted by railroads reaching the Indian line further west. The lead mining interest, which had promised much, failed to meet expectations.

Lead mines of great richness were opened in Missouri, 15 miles east, where in two years and a half has grown up a city named Joplin, which now numbers 7000 inhabitants. The rapid decline created a panic among property holders, some of them sold for what they could get and left the place. Others took down their houses and carted them over to Joplin. The city does not contain today one-half the number of people it had in 1871, and, as for property, there is no sale for it at any price. The Methodist church owns a lot for which they refused \$5000 in 1871, but could not sell today for \$100. But as a part compensation for this reverse of fortune, Baxter has fallen into better hands, and is now governed by cool-headed business men—men possessing good judgment, principle and enterprise. The mayor, H. R. Crowell, an eastern man, and one of the solid merchants of southern Kansas, believes in the future of Baxter, and is laboring to give it a good foundation for a healthy growth. Although the reckless extravagance of two years ago has left the city largely in debt, the present authorities are determined to honor every dollar and to keep good the credit of the city. M. W. Colton, postmaster, informs us that last year the post office was worth \$2,100, but this year the salary has been cut down to \$1,800. The salary of the post office is not a bad index to the importance of the town. We visited the public schools the other day, and found an excellent brick school building, with eight school rooms, each

of which has a commodious closet. In the basement are two large coal furnaces, with flues leading to all the rooms and the halls. We could find but one fault with the building, which is in location only. Some scape-grace who owned lots on the street, secured a position on the locating committee, and, to enhance the value of his lots, located this beautiful building on one of the main streets, without a rod of land outside of the street, for a playground. For the good of the city this selfish "cuss" has made his exit.

The schools are under charge of Prof. Filow, formerly from New York, who for a salary of \$1200, directs the young ideas of Baxter how to shoot. The Professor is a thorough instructor, aiming not alone to secure correct recitations, but to develop brain force by requiring from each scholar his own reasoning to sustain answers given. His aim is to make them *independent* thinkers, which is too apt to be forgotten by most teachers. In this building are five schools, embracing 316 scholars, but the Professor informs us that the city contains 420 children between 5 and 20 years old. The cost of supporting the schools last year was \$5,300, \$4,800 being paid to the teachers. This amounts to about \$3 on the dollar of the grand list, and shows the spirit with which western towns are actuated in behalf of education.

We find a good paper, the *Baxter Republican*, published here by A. T. Lee. It has a circulation of 600 or 700, and an excellent advertising patronage. Western merchants advertise more liberally than in the East, and seem to more fully comprehend the benefits of printers' ink. The prices of advertising and job work are higher than in Vermont, but the people consider the prices reasonable. Every little office is liberally patronized. Every village considers the printing office a sort of home institution—one of the main pillars and props of the place—and, as such, gives it a good support. Eastern villages may find this an example worthy of imitation.

Another prominent institution of Baxter is the First National Bank—I. H. Wright, president. Although with a capital of but \$50,000, it has in good times a large deposit, loans money for 2 and 3 per cent a month and declares semi-annual dividends of 9 per cent. Mr. Wright informs us that there is no difficulty in keeping all the money he can get, loaned on the best security, for 25 to 36 per cent a year. But as most loans are for 30 days the capital is turned over several times in a year, and the rates received amount to more than the above sums. This seems like extravagant talk to eastern loaners; but the truth is that anywhere west of the Missouri River money

commands about 25 per cent, and sharpers, who hunt up and take advantage of people's distresses, often obtain from 3 to 5 per cent a month. With a money capital of \$10,000 a lazy man can come here, sit down his whole heft in an office chair, and clear \$3000 a year. And he won't hate himself for doing it as he would in the eastern country, because he will find himself in good company and in pursuit of what is recognized as legitimate business. Money loaning, however, at the present time is at a standstill. Since the panic no money is circulating, and, on all sides, we hear a cry of distress for a very little of the needful. But there is no hand to help. Banking and all other kinds of business are stagnant. People are living in a state of suspense, anxiously watching for signs of better times.

The great business of all the towns on the southern line of the state is the Texas cattle trade. All that vast country between the state line and Texas belongs to various tribes of Indians. White settlements go down to the state line and there stop short off. Right in front of them to the south is one unbroken expanse of raw prairie. Early in the spring Texas herders and drovers begin to move their immense herds to the north, across Indian Territory, letting the cattle graze as they move forward. They arrive all through the summer, but in September, October and November the great herds reach the north part of the territory where they halt and wait for bids. Acres of them, however, are shipped on the different roads for St. Louis, Kansas City and Chicago, while large bunches remain herded on the border until sold. We have twice rode along the border for several miles, viewing herds of from 300 to 1,000 cattle, herded a mile or so apart. The herders watch the approach of every stranger with an eye to business, and, especially as the season wears away, they become exceedingly anxious to dispose of their stock and return home. They want money first, and, if that does not come, they will trade for horses, mules, wagons, goods, or anything of which they can make a turn in Texas. This trade is the real support of the southern towns of Kansas. When money is plenty stock goes readily and Texans load up their wagons with store goods and return.

Baxter has in one year sold to Texas \$100,000 worth of lumber wagons. All other branches of trade could give perhaps as good figures. The farmers in the southern counties of Kansas and Missouri rely upon this source to stock their farms. They pay but little attention to breeding, but go down on the border and purchase three year old steers, which they drive home, feed till the next fall,

send them to market and stock up again from the border. A few who can afford to hold over buy young stock and get the growth of two or three years. But the greater number purchase three and four year old steers and hold but one year. The hard times of this season have interfered with the trade and many large "bunches" of cattle still remain on the border. The owners are ready to "trade"—a term that means exchange for other goods—and in case they fail to trade, they will remain through the winter and buy feed, or will let out to farmers to feed for a quarter, or, in some cases, a third of the herd. Many of the farmers have plenty of feed but no money this season, and are quite ready to take stock to feed on shares.

Now a word in regard to the farming of this region. Eight years ago the two southern tiers of counties in the state belonged to Indians, and was an uninhabited prairie. A few had squatted a short time before the government, as trustee of the Indians, sold the land, 800,000 acres, to the railroad company. Of course they expected to obtain it at government prices, but the railroad having purchased the whole, allowed the squatters to contract for their claims at \$5 per acre. This made a row at once, and the squatters, combining under the name and style of "Leaguers," waged deadly war upon the company, and proposed to tear up their rails. Several demonstrations in the direction of violence were made, and it was found necessary for the state to guard the road two years with soldiers. The storm has passed, the soldiers are removed and many of the settlers have contracted with the company for their farms. But many have not thus contracted, and are now working through the Granges to induce the company to compromise by way of lower rates for their land.

As the reader may know, all the great prairie states are surveyed by government into sections one mile square, and containing 640 acres of land. These sections are subdivided into quarter sections of 160 acres each, and the quarters are again divided into four squares of 40 acres each. All farms are purchased according to these lines. Public roads are laid out on every section line, north and south, and east and west. And thus, all the roads, when properly worked, run as straight and as long as the government can draw section lines. A large majority of the farms contain a quarter section, or 160 acres. But not one in twenty of the farms in this new country are yet paid for. The country is settled by men with limited means, who came in to secure land within the reach of small purses to which they could add industry and economy, and build up farms and

comfortable homes. The work has but fairly commenced, although nearly every section of land in this locality is occupied and improvements have been started. We make a prediction that in ten years, if the farmers are enterprising, and accompany their agricultural pursuits with good taste in ornamentation, this southern Kansas will be able to make a tolerable claim as an earthly paradise. But a world of work will first have to be done. Nature has planted nothing here but prairie grass. Not a tree or a shrub is to be seen, but the soil is very rich and fruit and shade trees, transplanted, grow rapidly. Many of the farmers have already set out peach and apple orchards, and the disposition to set shade trees increases fast. The fact that they are an actual necessity as windbreaks, will compel every farmer to transplant liberally.

As timber is wanting, the New England farmer will inquire what the people do for buildings and fences. It does not require much lumber for the style of house already built on the prairie. Every village has its lumber yard where Michigan and Wisconsin pine is for sale at \$30 to \$40 a thousand. A two-horse load of boards and scantling will build almost any house we find on the prairie. They usually contain one room, about 14 x 20 feet in size. These answer for the few years of pioneering when, as farmers prosper, a good class of houses will take their places. For fencing every one relies on the Osage Orange hedge which, in four years from the time of transplanting, will be as serviceable as the best board fence. And they are not only indispensable in the way of service, but they are exceedingly ornamental. All farmers have them growing, and in most cases all around their farms. But a few posts and rails are indispensable, and are obtained from forests one to twenty miles distant, according to location of farms. Oak posts are obtained for three cents each, and last in the ground about five years. A span of horses will draw about fifty of them. Rails usually cost \$2 a hundred, and 75 of them make a load for two horses. From this the reader will see how much it costs a prairie farmer to fence his land with timber.

Of course barns are out of the question. We have not seen one in southern Kansas. We have seen crotched sticks set in the ground, covered with poles and prairie hay, and horses tied therein, which is the nearest approach to a barn we have seen yet. But barns, though desirable, are not among the indispensables in this warm climate. They will appear by degrees, and as farm luxuries, when the country gets older and richer.

The great drawback to most prairie farms is the lack of water.

Many have nothing but wells, where the water is pumped or drawn by hand for the entire stock. In some cases stock is regularly driven to a neighboring creek, a mile or two distant. Farms which have a piece of creek upon them are regarded with envy. But these creeks are not what the Vermonter understands by running brooks. In the wet season you may detect a slight motion of the water. But usually it stands still, and only in the lowest places in the bed of the creek is there any at all. But, fortunately for the country, these lowest places are real reservoirs and never wholly dry up. Give us Vermont for her beautiful ponds and rivers, her babbling brooks and cold springs, gushing forth from every hillside.

The principal crop here is corn. Every farm of 160 acres will have about 60 acres of corn, 15 to 20 of oats, 10 to 15 of wheat, with a sprinkling of barley, rye, buckwheat, sorghum, &c., according to taste. Corn yields an average of 40 bushels per acre, wheat 10, and oats 30. Every farmer also cuts and stacks in the field all the prairie hay he wants, or has time to secure, the yield being a ton to two tons per acre. These crops are fed out to Texas cattle, purchased in the fall. Occasionally, if one fails to secure stock, he sells his hay for \$3 per ton, in the stack, and corn for 30 to 40 cents a bushel. But the aim always is to secure the cattle to feed, which, in addition to the profits of growth and feed, leaves the droppings for the improvement of the farm. The idea of manure is not scouted by prairie farmers as it was 20 years ago. The deepest and best soil *can* be impoverished.

Sowing time begins here in March, and by the middle of April the crops are all in. Feeding time begins about the middle of November, though it is possible for the stock to graze the year round, and in some cases it is allowed to do so. Grain is harvested the last of June and the first of July, and corn ripens in August. But this crop is not usually harvested. Large fields of corn are still standing. Feeders take their wagons into the field daily, pick a boxful and feed it out. If it is not all thus gathered in season for spring plowing, then it is regularly harvested. A portion of this crop, however, is usually cut up, stooked, and fed to cattle, stalks and all, as circumstances require through the winter.

The absence of winter—I presume this is the cause—has in one respect a bad effect upon farmers hereabouts. In Vermont we notice that tools are properly sheltered, and farmers in that country consider it a great waste if they are exposed long to sun and rain. Not so here. The mower and reaper are dropped in the field

where they cut the last swath, and they are not disturbed again till wanted the next season. Wagons, plows and all small tools are treated in the same way. If long exposure to the weather injures agricultural implements in Vermont it will do it here, and it is a surprise to us that farmers, who are actually struggling to pay for their lands, will allow this steady, constant leak in their finances. A cheap shelter from the sun and rain, suitable for large and small tools, would pay for itself every year, even in this country. They might follow Vermont's example in other respects, to their great advantage.

A Vermont farmer will do at least a third more work in a day than a man does here. It would surprise a set of farm hands here to start them out at six o'clock in the morning. If a gang of threshers get started here at eight o'clock they are doing well. Men work leisurely here. They want sufficient time for stretching, gaping and making up their minds what to do. This disposition comes partly from climate, and partly from the extreme length of the working season, which gives more than sufficient time to put in and secure the crops. But let men economize and labour here as they do in Vermont and all the farms would be paid for in two years.

Among the greatest blessings of this country is the coal, of which there is an abundant supply under every man's farm. This is really the salvation of southern Kansas. Without it farmers would be compelled to abandon their claims, or haul their wood 5 to 20 miles, after paying such prices as owners would choose to ask. The coal found here is of the soft kind, and is from one to six feet below the surface. A man with plow, scraper and shovels will dig 100 bushels a day, which is about 4 tons. If a farmer prefers to dig on his neighbor's land he is allowed to do so for one cent a bushel. This is 25 cents a ton in addition to labour of digging. Coal in the village sells for \$3 a ton. The expense of fuel is consequently really nothing, and is hardly reckoned among the expenses of living.

Wages are very low here. Good men can be hired for 75 cents a day and board. Farm hands \$12 to \$15 a month for the season or the year. House carpenters \$2 to \$2.50 per day. Masons \$3. Servant girls \$1.50 per week. Laborers can see by this that the east is the best country for them. A bill of house lumber costs \$30 to \$35 per thousand. Flour brings \$7 a barrel, potatoes \$1 a bushel, corn 35 cents. Groceries and hardware about the same

as in Vermont. Horses and cattle are just now very low. Three year old Texas steers, weighing about 900, bring \$12 to \$13. Horses according to quality. A first-rate animal can be purchased for \$100, while Indian ponies for riding are plenty for \$15 to \$20.

Taxes of course are enormous. Who ever knew of a country where they were not taking the taxpayer's story for it. In the farming section the whole tax amounts to about \$3 on every \$100 of the assessed valuation. In the villages and districts where school houses have been built the tax is higher. Baxter City groans under a \$7 tax this season, and western profanity, distinct and positive, is employed by way of expressing the taxpayers' opinion of the situation. But Baxter is a Republican city and does wrong to swear at the legitimate consequences of that kind of legislation.

Kansas has got Granges on the brain, over 800 having already been chartered. No one can predict the upshot of the movement, but there is little doubt, judging from the late election, that it will result in a political affair. In this state the Republicans have gobbled the entire body. Nearly every granger elected to the legislature turns out to be a strong Republican. No organization in this country can exist long without opening bids to the political parties. If the grangers are independent, and paddle their own canoe, they may succeed in dictating terms. If not, they will be swallowed up by one party or the other, or both. In this locality they are taking on the spirit of the leaguers and preparing to fight the railroads, and have already resolved not to contract for their lands till the company reduces the price. [C. M. C.]

QUAPAW MISSION, INDIAN TERRITORY,⁶

Nov. 18, 1873.

DEAR READER:

To-day we have devoted to "Indian affairs." You have heard of the Modocs. That terrible tribe, right from Oregon, arrived at Baxter on Sunday last, under the charge of Capt. M. C. Wilkinson, of Gen. O. O. Howard's staff, and a Mr. Squires, of the Indian department, at Washington, D. C. The tribe numbers 152 persons—60 children, 63 women and 29 warriors. These are the last of the Modocs, the tribe which defied for weeks the power of the United

6. Crawford Seminary, a Quapaw mission school of the M. E. church, South, was established in the Quapaw Nation, March 27, 1843, and named for T. H. Crawford, commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1832-1845. About April, 1848, it was moved to a new site about five miles north, near and east of present Baxter Springs, close to the north line of the Quapaw lands. This school was closed in February, 1852. In 1872 buildings were erected for a mission school on the Quapaw reservation in the northeast corner of present Oklahoma and Asa C. Tuttle and his wife, Emeline H. Tuttle, were placed in charge. They were members of the Friends church.

States.⁷ They are quartered at the Hall House, in Baxter, and are the greatest lions which ever visited that city. We sought an interview this morning, and were ushered into the front door, with a crowd, and hurried through the house, out of the back door, in a most unsatisfactory manner. We afterward appealed to the captain on the ground that we were newspaper men from a distant country, and desired to interview the whole tribe, men and squaws. After hesitating about the squaws, who were in mourning, he finally consented and we entered again on business.

Our first introduction was to Bogus Charlie, who gave us a hearty shake of the hand, and introduced us to the present chief, Scarfaced Charlie. The chief is about 35 years old, scarfaced, but a good looking man, sprightly, nervous and earnest. The hand shake he gave us penetrated to the boots. Next came Shack-Nasty Jim, a short, thick-set boy about 25 years old, rather of the independent, saucy kind, and tolerably familiar with the profane part of the English language, which, he said, he learned from the soldiers. We saw also, Hooker Jim, Steamboat Frank, and all the other notables of the tribe. Bogus Charlie, the 2nd chief, is the tallest man, about 30 years old, speaks English, is of pleasing features, of positive points, and, in any crowd, would be recognized as a man above the average in natural mental force. He is quick in motion, observing, penetrating, and a character of marked identity. He received us cordially, introduced us to his squaw and papoose, of whom he seemed reasonably proud. We met Lucy and Amelia, both smart-looking squaws. We were also introduced into the mourners' room, among the squaws, who were feeling badly on account of the irregular departure of Capt. Jack and others. Their heads had been dipped in tar, and they intend to seclude themselves from general observation till that evaporates. If you ever sat down in a pot of tar, you will perhaps remember that the material is obstinate about evaporating.

We shook hands with Capt. Jack's two wives and his little boy. We fell into conversation with his sister, Mary, who was a little offish at first. But as we suggested that there were good look-

7. The home of the Modoc had at one time been in northern California. In 1864 they joined the Klamath in ceding territory to the United States and removed to the Klamath reservation in Oregon. They were not contented, however, and the more restless among them were led to the California border by their chief, Kintpuash, commonly known as Captain Jack. An attempt to return them to the reservation brought on the Modoc war of 1872-1873. Captain Jack and his band retreated to near-by lava beds and resisted attempts to dislodge them. Two peace commissioners sent to treat with them were killed. The Modoc were finally dispersed and captured; Captain Jack and five other leaders were hanged in October, 1873. Some members of the tribe were permitted to remain in California; the others were removed to Indian territory and placed on the Quapaw reservation.

ing boys among the Quapaws, where they were going, she began to twist the corners of her apron, and said "she didn't care, for she wouldn't have them." We suggested there were good looking white boys in that vicinity, who were single and matrimonially inclined; whereupon she gave another twist at the apron, smiled a string of "yeses" and informed us that she "wouldn't have them, anyhow." Mary is a good looking squaw, and if we were single—but to return to our subject. It is proper to remark that the Modoc physiognomy indicates more than the average intelligence, shrewdness and zip. They know what they are about. They express themselves as willing to work, like this country and seem to be enjoying themselves. The Quapaws who own the country just south of Baxter, are in council to-day for the purpose of deeding to the government a few thousand acres of their land for the Modocs. The tribe is all well clothed by the government and look as civilized as anybody. They will be supplied with rations and other necessities by the government until they learn to grub the soil and earn money for themselves.

After leaving the Modocs we drove to this mission, where we arrived in season to dine with A. C. Tuttle and his excellent lady, who have charge of the missionary work. In that country, marked on the map "Indian Territory," are over 50 tribes, great and small, each tribe having defined territory which they own on fee simple. Each tribe also speaks a language of its own entirely different from that of every other tribe. The Cherokees, number[ing] 17,000 people, is the largest and most highly educated tribe. They have their chiefs, legislature, courts, councils, schools, and conduct affairs with as much intelligence as white people. All of these tribes do something in the way of farming, and many of them, having considerable annuities from the government, are quite wealthy.

The whole are also embraced under the head of ten agencies, H. W. Jones having the agency in this section which includes the following tribes, numbering in all about 1300 persons: Senecas, Wyandottes, Eastern Shawnees, Ottawas, Quapaws, Confederate Peorias, Miamies, and Kas-Kas-Kias. Of these the Quapaws, numbering about 260, are the largest tribe. The Shawnees are not over 75. Mr. and Mrs. Tuttle, formerly of Dover, N. H., have been engaged in this missionary work three years. Having recently built up a good institution among the Senecas, they came to this point a year ago, built a good boarding house, a school house, and fenced in a farm of 160 acres, which, with the help of Indians, they are now tilling.

Mrs. Tuttle's school, which we have visited to-day, numbers about 30 scholars of various ages, none of whom knew a letter one year ago. To-day some of them are as far advanced as the third reader. Mrs. Tuttle understands the Indian character to perfection, and during every hour of her instruction makes the dispositions of her scholars her study. Her aim is to make them love the school and the mission better than they do their own homes. And this is the only way she holds them, for the Indian parents are quite indifferent to her work, allowing their children to remain with her, only as it pleases the children. They have, consequently, to be handled tenderly, or they come up missing. By her tact in management, if she secures a child a week, she usually interests him enough to hold him. While in the school we were interested in the steady industry of the scholars. Each had a task before him to which he gave his steady attention. We seldom see white children, of similar ages, more industrious. They have an ambition to learn, and are mortified at failures. In the matter of obedience they would be models for white children to follow. A respect for authority seems to be rooted in the Indian character, but they are not inclined to recognize authority too readily. They seldom disobey their chiefs, and as fast as they yield to the authority of a teacher, they regard it as something to be respected. The exercises in singing interested us very much. They use the Sabbath school book, "Fresh Laurels,"⁸ and the pieces sung had been committed, without really understanding the words, and the pronunciation was about as accurate as might be expected from a Yankee boy's rendering of Indian language. But they sang with spirit if not understanding. We have heard better voices, but rarely more earnestness.

The law of confidence, love and kindness prevails in this mission, and Mr. Tuttle and wife claim that this is the only key to the Indian heart, that it is a policy which the government should not only adopt but compel its agents to carry out to the letter. With this policy faithfully enforced among all the tribes, they are sure we should never again hear of an Indian war. [C. M. C.]

8. A copy of this small book has been preserved in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society. The full title is *Bradbury's Fresh Laurels for the Sabbath School. A New and Extensive Collection of Music and Hymns* (New York, c1867). The first hymn in the book, "Fresh Laurels for the Sunday School," has provided the title.

LAWRENCE, KANS., NOV. 19, 1873.

DEAR READER:

Lawrence is the head center of the "bleeding" part of Kansas. "Bleeding Kansas" was a political by-word from '54 to the close of the rebellion. The last time we were in Lawrence—in the fall of 1863—180 of the citizens lay dead in the streets and the greater part of the town was in ashes. Quantrill and his three hundred devils were leaving just as we entered the place. We should be pleased to announce that the occasion of our entry is what frightened the demons out of Lawrence, but as these letters are devoted to truth-telling, we are compelled to admit that the scare was on the other side, and had not Quantrill been evacuating at the east end of town, we should have been hastily engaged in an undertaking of that nature at the west end. It is a proud thing for one to relate his courageous deeds, but on this occasion it would be improper for us to enlarge upon that subject. For particulars Mr. Quantrill is the man to apply to. . . .

Notwithstanding this terrible blow Lawrence is to-day the second city in Kansas. Like the Chicago fire, so far as the city itself is concerned, it contributed to its growth and has made it larger and richer than it would have been had Quantrill never visited it. The city dates back to about 1855⁹ and was settled principally by Massachusetts men, but has now a good sprinkling, greater probably than any other Kansas city, from all the New England states. No city of its size in the country can boast of more intelligence, more business enterprise and acumen, and more liberality in support of education, religion and public charities. It is situated on the Kaw river 35 miles west of Kansas City and 160 miles north of the state line. The Union Pacific railroad, running from Kansas City to Denver, passes through the city. The Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston road, running north and south, also passes here. Another road running southwest to Burlingame is completed and the Midland road from Olathe to Topeka is nearly completed. As a railroad center it is among the best inland towns in the state.

The population is about 10,000. During the hard times of the past two years it has made slow progress, but a company of men at the cost of \$60,000 are about completing an immense dam across the Kansas river, which, with a never failing supply of water gives a fall of 7½ feet. It is so constructed as to furnish power to any amount of machinery. If this enterprise proves a success, as it doubtless will,

9. Lawrence was established in 1854.

the same energy which can secure the erection of such a dam will not fail to induce manufacturing enterprises to locate here. This is now a promising hope of the future increase and prosperity of the city.

No city can these days make pretention to metropolitan importance without horse railroads. Lawrence is not behind in this respect. A good line is in operation from the depots in North Lawrence, across the river into the main town, and nearly the whole length of Massachusetts street. They prove to be a convenience which a city of 10,000 inhabitants cannot dispense with.

We met here Ed Reddington, Esq., formerly of St. Johnsbury, who, by the by, is one of the most popular young men of the city. He came here some years since and served a long time acceptably as cashier of the Union Pacific railroad company, making his regular monthly trips to Denver, and paying off the employees on a line of road nearly 600 miles in length. A year or so ago the office was abolished and, although Mr. Reddington was offered another situation on the road, he preferred business which kept him more at home, and finding a good partner in a former mayor of the city, embarked in the lumber business. Mr. Reddington is a member of the school board and gave us interesting statistics relating to the schools of the city, from which it appears that Lawrence is fully up to the Kansas standards in the support of the best schools which money can secure. The *cost* of schools in Kansas is never so much debated as their quality. Every town insists upon good schools at whatever cost. The young and energetic men who have thus far peopled the state understand their value, not only as educators but as agencies and instruments of progress in a business point of view. There seems to be a strife between towns all over the state to see which shall have the best schools, and there is noticeable absence of the dead wood in society which is usually found trigging the wheels of such enterprise.

In company with Mr. Reddington we visited the State University, on which already has been expended \$140,000. Lawrence donated \$100,000 to secure its location at this place. The state has already voted \$40,000 and annually votes a sufficient sum to pay running expenses, thus affording to the scholars free tuition to as good a college as the state can establish. The building is a noble structure very large, containing high rooms, with modern finish and convenience, and a capacity to accommodate over 500 students. Its locality is in the southeastern part of the city on high ground overlooking miles around. From the cupola the view is one of the most

enchancing to be found in the state. Prof. [F. E.] Stimpson, formerly of Massachusetts, professor of philosophy, chemistry and the scientific departments, conducted us through his various rooms, giving us a view of his apparatus and a slight insight into his method of instruction. He has already secured many and is steadily increasing his collection of instruments for the perfect illustration of every subject taught. Wires from his battery are conducted into all principal rooms of the University. They tick and strike every clock and give the several classes, all of which have forty-five minutes recitation, the orders to go and come. The professor is a thorough student in his department and a competent professor. If all study the interests of the University as faithfully and effectively as he does it will eventually take a high rank among the institutions of learning in the land. The building is not yet completed and cannot be till the state appropriates for construction about \$50,000 more. The character of the Kansas people is a sufficient guarantee that this will soon be done.

Probably no locality in the state has given a more liberal support to churches than Lawrence. She has some church buildings which cost \$40,000. Congregations are large for the Massachusetts element is given to church going. They are pious Sunday, at all events, and this is a good deal better than none at all. If a Kansas town will be really and downright pious one day in seven, the old acquaintances of Jim Lane, Pomeroy, Sid Clarke, Caldwell, and other representative men of the state, will find no fault. [C. M. C.]

TOPEKA, KAN., Nov. 21, 1873.

DEAR READER:

Topeka, the capital of Kansas, is twenty-seven miles west of Lawrence, on the Kaw river and Union Pacific railroad. Like Lawrence, it stands upon rolling prairie and has occasionally to battle against the prairie wind for its very existence. It has a population of 8,000, and entertains, not without reason, sanguine hopes of great increase and prosperity. We should not be surprised if in ten years it was the largest town in the state.

But the curse of Kansas politics rests upon Topeka. Here is where the state rottenness focuses every January¹⁰ to be stirred up and to stink in the nostrils of the nation. During this annual gathering of political "varmints," corruption walks the streets of Topeka at noon-

10. Article 2, section 25, of the constitution of Kansas provided for annual sessions of the legislature to be held in January. A revision of section 25 was adopted at the election of November, 1875, and beginning with 1877, regular sessions were held every two years until the section was amended again in 1954 to provide for budget sessions in the even-numbered years.

day, and bribery, brazen and bold, looks political integrity and patriotism out of countenance. York's exposure of Pomeroy's \$7,000 bribery produced a temporary panic in the political commerce of the state,¹¹ but the traders and gamblers will continue to ply their nefarious business, nevertheless, only in a more guarded way. They will examine more carefully their securities. York's explosion, intended to blow villains out of political existence, will effect principle less than action. They will continue just as infernal but more sly. It will require more than one such explosion to roll the rotten carcass of Kansas politics over and bring the best side up. The annual assembly of the legislature is the only blot we know of on Topeka's morals. When that body goes home Topeka society averages with other Kansas cities.

We meet here C. C. Kellam, Esq., who came from Irasburg, Vt., when Topeka was in infancy.¹² Mr. Kellam has seen the town grow up and is proud of his adopted home. He has a flourishing store on Kansas Avenue, is prosperous in business and one of the highly respected citizens of the city. In company with him we rode horseback through the city visiting the different places of public interest. The state house, modeled after the old capitol at Washington, when completed will be, of course, the finest building in Kansas. It is built of grey stone procured at Junction City, some 50 miles west, and the one wing already finished gives the beholder an idea of the splendid temple it will be when completed. No expense is spared in carrying out the architect's plans, but everything is built substantially and for all time. \$2,500,000 is the estimated cost of the building completed. We visited several of the beautiful public school houses, of which Lincoln high school is the largest, accommodating about 500 scholars.¹³ There are over 1,500 school children in the city. Washburn college cost \$150,000 and has an endowment. There is also a female seminary, styled "Sisters of Bethany," built at the cost of about \$100,000 and supported by charities procured through the instrumentality of the ladies.¹⁴ Both

11. Samuel C. Pomeroy was defeated for re-election to the U. S. senate in 1873 because of a sensational charge of bribery brought against him by State Senator A. M. York of Montgomery county. York revealed to the legislature that Pomeroy had offered him \$8,000 in cash for his vote. See "Götterdämmerung in Topeka: The Downfall of Senator Pomeroy," by Albert R. Kitzhaber, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 18 (August, 1950), pp. 243-278.

12. Rades' *Directory of the City of Topeka, 1872-73*, lists Charles C. Kellam, druggist, at 161 Kansas Avenue.

13. Lincoln school was opened in 1871 with a high school department to which one room was assigned.

14. An act to incorporate the Episcopal Female Seminary of Tecumseh was passed by the territorial legislature of 1859. Work was begun on the sub-structure of the building, but in the spring of 1860, proposals more attractive than those made by Tecumseh were advanced by the Topeka Town Association and the school was moved to Topeka. The Episcopal Seminary of Topeka was then organized under a charter granted by the territorial legislature on February 2, 1861. The name was changed to College of the Sisters of Bethany in 1872. The school closed its doors in 1928.

of these colleges are in prosperous condition, and certain to improve year by year.

North Topeka is really the "railroad street" of Topeka. It is separated from the main town only by the river; but at the foot of Kansas Avenue is a large iron bridge which really makes the two places one, and if we mistake not the whole is within the city proper.¹⁵ North Topeka has sprung up wholly since the Union Pacific was built. It is perfectly flat, and cut up into numerous streets, some of which are growing rapidly. Eventually in heavy business it will lead the original part of the city.

The streets of Topeka are very broad and beautiful. This is an advantage the prairie cities have over our New England cities. Take all the room they please and there is no danger of using up the territory. We failed to notice the horse cars in Topeka, but they will appear soon.¹⁶

We said that Topeka would some day take the lead of Kansas towns. We make this prediction because of its being the capital of the state; because of the enterprise and liberality of its inhabitants, and because of the railroad and business enterprises already centered and projected here. She has for railroads the Union Pacific, the Midland, about completed, and on the south side of the river, and running from here southeast, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. The latter, among the most prosperous and promising roads in Kansas, makes its headquarters here, and will next season erect the largest shops in the state and employ several hundred hands to be constantly located here. This company has about 600 miles of road running southwest to Newton, in the southern part of Kansas, and thence directly west to the west line of the state. It passes through a vast fertile country, yet principally undeveloped, but still giving to the road a good business.

A bridge company with capital of \$175,000 has built shops here and employs some 200 men in the constructions of iron bridges, which are shipped to points ordered.¹⁷ A rolling mill company with a like capital has built buildings and is about to begin operations with another set of 200 hands.¹⁸ These three enterprises would make a respectable city of themselves. As enterprise is contagious it is reasonable to presume that other companies will soon organize and contribute to the growth of the capital. The farming country

15. The town of Eugene (North Topeka) was annexed to Topeka by ordinance April 9, 1867.

16. Horse cars appeared in Topeka in June, 1881. The line operated five 12-foot cars.

17. The King Wrought Iron Bridge Manufactory and Iron Works of Topeka.

18. Topeka Rolling Mills, North Topeka.

in the vicinity of the city is excellent, but no better than that around most Kansas towns. Every Kansas city and village must necessarily have a good local support from farmers.

We meet here also Bill Ruggles, the "Old Drover," who emigrated from Lyndon a year ago. When he saw us Bill "te he'd" aloud and attempted to execute a part of a clog dance, but as his boots reminded him that he had undertaken too heavy a job, he settled down to inquiries about his old friends at home. He inquired repeatedly about Lambert, Bela, Nahum, Tyler, Jim, and other brother drovers, and then took up the farmers who raised the stock, beginning with Chas. Sylvester, whom he called a "thundering good fellow," and then other business acquaintances would be raked up. Nobody was forgotten. After exhausting his recollection of names he would scratch his head and begin at Lambert again and go through the list, adding a new name when he could think of it. Bill has rented a farm of 100 acres west of town, has two or three horses and twenty cows, and runs a milk cart. We saw a good well on the place and suggested to him that it was doubtless a matter of convenience in the business. "Yes," said he, "the cows drink a good deal of water. Te-he-he. Anybody'd know you's a Yankee or you never'd thought of that well." Ruggles is charmed with the country and climate.

We took a short horseback ride over the country this morning. The roads were very dry and dusty in places. The sun was shining brightly and the temperature comfortable to one in summer clothing. "Think of this beautiful day," said Bill, "and then think of Vermont. I've known sleighing there at this time of the year." We told him we saw in the papers accounts of good sleighing ten days ago. He dropped his chin, reflected a moment and then responded seriously, "I—swow."

[C. M. C.]

LEAVENWORTH, KAN., Nov. 24, '73.

DEAR READER:

In a former letter we alluded to the growth and prosperity of this city during the war, and of her leading importance among the cities of the far west as late as 1864. But Leavenworth has not fulfilled her predictions of that date, but is surpassed by Kansas City and St. Joe, with Atchison, 20 miles north, fast gaining on her. But Leavenworth numbers about 25,000 people, which is a gain in nine years of some 8,000. Her vacant lots, and buildings, however, brought as high a price nine years ago as now.

The question among the river cities from Omaha down to Kansas City is, which is the best railroad center? All are good and each claims to be the best, but outsiders are not long in concluding that Kansas City has the lead, by far, and that she is the center of a country which is bound ultimately to place her far in advance of all rivals.

As a manufacturing point, Leavenworth certainly has the lead at present. Her two carpet factories are the only ones west of St. Louis. She has the largest iron foundry and machine shop in the state, two large furniture manufactories, two establishments for the manufacture of fine carriages and heavy wagons, several sash and door establishments, and a number of other factories of minor importance. But what we have enumerated is enough to give her the lead, as her rivals have little manufacturing enterprise to boast of. She has one iron railroad bridge spanning the Missouri river at a cost of \$1,500,000. But Omaha and Kansas City have the same.

Leavenworth has 6,000 school children, 8 fine public school buildings, and 40 teachers, which she pays liberally. The superintendent gets \$3,600 a year, principals \$1500 to \$2000, while women teachers get \$700 to a \$1000. The whole expense of the schools is about \$40,000 a year. It makes a good tax for the purpose, but when discussing retrenchment, the liberal support of the schools is never attacked, and this same liberality in behalf of schools prevails all over the state.

But churches are not so well sustained. There is not a creditable church edifice in Leavenworth. By that, we mean not such as could be reasonably expected from a city of 25,000 inhabitants, and a growth of 20 years. We discovered one good building in process of erection, costing at a guess \$35,000. The Methodist congregation is probably the largest in town, and it is rare that 300 are seen there at one time. The Catholics, however, have done nobly and erected the largest Cathedral west of St. Louis at the cost of \$150,000. Their good example does not seem to affect the Protestant element.

In the line of residences we find many costing as high as \$30,000. Ex-senator Caldwell and Tom Stevens, a former partner of Gov. Carney, occupy the two most expensive and showy residences in the city, costing some \$60,000. A Mr. Higginbottom has one nearly completed which will cost about \$40,000. A large class of residences of the business men could be built for sums ranging from \$3,000 to \$8,000.

The only hotel of importance is the Planters, which would rank fair as first class with anything west of St. Louis. Provided Leaven-

worth is to continue prosperous, an enterprising landlord, "who can keep a hotel," would find it a good point to exert himself.

The largest grocery house is that of Cochran, Bittman & Taylor, who will this year do a business of \$1,000,000, but the house has done more. The largest dry goods jobbers are Fairchild & Pierce, who do this year about \$500,000. Former proprietors of this house, during the war, sold as high as \$1,500,000, but that was in the times of high prices, when prints sold for 40 cents, and also when Leavenworth took the lion's share of the western trade. C. B. Pierce, the junior partner, is a Vermonter from Windsor county, and a graduate of Dartmouth in the class of 1854. We officed with him in 1863 while he was city attorney, and just as he was emerging from the crust, below which poverty dwells. By energy and prudence he came up and was next year made state senator, but was too honest a man to gather much enjoyment from the company he was thrown into. At the close of his term, disgusted with Kansas politics and law, he retired from his profession and formed a commercial partnership with his father-in-law, which has continued and prospered to the present time. Notwithstanding his large and lucrative business, we found the head center of his interest and pride in his domestic circle. During business hours at the store his maximum avoirdupois is 120 pounds, but at home, located between two cradles and warbling in basso profundo, the melodies of Mother Goose to a pair of five months boy twins, he is plump 298.

We met here, among other old friends, Ed Russell, Esq., of whom we spoke in a former letter.¹⁹ There is no man in Kansas who better understands its history and its interests than Mr. Russell. He came to Kansas from Gainsville, Alabama, nearly twenty years ago. After investing his all, some \$30,000, in Kansas and Nebraska land, he settled in Elwood opposite St. Joe. In due time the place gave promise of rapid growth, when he sold out his lands at a profit and reinvested in the lots of the forthcoming city. About this time Tom Osborn, the present governor, was his partner. Elwood began to grow and Ed's fortune was fast magnifying. But one night while he was deliberating what use to make of the vast wealth about to come into his possession, the Missouri river got on a rampage and $\frac{7}{8}$ of the Elwood lots, houses and all, took French leave in the direction of New Orleans. Ed holds the title deeds, but the big muddy Missouri river still holds possession of the Elwood site. From the fragments of fortune Ed scraped together enough to purchase a

19. Chase first mentioned Edward Russell in his letter of August 9, 1863.

small farm west of town where he resided until about 1865, when he came to Leavenworth. Mr. Russell has always figured conspicuously in Kansas politics, but has usually acted outside of and against the corrupt rings which have disgraced the state. He has been several times a member of the legislature and is at the present time state commissioner of insurance and also county auditor of Leavenworth county, both of which are important and lucrative positions. He loves his adopted state and is confident that in a few years it will take a foremost rank in the sisterhood of states.

Leavenworth has one German and four English daily and weekly papers, two exclusively weekly and the *Kansas Farmer* which is a monthly. . . . [C. M. C.]

ST. JOSEPH, MO., Nov. 26, 1873.

DEAR READER:

A few words from St. Joseph will put an end to this tedious Western correspondence. This town is in Missouri and opposite the northern line of Kansas. It is among the old points on the river and at the present time claims 30,000 people. She is also claimed as the solidest town among the rival cities and this claim is doubtless correct. She has many men of wealth, many fine residences and public buildings and prides herself on moderate and healthy growth.

Let us enumerate a few of the important things she possesses: 5 fire companies, 6 banks, 3 daily papers, 19 churches, 12 public school houses, and 4 Catholic schools, 20 hotels, 10 of which are good, and one the largest west of St. Louis, 15 law offices, 39 doctors, 3 brass bands, 95 saloons, 29 meat markets, 10 livery stables, 96 grocery and provision stores, 8 wholesale and 26 retail dry goods stores, 3 wholesale and 15 retail drug stores, 13 cigar manufactories, 16 banks, &c. The city is principally noted for her hotels, affording the best accommodations in this part of the world. She is nearly destitute of manufacturing enterprises but has a great trade from northern Kansas and southern Nebraska and north-western Missouri. She is next in importance to Kansas City and is a good way from yielding in the race for a first position. You can start from St. Joe in any direction by rail, and her pretensions as a railroad center are not without some force.

The city is about as far south as Philadelphia. The weather is much milder than in Wisconsin, Minnesota and other northern states, but snow is no rarity. It comes and occasionally gives a

few weeks of sleighing. Located in the Missouri bluffs it is partially protected from the prairie winds. Apples, pears, peaches, grapes &c., grow in abundance. St. Joe is not a bad place to live, but with all due deference to her population we announce that when we emigrate into this country we shall locate farther down the river, where every advantage is obtained which St. Joe offers, with the addition of a little milder climate.

[C. M. C.]

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Continued*

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL

DEGER, LAWRENCE E.

(1845?-____)

THE earliest issue of the Dodge City *Times* in the files of the State Historical Society, October 14, 1876, lists L. E. Deger as city marshal. His deputy was Wyatt Earp.

In March, 1877, the *Times* told of a chase after a horse thief with Sheriff C. E. Bassett. This short item may be found in the section on Bassett.

Deger was reappointed in April, 1877. The *Times*, April 7, reported:

L. E. Deger has been re-appointed City Marshal, to serve under the new administration. It was thought by many that a change would be made in this branch of the government, but the Mayor and Council wisely concluded that no better man for the place could be found.

Marshal Deger's salary was \$75 per month.¹ In his spare time he was a partner in the saloon firm of McGinty & Deger.²

In June, 1877, while providing Bobby Gill with incentive, in the form of "paternal kicks in the rear," to move more rapidly toward the city jail, Deger was set upon by young Bat Masterson who objected to his methods. With the help of a policeman and six or so Texans, Deger subdued Bat and jailed both him and Bobby. The Dodge City *Times* article describing this episode may be found in the section on Masterson.

Because it was a city of transients during the summer when trail hands swarmed over the plains, Dodge City suffered from countless fly-by-night operators, con men and petty thieves. In July, 1877, one such person, who was called "Curley" for want of a better name, set up shop on the streets of Dodge and began to offer "chances" on jewelry which he displayed on a portable showcase. The day Curley set up business emigrants were passing through the town who soon became the victims of his chicanery.

Finally, as it began to dawn on the visitors that they were being

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NOTE: If interest in the series on Kansas cowtown police officers continues, the several installments will be reprinted with additional information and an index, and offered for sale under one cover.

duped, they appealed to the authorities. The *Dodge City Times*, July 14, 1877, reported that the

City Marshal, speaking as a private citizen, said that he would squelch the institution if the vox populi would back him. The word was said. The Marshal hesitated not a moment, but repaired to the scene, and gathering the show-case in his brawny arms, pitched it into the street, contents and all. Smash! Silver watches, jewelry, silver cutlery, diamond pins and other valuables rolled in the dust.

There are no jewelry stores in Dodge City at the present writing. It is not considered a safe business.

Next, Marshal Deger and Dodge City Mayor James H. Kelley had a set-to which the *Times* described in its July 21, 1877, issue:

THE MAYOR AND CITY MARSHAL BOTH BEFORE HIS HONOR.

It is seldom we are compelled to give the particulars of an affair in which the public manifest a deeper interest than the difficulty which terminated yesterday morning in an open rupture between Mayor Kelley and City Marshal L. E. Deger. There may be some personal matters which had something to do with bringing about the result, but of these we will not make mention, briefly stating what happened at the time of the difficulty:

Yesterday morning about 2 o'clock the Marshal arrested and confined Mr. Chas. Ronan in the city jail. Immediately after the arrest Mayor Kelley ordered the Marshal to release the prisoner, and the Marshal positively refused to do so. Finding his orders not obeyed, the Mayor ordered the Marshal to cease performing the duties of City Marshal, deliver his badge to one of the other officers and consider himself suspended. The Marshal refused to recognize the order of the Mayor and continued to act as Marshal, whereupon the Mayor ordered the Assistant Marshal [Edward J. Masterson] and policeman [Joe Mason] to arrest him. The Marshal at first refused to be arrested, and drawing his revolver ordered the Mayor and officers not to approach him. Here the Assistant Marshal and policeman were placed in a doubtful position, not knowing their exact duty in the matter. In order to settle the difficulty in the easiest manner, Mr. Masterson, the Assistant Marshal, suggested to the Marshal that he submit to arrest in order to prevent further collision, until the disagreement between himself and the Mayor could be investigated. This the Marshal consented to and allowed himself to be confined in the city jail, where he remained only about ten minutes, being released on his own reconaissance.

During the forenoon a complaint was filed against Mayor Kelley for interfering with an officer in the discharge of his duty and he was also placed under arrest. The Marshal's case was tried first. No complaint was filed against him, and the officers who made the arrest were the only witnesses. The decision of the Police Judge was that the Marshal had committed no offense against any of the city ordinances. He was therefore released. The Mayor's case was postponed until this afternoon at 4 o'clock. Before that hour a meeting of the City Council was held, and an order passed directing Mr. L. E. Deger to resume his duties as City Marshal. When the trial came up for hearing a petition was presented, signed by a majority of the Council,

favoring the entry of a *nolle prosequi* in the case, and all parties consenting it was so entered and the Mayor discharged. The municipal machinery is now running smoothly.

Marshal Deger was instrumental in raising funds for Bobby Gill to leave Dodge City according to this article from the *Times*, July 21, 1877:

LEAVES FROM THE DOCKET.

A WEEK OF HISTORICAL INCIDENTS IN THE DODGE CITY POLICE COURT.

We are loth to believe that Dodge City is retrograding in its morals, or that its people are becoming more wicked and lawless, although it might seem so to those not understanding the causes leading to some of the difficulties which stained the records of our police court this week. . . .

The City of Dodge City against Robert Gilmore, charged with vagrancy and having no visible means of support. Robert's sensitive feelings were very greatly hurt upon hearing that charge, and his plea was not guilty. He said he knew he was a sinful man and pursued a calling which was not of the highest order. All he asked of this court was a chance for his life. He asked the mercy of the Police Judge unto him as a sinner, stating as a precedent that Christ died to save just such sinners. The witnesses for the city testified that they knew of no visible means whereby he gained a support. Also that he was the instigator of many quarrels and street fights—that he was not a law-abiding, peaceable citizen. In defense, several witnesses were sworn who testified that the prisoner had money to pay his bills, and that he had means of support. On this evidence the Judge was compelled to render a decision of not guilty. But public sentiment was so strongly antagonistic to Mr. Gilmore's remaining in the city, and he had cost the officers so much annoyance, that Robert consented to seek a livelihood elsewhere, if a donation could be secured to pay his fare to Emporia. Through the efforts of the City Marshal the money was soon raised, and Mr. Gilmore gathered about him his earthly treasures and departed. This is the second time Bobbey has shook the dust of the city from his feet by request, and we hope some day to see him conducting himself in a more exemplary manner than he has heretofore. He is not a desperate character, and has good sound sense, which only needs a proper application to business. . . .

On August 4, 1877, the Dodge City *Times* noted that "Marshal Deger resigned his position of Deputy Sheriff this week, at the request of Under Sheriff [Bat] Masterson."

In spite of its wild reputation, Dodge City had docketed only 204 cases before the police court between the date of the city's incorporation, November 2, 1875, and August 16, 1877, reported the *Times*, August 18, 1877.

Deger's size (he weighed nearly 300 pounds) hampered his efforts at law enforcement, as this article in the *Times*, September 8, 1877, disclosed:

FLEEING FROM THE WRATH TO COME.

To Mr. William Brady, a gentleman from Texas, belongs the credit of creating the most profound sensation of the week. Mr. Brady came to the city last Sunday, and during that hour when our citizens were assembled to worship at the church on Gospel Ridge, did carry strapped to his manly person a navy revolver of a deadly character. William says he did not intend to make a killing; he only carried the gun as an ornament; but a policeman took him under his wing all the same and steered him to the dog house. When Monday morning came, William, not being ready for trial, succeeded in getting Jim Anderson to go his bail until 4 o'clock, placing his horse in Anderson's stable for security. But while William was waiting for 4 o'clock to come, he went against the booze joint to such an extent as to make him feel like a giant among small men. He resolved and finally decided, that no court or no officers or no town could hold him. He secured his revolvers, went to Anderson's livery stable, and finding no one but old uncle Huggins around, presented his revolvers to the old man in a hostile attitude and ordered him to saddle up the horse he had left there for security. Of course the old man obeyed, and William was seen soon after riding recklessly out of town. As soon as the police heard what had happened their wrath was up and they decided to give chase. Assistant Marshal Masterson was the first to get started, and Marshal Deger next, mounted on a horse about half as large as himself. On his shoulder he carried a shot-gun, and blood was in his eye. A few moments after the Marshal started, Jim Anderson learned what had been done, and feeling himself interested, took out his fastest horse, and said "we'll catch 'im."

The news had spread over town and the population could be counted by hundreds on the tops of freight cars, on the roofs of buildings and other high places. William crossed the river and started east on the run. He had a good horse, and a hot race was expected, and a fight when the officers came in contact with him. Anderson's horse soon passed Deger, whose pony grunted at every jump under its heavy load, and afterwards passed Masterson, and was gaining on the fugitive, whose courage seemed to have failed, inasmuch as he slackened his speed when he saw Anderson coming. Anderson rode up to him and they both stopped. The lookers-on expected to see some shooting at this stage of the game, but Anderson made no move to shoot, and Brady only placed his hands on his revolver in a playful manner. Just then Masterson came up, and before Brady saw him ordered him to throw up his hands or be killed. Brady threw up his hands and Anderson took his revolvers. Deger soon arrived, but was too late to use the shot gun. Brady begged Anderson's pardon and said he would never have acted so had he been sober. He was confined in the calaboose until the next day, when he was brought before Judge Frost and fined \$10 and costs, which he paid.

On October 2, 1877, the police force was reduced so that only Marshal Deger and Assistant Marshal Ed Masterson remained.³

Since Sheriff C. E. Bassett could not run for re-election in 1877, due to a constitutional limitation, the office was sought by Deger, George T. Hinkle, and Bat Masterson. Deger announced in the *Times* of October 13, 1877, that he would run: "At the solicitation

of many of my friends I hereby announce myself as a candidate for the office of Sheriff of Ford county. If elected I shall spare no effort to fill the office honestly and faithfully." The editor of the *Times* wrote: "The most of the voters of Ford county know 'Larry' better than we do—at least have known him longer. He has been City Marshal of this city for a long time, and his ability to keep the peace has been often tested. Give him a fair consideration. He is a substantial, honest and upright man."

Toward the end of October Hinkle stepped out of the race and declared in the October 27, 1877, issue of the *Times* that he would support Deger.

The day Hinkle's announcement was made a "Peoples' Mass Convention" assembled in the Lady Gay saloon to nominate candidates for the November election. Both Deger and Bat Masterson were suggested to the convention as the candidate for sheriff. After seconding speeches by W. N. Morphy, who in two months would cofound the *Ford County Globe*, in favor of Deger, and M. W. Sutton, Dodge City attorney, in favor of Masterson a ballot was taken in which Masterson received the majority of votes. Though he had not been chosen by the convention, Deger stated that "I am still in the field as a candidate for the office of Sheriff of Ford County."⁴

At the election held November 6, 1877, W. B. Masterson edged out Deger with a three-vote majority, he having received 166 votes to Deger's 163.⁵

On November 10, 1877, the *Times* noted:

Two worthy birds, "Stock Yards Shorty" and a cow boy, participated in a little slugology yesterday morning, in front of Jake Collar's store. After exchanging a few slugs, Shorty knocked the cow boy through one of Mr. Collar's large window lights. The cow boy in return drew a crimson stream from Shorty's proboscis. Our worthy Marshal interfered in their innocent amusement, and took them off to the lime kiln.

And on December 1, 1877, the *Times* reported:

DARING THEFT.

While the excitement caused by the burning of the Great Bend City Jail was attracting everybody to that part of the city, one day last week, a thief quietly unhitched a farmer's team from a post in front of one of the Great Bend stores, seated himself in the wagon and drove westward. He reached this city this week and camped out in the adjacent hills. The proprietor of the team got track of the thief and followed him to Dodge City. Learning that his thief was somewhere near around he informed Marshal Deger of his errand and straightway search was instituted. The Marshal soon succeeded in finding and recovering the team, but the thieves made a hasty

flight. Great was the joy of the farmer when he recovered his stolen property, and he even went so far as to give his horses a fond embrace.

The city council of Dodge City, at its meeting of December 4, 1877, relieved Deger from the marshalship and the mayor appointed Ed Masterson in his place. The editor of the *Times* wrote on December 8, 1877:

City Marshal Edward Masterson receives the congratulations of his many friends without a show of exultation. Notwithstanding the fact that considerable feeling was manifested against the removal of Mr. Deger, no one accuses Mr. Masterson of seeking the position. In fact he preferred to retain his old position as Assistant, which gave him the same salary and engendered less responsibilities. As an officer his reputation is made, and it is a good one.

In justice to Mr. Deger we will say that no charge of misconduct was brought against him. He has been an excellent officer, and retires with no stain upon his official character. The powers that be saw fit to make the change, and it was made. It was made on the principal that "there are just as good men in the party as out of it."

Deger had filed a contest of election suit against Bat Masterson which he withdrew in January, 1878. On January 15 the *Ford County Globe* printed his explanation:

COMMUNICATED.

DODGE CITY, Jan. 11, 1878.

EDITOR GLOBE. As considerable inquiry and comment has been made respecting the withdrawal of my contest for the Sheriff's office, to satisfy my friends and the public generally, I submit the following: Not wishing to involve my friends in trouble or expense, politically or financially when nothing could be accomplished thereby, I concluded when the appointment of Judges had been made by the Probate Court that it would be folly to proceed when I was sure of getting the worst of it. When I filed my papers of contest I expected to get a square deal from the Probate Court. One of the judges selected to try the contest had previously voted in the city council for my removal from the office of City Marshal because I would not withdraw the contest. As I understand the position of both parties in the contest, and know that it was convenient for this councilman to vote as he did, I have nothing to say except that a much fairer selection of judges could have been made.

Aside from the glaring injustice done me in the appointment of judges I wish further to say to the City Council, that, as the contest was a county affair and could not interfere with the discharge of my duties as City Marshal. I cannot understand why they should have taken upon themselves to establish an arbitrary precedent which will work no good to them or the men who advised it. The sympathy of such men who degrade their official positions I scorn. I always endeavored to perform my duty as an officer, impartially, friends and foes I treated alike—my conduct, good, bad, and indifferent have approved. I ask no favors from anyone other than what common decency would dictate.

L. E. DEGER.

The Dodge City *Times*, January 12, 1878, said of the withdrawal:

THE CONTEST WITHDRAWN.

The contest suit of Larry E. Deger vs. W. B. Masterson, for the office of Sheriff of Ford county, has been withdrawn, and thus the agony is over. Contest suits are prolific endless sources of bad blood, and rarely end in success to the contestor.

It is true the election was a close one, but an opening of the ballots would only tend to make hostility more bitter and to open wounds that would be running sores in future election contests.

Mr. Deger's efficiency and popularity will secure him confidence for a future race before the people, which he cannot forego for the sake of a fruitless and prolonged contest suit, which could be carried to the end of the term for which he sought. Mr. Masterson will make a capable and energetic officer, and we trust will receive the support of every one in the execution of his official duties.

The attorneys in this matter were fully prepared for the tug of war, but their legal swords have been turned into tuning forks, and the Russian harp is made to discourse its sweet delightful strains a la Brokhisstiffnek.

On January 22, 1878, the *Globe* printed this exchange, which implied that Deger was incapable of composing the January 11 letter:

DODGE CITY, }
Jan. 21st., '78.

The following inuendo appeared in the "Dodge City times," Jan. 19th.:

QUESTION.

"Will the wise man who wrote the communication for Deger, please inform an inquiring public, if a City Marshall degrades his official position, by standing in with (so called) show case game for ten per cent of the games."

SUBSCRIBER.

In reply I have but this to say: I wrote the communication referred to, myself. And although I don't pretend to much wisdom, I try to live honestly and tell the truth. I consider that the City Marshall, who would take any per cent. of any show case game, or other game of like character, not only degrades his official position, but becomes a scoundrel. Sign your name next time.

L. E. DEGER.

For a while it was believed by some that Deger had been a member of the gang which attempted to rob a Santa Fe train at Kinsley on January 27, 1878. The *Globe*, February 5, 1878, reported:

One of the most laughable things connected with the late train robbery, was, a detective shadowed Larry Deger for two days, supposing him to be the big fellow who put the pistol to the engineers head. Another is that a stranger in Kinsley, while eating supper at the hotel, supposing our respected townsman, A. B. Webster, to be [William M.] Tilgman, one of the arrested parties, extended his sympathy to Web. assuring him that he didn't believe he was guilty. Web. promptly assured him that he was innocent, and didn't believe that the prosecution could convict him.

On June 2, 1880, Deger was listed by the United States census as being a resident of Dodge township, a laborer, and 35 years old.

In April, 1883, Deger defeated W. H. Harris for mayor of Dodge City by a vote of 214 to 143.⁶ "The true city issue was whisky vs. whisky or Indian fight Indian, in which the *GLOBE* had no particular interest, but could quietly stand by and watch the result, which was sure to prove beneficial to the best interests of this city. The more fight among the Indians the less Indians," said the *Ford County Globe*, April 3, 1883.

Within a month of Deger's election the so-called "Dodge City War" erupted. Lawrence E. Deger, not A. B. Webster as so many sources state, was the Dodge City mayor who had Luke Short arrested and subsequently run out of town for having female "entertainers" in his saloon in violation of city ordinance. The story of the "war" will be presented in the section on Luke Short.

On July 26, 1883, a disgruntled *Globe* reader accused Deger of misconduct in 1876, when he was city marshal. The letter, which was printed in the *Ford County Globe*, July 31, may be found in the section on C. E. Chipman. The matter to which the letter referred was tried as a civil case before the June, 1877, term of the Ford county district court and was reported in the *Dodge City Times*, June 30, 1877:

THE JUNE TERM OF COURT.

. . . By far the most important case, however, was the case of John Blake vs. Dodge City. The allegations of the complaint were that Blake was incarcerated by a judgment of the Police Court in a 10 x 12 cell, that against his remonstrance there were confined with him three desperadoes (two of whom were afterwards hung,) that these three men were allowed to have in their possession a knife and pistol, that they assaulted Blake and shot out his left eye, and otherwise injured him, for which he claimed damages in \$5,000. The suit was brought by Messrs. [M. W.] Sutton and [Harry E.] Gryden, and came up on a demurrer to the reply. Mr. [E. F.] Colborn, for the city, cited a number of authorities, making a strong case of non-liability for the city. Mr. Gryden followed. He argued that where there is a wrong committed, there must be a remedy, that the age of the Seal Chambers of Venice and the Black Hole of Calcutta were past, that if the city could confine an old man in a den of murderers, who had vowed to kill him, they could also incarcerate the maiden with the raving maniac, or employ the thumbscrews and the iron boots of the inquisition as their agents. Mr. Gryden's argument occupied about one hour, and was spoken of by the bar with flattering encomiums. Captain [J. G.] Waters closed the argument for the city, showing by a long list of authorities that a city occupied the position of a State in the regulating of her municipal affairs, that if a liability existed, it was against the agents of the city. That she could be no more liable in this case than would the

Warden of the Penitentiary be responsible for the killing of one convict of another. Strong and able arguments were, of course, expected from City Attorney Colborn and Captain Waters, and they were in this case fully realized. The court sustained the demurrer, and rendered judgment for costs against Blake, to which plaintiff excepted, and gave notice of appeal to the Supreme Court.

No record was found of a subsequent hearing before the supreme court in the case of Blake vs. Dodge City.

As a postscript to the spring "war," the Dodge City council passed an ordinance on August 31, 1883, making it illegal for music of any type to be played publicly except for purposes "literary or scientific." This, of course, was aimed at the female "entertainers" of the local saloons and dance halls. Mayor Deger, having borne the responsibility for most of the actions of and reactions to the "Dodge City War," wrote to William A. Johnston, Kansas' attorney general, for legal opinion on the validity of the ordinance:

Office of the Mayor of
DODGE CITY KANSAS Dec 18/83

ATTORNEY GENERAL

STATE OF KANSAS

SIR

I enclose you a copy of an Ordinance the Validity of which I would most respectfully ask your Opinion. I order the dance Halls closed under this Ordinance and have Stopped the Musick and free & Easys in the Salons Some of our attorneys here claim that they can Beat the Ordinance in the Dis Court as the Ordinance is to sweeping in its nature and the parties threaten to open and see if they could beat it. but I inform them if they did I would have complaint made in the Dis Court and try them under the Statute which had the desired effect. but I am certain that the Ordinance is good would rather have them brought in the City Courts I would Respectfully ask these questions

1st. upon the face of this Ordinance is it within the Power of the Mayor & Council to Pass and Enforce it.

2nd—Can the Police Court take Judicial Knowledge of the Vices & Evils this Ordinance attempts to Suppress

3rd If Valid will the Intention of the Mayor and Council be the Guide for the Courts.

4th Will an Ordinance Passed by the Mayor & Council prohibiting the Sale of Liquor Except on pharmacy licence under the License System Still remain Valid and in force or must the M. & C. pass a new ordinance under the new order of things.

Yours L E DEGER Mayor Dodge City

In answer, Attorney General Johnston informed Mayor Deger that the ordinance was too general to be valid, that the disturbances it was designed to suppress were already taken care of by powers granted to cities by state statute and that moreover there were

"uses of music other than for literary and scientific purposes which would not be vicious, immoral or disorderly." ⁷

After serving only one term as mayor of Dodge City, Lawrence E. Deger retired to private life. In September, 1885, he moved to Kiowa in Barber county.⁸

1. *Dodge City Times*, April 7, May 6, June 9, July 7, August 11, September 8, October 6, November 10, December 8, 1877. 2. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1877. 3. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1877. 4. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1877. 5. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1877. 6. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1883. 7. "Correspondence of the Attorneys General," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 8. *The Globe Live Stock Journal*, September 8, 1885.

DIBBS, WILLIAM

(1850?-____)

William Dibbs was appointed policeman on the Wichita force, April 15, 1873; Mike Meagher was renamed city marshal for the third consecutive year and Daniel Parks became assistant marshal.¹

On April 15, 1874, Mike Meagher was replaced by William Smith. Dan Parks and William Dibbs were reappointed to their respective positions and James Cairns became the fourth member of the force.² Other policemen were added as the season progressed.

In July Dibbs' treatment of a prisoner caused the captive to disarm and tree the policeman. The *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, July 29, 1874, reported:

A SHOOTING AFFRAY.

THE PURSUED TURNED PURSUER.

A BRAVE "COPE" MAKES TIME.

Last Friday afternoon a shooting affray occurred on Second street, between the BEACON office and the Occidental hotel, which happily resulted in nothing more than frightening a policeman, and arousing the indignation of all who witnessed the affair, at his brutality and cowardice. The particulars of the affair are as follows:

A young man, said to be a gambler, by the name of Thomas McGrath, had been arrested on a charge of vagrancy and fined. Unable to pay the amount, he and another were put at work on the streets, under charge of policeman Wm. Dibbs. While they were at work Dibbs, for some cause, threatened to put a ball and chain upon McGrath, when the latter started to run away. Dibbs pursued, pistol in hand, and overtaking the fleeing man on Main street, struck and pulled him around as if he was a dog. Coming back with his prisoner, Dibbs heaped upon him a volley of oaths and threats, which were replied to by McGrath in much the same style of language. Turning the corner of Main and second streets, Dibbs, in an angry and excited tone said he could put a ball and chain on McGrath if he wished, and could kill him if he wanted to. In reply to McGrath's denial of his assertions, Dibbs ordered him to shut up. This, McGrath said he would not do, when, without warning and to the astonishment of those who had been attracted to the scene, Dibbs with his left fist dealt the prisoner a blow in the face, and followed it up by another with his right. McGrath attempted to ward off the blows, when the parties clinched, and in

the struggle McGrath managed to get possession of one of Dibbs' pistols, and at once prepared for defense and attack.

So soon as Dibbs saw the revolver in the hands of McGrath, a deadly pallor o'er spread his face and he turned and fled, his ashen lips crying, "Hold on, hold on! Don't shoot." In his flight Dibbs ran towards the rear of, the BEACON office, but before he reached the sidewalk McGrath managed to fire one shot at him, which only served to increase his speed. McGrath in turn became the pursuer, and followed Dibbs, who ran, like a scared wolf, behind the buildings. In the flight Dibbs managed to fire one shot from his remaining revolver, while his pursuer fired twice. None of the shots took effect. McGrath finally overhauled Dibbs as he reached the rear of Dr. Gray's house, where he attempted to wrest the other pistol from the city guardian. In the struggle Dibbs' pistol was discharged, the ball striking McGrath on the lower part of the left hand, inflicting a slight wound.

About this time Mr. Newman came up and separated the parties, and almost simultaneously policemen [Samuel] Botts and [John] Behrens came up and seized McGrath, while Dibbs limped off with the assistance of two gentlemen, fully impressed with the idea that he was fatally shot. He was taken to the office of the police judge for attention. Arriving there, an examination disclosed the fact that he was only frightened, not hurt. Then his courage returned, and seizing his revolvers he thrust them into his belt; then taking the triangle he rushed to the door and rang an alarm which brought together a large number of armed citizens.

McGrath, meantime, was being taken to the calaboose by Botts and Behrens. We are informed that while on the way, and after arriving at the calaboose, Botts showed his brutality by beating the prisoner over the head, and was only prevented from further fiendishness by the efforts of the other policeman.

The above is a plain statement of the affair, without attempt at coloring or giving the minute particulars. It requires no comment. We could not make it appear worse for Dibbs were we so disposed. If a full investigation and a thorough overhauling of the police force fails to result from it, then a total disregard of the people's wishes will be shown, and lack of a sense of justice exhibited we are loth to attribute to our Mayor and Councilmen.

The *Wichita City Eagle*, July 30, 1874, in reporting the affair said:

. . . We hope the incident will prove of value to incautious and over brave officers, if we have any more upon the force. No ordinary sized policeman with only two revolvers should attempt to handle one of these small red-whiskered fellows single handed. Seriously we think that whenever it comes to the pitch that vagrants or others defy our authorities and on the pretense of the disgrace resist and threaten officers it is well for the mayor to shut down most vigorously. As to the police force, it will be remembered that we asked for a re-organization this spring. All the people desire is such men upon that force as are respectable and as will command the respect of good citizens and be dreaded by rogues. We have some good men on the police, but there are others who, however brave, should never be officers of the law. . . .

Immediately after the *Beacon* reached the streets, Dibbs stormed into the office of Milton Gabel, the editor. Gabel described the resulting scene in the August 5, 1874, issue:

A CARD.

DIBBS—BURRIS—BOTTS.

TO THE CITIZENS OF WICHITA:—As many false rumors are afloat respecting a little difficulty which occurred in this office last Wednesday afternoon, I desire to give the facts in the case, in order to correct the erroneous impressions concerning the affair. It grew out of an article, which appeared in Wednesday's BEACON, criticising the action of policeman Dibbs for mistreating a prisoner.

About three o'clock in the afternoon Mr. Sowers and myself were sitting by a table in this office, when Wm. Dibbs entered the room accompanied by an armed ex-policeman. Dibbs came up to the table, and in a threatening, angry and excited manner demanded to know "who put that piece in the paper?" when I answered that I did. Dibbs then said, "The man that put that in is a liar," (this was emphasized by three loud and well-rounded oaths,) after which he received my undivided attention for a few moments; but seeing his confederate, [Sam] Burris, who stood in the background eyeing me closely, place his hand on his hip as if ready to draw his revolver, I quite naturally watched the latter while dealing with Dibbs. When Dibbs called me a liar, I hurried around the railing in front of the table towards him, and, just as I got outside the railing, he struck at me. I warded off the blow and struck him a very slight blow while looking at Burris. Dibbs then struck again when I dodged to one side, the blow merely grazing my hair on the left side of my head, and knocking off my hat. I then ordered him out of the office, when he and Burris both left the room. He then hurried to the police office anxious to plead guilty to fighting and having whipped me. Right here I wish it understood that he did not do this—in fact, neither of us were hurt in the least. But his cowardice may be known by the fact of his coming to my office, not alone like a man, but with an armed man to back him; and this action only confirms to me what he has previously shown himself to be, a villainous coward. Besides this, Wm. Dibbs, though a weak man generally, has proven himself an able-bodied liar. He stated in the police court that Burris had no revolver, and that Burris walked from the BEACON office down town on the east side of Main street with him, when in fact, Burris crossed Main street directly opposite this office, and went down the street on the west side. This we can prove by Mr. Kramer, and one other gentleman, whose reputation for truth and veracity will certainly have more weight in this community than that of Wm. Dibbs or Sam. Burris. Again, Sam. Burris has perjured himself. He swore positively in the police court that he had no revolver on his person, when two of the employes in this office saw it, and, it was also seen by Mr. James Davidson and a boy at Hills & Kramers store, just as he started up the stairway leading to this office.

Late Wednesday evening I remarked to Burris, "All your actions plainly indicated to me that you came there to aid Dibbs." "Yes," said he, "I intended to see him through." This needs no comment. As to Dibbs striking McGrath in the manner as given by me in Wednesday's article, I can only reiterate that, and, in fact, everything concerning Dibbs as to what occurred afterwards. This matter is narrowed down to a question of veracity between Wm. Dibbs on the one side, and myself and quite a number of our best citizens on the other, and if he undertakes to "clean out" everyone who asserts the facts as we

gave them, he will certainly find it extremely laborious to entirely complete his work.

With regard to the conduct of Samuel Botts (who was in no way connected with Wednesday's affair), it is claimed by him that he did not strike McGrath, yet he admits that he "chucked him about roughly," and says that under the excitement—coming up as he did after the shooting had begun, and while McGrath was shooting at Dibbs the second time—thinking that Dibbs was fatally wounded, &c., and, in his over-zealous efforts to save him, etc. etc., he treated McGrath more roughly than he intended to, and, under the excitement, and what he considers aggravating circumstances, more so than he otherwise would have done, and thinks that should at least partially excuse the rough treatment, which we characterized brutality, and of which we made mention in Wednesday's article. This may in a measure palliate the offense, but it shows inefficiency, and even this I think will not justify the mistreatment of a prisoner disarmed, and on the way to the calaboose, and I will not alter my judgment on this matter as heretofore expressed. I gave the facts as they came under my own observation, together with the evidence of others, the truth of which can be substantiated by sworn statements of at least seven witnesses.

I do not seek difficulties; on the other hand try to avoid them. But the affair of Wednesday was thrust upon me. I regret exceedingly to have had any connection with the difficulty, and, if my friends will forgive me, I promise that such a thing shall not occur again, at least until another villainous fiend, hungry for trouble, presents himself in the same manner. I would not willfully wrong or injure any one, but I have a duty to perform as a public journalist, and that I purpose doing let come what may.

MILTON GABEL.

Dibbs apparently was relieved from the force because of the McGrath affair but on September 2, 1874, the city paid him \$3 for "Disbursing Money Cleaning Calaboose,"³ and on January 5, 1876, he was paid \$4 for two days' duty as special policeman at Wichita's December 17, 1875, fire.⁴

1. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, pp. 287, 288; *Wichita City Eagle*, April 17, 1873. 2. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, p. 371; *Wichita City Eagle*, April 23, 1874. 3. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal B, p. 15. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

DUFFEY, WILLIAM

(—-—)

Deputy Sheriff William Duffey first appeared in the Dodge City newspapers as a law officer on August 17, 1878, when the Dodge City *Times* reported:

Sheriff W. B. Masterson and Deputy Sheriff Wm. Duffy, are indefatigable in their efforts to ferret out and arrest persons charged with crimes. Scarcely a night or day passes without a reward for their vigilance and promptness. We do not record all these happenings, because evil doing is of such common occurrence. There is a pleasant contemplation in the fact that we have officers

who are determined to rid the community of a horde that is a blight upon the well being of this over ridden section.

On the next page the *Times* noted that "Sheriff W. B. Masterson and Deputy Duffy Monday night, arrested one James Smith, three and a half miles from town, on a charge of horse stealing. The prisoner is bound over for ten days to await trial and identification by parties in Ellis county."

In September, 1878, Duffey was responsible for the escape of two county prisoners. The articles reporting this may be found in the section on Bat Masterson.

Duffey, in October, 1878, was a member of the posse which captured James Kennedy, the supposed murderer of Dora Hand. The report of this, too, may be found in the section on Masterson.

The *Ford County Globe*, October 29, 1878, reported that "Deputy Sheriff Duffy had an unruly prisoner last week who undertook to purloin the six-shooter worn by his keeper, who was giving him a promenade in the hallway, but was unsuccessful."

On December 6, 1878, four prisoners escaped from the county jail. On December 17 the *Globe* reported the unsuccessful pursuit of one of the escapees:

Deputy Sheriff Duffey, in company with Archie Keach left here a week ago yesterday, in search of the missing prisoner Brown, who, it is supposed, stole [C. S.] Hungerford's fine grey mare and made good his escape. After a fruitless search for nearly a week they return to Dodge, Keach arriving here Saturday and Duffey Sunday. They report a very rough trip.¹

Duffey shared in the praise given the Ford county officers (mentioned earlier in the section on C. E. Bassett) by the *Dodge City Times*, January 11, 1879. These men, the paper said, had "earned the high praise accorded to them for their vigilance and prompt action in the arrest of offenders of the law."

In March, 1879, Duffey and Bat Masterson participated in the struggle between the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe and the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroads for the right of way through the Grand Canyon of the Arkansas—the Royal Gorge. The Dodge City phase of this fight may be found in the section on Masterson.

Deputy Sheriff Duffey, on April 5, 1879, disarmed Levi Richardson, the loser of a duel fought with Frank Loving in the Long Branch saloon. This was reported in the section on Charles E. Bassett.

Later in April Duffey accompanied Mike Sutton to Garden City after a prisoner. Sequoyah (Finney) county, in which Garden City

was located, was one of 13 unorganized counties attached to Ford county for judicial purposes. The *Times*, April 26, 1879, reported:

County Attorney Sutton and officer Wm. Duffy went up to Garden City Thursday. They caused the arrest of L. T. Walker, who stabbed D. R. Menke. Both are citizens of Garden City. The cause of the stabbing grew out of some words over a business transaction. Mr. Menke was stabbed in the abdomen, and is in a dangerous condition. Walker was brought to this city and placed in jail.

On August 30, 1879, the *Times* noticed that "Officer Duffey arrested a man Thursday on a telegram from Colorado," and on September 9, 1879, the *Globe* recorded this episode:

ANOTHER LUNATIC.

For some time past the Bohemian named Szonek, confined in the county jail awaiting his trial in the district court on the charge of attempting to steal Mr. Cotton's horses, has been acting queer. In fact he has been acting very queer, cutting various kinds of pranks, and even going so far as to try to but[t] his brains out against the sides of the prison wall. He said he wanted to die, and when Mr. Duffey kindly offered to shoot him he was perfectly willing and even anxious for the shooting to commense, but Mr. Duffey was compelled by a feeling of delicacy to politely decline the honor. On Saturday he was taken before Probate Judge Klaine, who impaneled a jury and gave him an examination. He was adjudged insane and will be sent to the asylum. The cause of his lunacy is undoubtedly an abominable crime against nature which he has practiced.

The *Ford County Globe*, November 18, 1879, again mentioned an adventure of Duffey's:

FIRE GUARDS.

Our tenacious Deputy Sheriff Mr. William Duffey, had a novel experience last week with a gentleman of color whom he wished to "see" in regard to bad intentions. It was night, and as Mr. Duffey rapped at the front door of his victim's pallatial residence and announced his errand, there was a slight rustle of bed clothing and then all was still. Mr. Duffey effected a forcible entrance and was shocked to find that his bird had flown through the back window.

Duffey apparently left his public office at the end of the Bat Masterson administration. On October 13, 1881, the *Dodge City Times*, quoting a colorful story in the Las Vegas (N. M.) *Optic*, reported that he was fighting Apaches with Col. Ranald Mackenzie's 4th cavalry:

"Duffey," the veteran scout, is with MacKensey's outfit and will prove a valuable acquisition to his forces. Duff is an old-timer and will be remembered by all the boys of Dodge City and other western Kansas towns. It is said of him that once upon the frontier of Texas a company of buffalo soldiers was sent to arrest him for some trivial offense, and before they were aware of what was ahead of them he had sent the entire outfit to the happy hunting

grounds. He was for a long time the deputy and trusted henchman of the somewhat famous Bat Masterson, in Ford county, Kansas, and shared with him the dangers of holding down the hardest town on the continent. He is an experienced Indian fighter, and will, if given a chance, adorn his wigwam with many an Apache's scalp before winter. If the Government would employ a number of such men and leave the cadets at home to court their girls, the Indian war would progress more satisfactorily.—[Las Vegas Optic.

1. See, also, *Dodge City Times*, December 21, 1878.

EARP, WYATT BERRY STAPP

(1848-1929)

In spite of Wyatt Earp's own statement, recorded by a biographer over 50 years after the event, that he had been the one who disarmed Ben Thompson after the fatal shooting of Sheriff Chauncey B. Whitney in Ellsworth that August day in 1873, no contemporary record is known to exist which places Earp in the town at that time.

Similarly, though Earp, through his biographer, stated that he arrived in Wichita in May, 1874, and was soon hired as deputy marshal, no evidence of his official police employment could be found in the Wichita city records or in either of the town's newspapers until April, 1875.

In May, 1874, the police force consisted of Marshal William Smith, Assistant Marshal Daniel Parks, and Policeman James Cairns, Joe Hooker, John Behrens, and William Dibbs. In June Sam Botts was added as policeman. During the summer several others, but apparently not Earp, served as special policemen for short periods.

The first known Wichita mention of Wyatt Earp appeared in the *Wichita City Eagle*, October 29, 1874. Though the article referred to him as an "officer," it did not state whether he was a city, county, federal, or private officer. It is not likely that as a city police officer he would have made the collection described so far from the limits of the town, yet his partner, John Behrens, was probably still on the city force at the time. It would seem more likely that Behrens and Earp were hired as private officers to collect an unpaid private debt. The article is presented here for the reader's own interpretation:

The Higgenbottom outfit, who attempted to jump the country at an expense of twenty or thirty thousand dollars to Wichita, it appears had, among other games, stuck M. R. Moser for a new wagon, who instead of putting himself in communication, by telegraph, with the outside world just got two officers, John Behrens and Wyatt Earp, to light out upon the trail. These boys fear nothing and fear nobody. They made about seventy-five miles from sun to sun, across trackless prairies, striking the property and the thieves near the Indian line. To make a long and exciting story short, they just levelled a shotgun and six-shooter upon the scalawags as they lay concealed in some

brush, and told them to "dough over," which they did, to the amount of \$146, one of them remarking that he was not going to die for the price of a wagon. It is amusing to hear Moser tell how slick the boys did the work.

The official Kansas state census, 1875, purportedly showing the occupation and ages of all individuals, reported as follows on three Earps who were living in Wichita:

The name of every person whose place of abode on the first day of March, 1875, was in this family.	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation	Place of birth	Where from to Kansas
Bessie Earp	32	F	W	Sporting	New York	Iowa
					[page 23, line 4.]	
Jas. Earp	34	M	W		Kentucky	Iowa
W. S. Earp	26	M	W		Illinois	Illinois
					[page 32, lines 24 and 25.]	

Though the census was supposed to have been taken as of March 1, 1875, there is strong evidence to indicate that the Wichita portion, at least, was prepared between April 6 and April 21. Since all the known policemen of Wichita were so indicated in the occupation columns of the census, the compilers of this sketch feel that had Earp been on the force prior to April 21, 1875, his occupation would have been listed similarly.

On April 21, 1875, Wyatt Earp was appointed policeman on the Wichita force, and the appointment entered on the records of the city. This was, by the way, the first time that Earp's name appeared in the city's official records. Wichita's police force now consisted of Marshal Mike Meagher, Assistant Marshal John Behrens, and Policemen James Cairns and Earp.¹ The marshal's salary was \$91.66, Behrens earned \$75.00, and Cairns and Earp each were paid \$60.00 a month.²

Wyatt's first recorded Wichita arrest was reported in the *Weekly Beacon*, May 12, 1875:

AN ARISTOCRATIC HORSE THIEF.

On Tuesday evening of last week, policeman Erp, in his rounds ran across a chap whose general appearance and get up answered to a description given of one W. W. Compton, who was said to have stolen two horses and a mule from the vicinity of Le Roy, in Coffey county. Erp took him in tow, and inquired his name. He gave it as "Jones." This didn't satisfy the officer, who took Mr. Jones into the Gold Room, on Douglass avenue, in order that he might fully examine him by lamp light. Mr. Jones not liking the looks of things, lit out, running to the rear of Denison's stables. Erp fired one shot across his poop deck to bring him to, to use a naughty-cal phrase, and just as he did so, the man cast anchor near a clothes line, hauled down his colors and

surrendered without firing a gun. The officer laid hold of him before he could recover his feet for another run, and taking him to the jail placed him in the keeping of the sheriff. On the way "Jones" acknowledged that he was the man wanted. The fact of the arrest was telegraphed to the sheriff of Coffey county, who came down on Thursday night and removed Compton to the jail of that county. A black horse and a buggy was found at one of the feed stables, where Compton had left them. After stealing the stock from Coffey county, he went to Independence, where he traded them for a buggy, stole the black horse and came to this place. He will probably have an opportunity to do the state some service for a number of years, only to come out and go to horse stealing again, until a piece of twisted hemp or a stray bullet puts an end to his hankering after horse flesh.

The *Wichita City Eagle*, May 6, 1875, merely stated: "Behrens and Earp picked up a horse thief by the name of Compton from Coffey County, yesterday, with the property in his possession."

A ruckus loving young cowboy successfully eluded the Wichita police on May 23. The *Eagle*, May 27, 1875, reported:

The three shots that were fired on Main street between the Occidental and Empire last Sunday night, were showered into the innocent air by a hilarious party of the name of Higinbotham, who was a horse back, and heavily armed for the sport. The police chased him to the corporate limits, but could go no further.³

About August 4, 1875, Cairns and John Martin, who had been appointed in April, were dropped from the force, leaving only the marshal, Assistant Behrens, and Policeman Earp.⁴

On November 10, 1875, the *Beacon* reported an arrest by Marshal Meagher and Earp:

THE TERRORS AND TEMPTATIONS OF BULL WHACKING.

Last Friday, being hangman's day and generally regarded by the superstitious as the twenty-four hours in all the week, for all time, which the devil has reserved for himself against the holy Sabbath, appropriated by his enemies, it befell three turbulent twirlers of the long lash, stimulators of the patient ox, to be wooed into ways that are dark and tricks that proved vain, and on the devil's own day. A bull train, consisting of two large waggons and eight yoke of oxen, had arrived at West Wichita, corralled and went into camp early that morning. There was nothing very remarkable in this fact, being of daily, almost hourly occurrence, but in the sequel, in the reproof of chance lay the proof of crime, with an apology, if it so please you, for spoiling one of Williams best and most quoted. Marshal Meagher, as the wires and mails would so have it, had a description of this identical outfit in his pocket, with the names of the parties to it. The intelligence conveyed to him was that one Bill Potts, assisted by two gentlemen of color, had actually stolen these oxen and wagons, and stranger yet, under the very nose of their owner, and as slow as oxen travel, had most miraculously succeeded in eluding pursuit, evading highways and coming through the long prairie grass, reached Wichita,

from Fort Sill, where this wholesale theft was committed. If nothing of reputation is left this little crowd of depredators, one thing will ever remain tenaciously with their names, that they made the best bull time on record and are therefore entitled to the name of being the champion bull whackers of the Sill. We expect to see a dime edition out soon, with some such title and the usual daredevil wood cut, emblazoning in red, yellow and magenta this identical trio, whipping, goading and spurring amain the frantic longhorns.

Be that as it may, Mike Meagher soon spotted good M. Potts, the only white man in the crowd, who was threading his way through the busy throng on lower Main street making with all possible speed and with a business-like air, towards the individual whom he had put up to be the innocent purchaser. He sought out several buyers. In the meantime, Marshal Meagher, having business always near by. At last Mr. Potts betook himself to Davidson's stables and securing a horse for himself, had old Mr. Davidson to mount another and together they crossed the long bridge, Mr. Davidson going to look at the cattle and make up his mind whether to buy or not. Mike Meagher with Policeman Erp, also took an airing on horseback about the same time clattering the bridge with the music of their horses' hoofs in beautiful quartette with those that bore Mr. Potts and his victim, and so, until all the parties halted in the marauders' camp, when good Mr. Potts and his too sable assistants were compelled to surrender at the point of the six shooter and were, when we saw them, marching up the center of Main street, three abreast, with the two mounted officers in the rear, herding them to jail. There they now are, waiting the certainty of that hour that will bring them to face offended law, and to go hence and be forgot, at least for a term of years. That is to say, and it is written with this express understanding, if they do not break jail.

The *Eagle*, November 11, 1875, said the arrest was made by Meagher and Behrens:

Wm. Potts and two colored men were arrested here last Friday by city Marshal Mike Meagher and Assistant John Behrens, charged with stealing eight yoke of cattle and two wagons at Fort Sill, which property was found in their possession. The parties were lodged in jail.

Realizing it had erred, the *Beacon* corrected itself on November 17, 1875:

While we are not aware that Deputy Marshal Behrens cares a fig for official honors, yet when he is justly entitled to credit it is due him to have the same. Far be it from us to withhold from so efficient an officer what belongs to him, much less give the praise to others. We say this much without the knowledge of Mr. Behrens, in order to set ourselves right in the matter of several arrests made last week; one of them Ed Hays, the other Bill Potts and his two associates. Deputy Marshal Behrens spotted all these parties, arrested Hays, himself; and traced the others to their lair, assisting Mike Meagher in the arrests.

On December 15, 1875, the *Beacon* again mentioned Wyatt Earp:

On last Wednesday, Policeman Erp found a stranger lying near the bridge in a drunken stupor. He took him to the "cooler" and on searching him found in the neighborhood of \$500 on his person. He was taken next morning before

his honor, the police judge, paid his fine for his fun like a little man and went on his way rejoicing. He may congratulate himself that his lines, while he was drunk, were cast in such a pleasant place as Wichita as there are but few other places where that \$500 roll would ever been heard from. The integrity of our police force has never been seriously questioned.

In April, 1876, the tables were turned and Policeman Earp found himself on the receiving end of law enforcement. The trouble was recorded in the *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, April 5, as follows:

On last Sunday night a difficulty occurred between Policeman Erp and Wm. Smith, candidate for city marshal. Erp was arrested for violation of the peace and order of the city and was fined on Monday afternoon by his honor Judge Atwood, \$30 and cost, and was relieved from the police force. Occurring on the eve of the city election, and having its origin in the canvass, it aroused general partisan interest throughout the city. The rumors, freely circulated Monday morning, reflected very severely upon our city marshal. It was stated and quite get [*sic*] generally credited that it was a put up job on the part of the city marshal and his assistant, to put the rival candidate for marshal *hors de combat* and thus remove an obstacle in the way of the reelection of the city marshal. These rumors, we say, were quite largely credited, notwithstanding their essential improbability and their inconsistency with the well known character of Mike Meagher, who is noted for his manly bearing and personal courage. The evidence before the court fully exonerated Meagher from the charge of a cowardly conspiracy to mutilate and disable a rival candidate, but showed that he repeatedly ordered his subordinate to avoid any personal collision with Smith, and when the encounter took place, Mike used his utmost endeavor to separate the combatants. If there is any room to reflect on the marshal, it is that he did not order his subordinate out of Smith's room as soon as he entered, knowing as he did, that Erp had fight on the brain. It is well known that in periods of excitement people do not always act as they would when perfectly collected and unexcited. The remarks that Smith was said to have made in regard to the marshal sending for Erp's brothers to put them on the police force furnished no just grounds for an attack, and upon ordinary occasions we doubt if Erp would have given them a second thought. The good order of the city was properly vindicated in the fining and dismissal of Erp. It is but justice to Erp to say he has made an excellent officer, and hitherto his conduct has been unexceptionable.

At the city election held the day before the *Beacon* came out Meagher had defeated Smith for the marshalship.⁵ The new city council, which had also been elected on April 4, met on the 19th and included among other business the nomination of police officers. The city clerk recorded the nominations and appointments in the minute book:

Numerous nominations were made for policeman the vote on Mr. Wyatt Earp stood 2 for and 6 against.

Mr. R. C. Richey was elected policeman vote standing 6 for and 2 against. Mr. Dan Parks was also duly elected policeman. vote standing—5 for and 3

against. On motion the vote taken on Mr. Earp was reconsidered the result of the ballots showing— 4 for and 4 against.

On motion of Mr. Walker to defer the appointment of more policemen until next regular meeting— was carried.⁶

When the city council met on May 8 it allowed Wyatt Earp \$40 for 20 days' work on the force in April. The councilmen also ordered the committee on jail and police to investigate "the matter relating to the collection of moneys due the City by persons not authorized. . . ." ⁷

On May 10, 1876, the police committee wrote this report:

We the police com. Respectfully submit the following report. That Policeman L. Rickey be relieved from further duty & that the marshall enforce the vagrant act in the case of the 2 Earps [Wyatt?, James?, Bessie?], the long haired man, the man whose trial has been postponed, Sol Woodmancey & "Red." That the scrip of W. Earp and John Behrens be with-held from payment until all moneys collected by him for the city be turned over to the city treasurer.⁸

The city council received the report at its meeting on May 22:

Report of the Police Committee relating to the discharging of policeman Richey and also to the enforcement of the vagrant act and further recommending that Scrip of W. Earp & John Behrens be with held until all moneys collected by them for the City be turned over to the City Treasurer was sanctioned and accepted.⁹

With that, Wyatt Earp apparently bowed out of Wichita, for no other contemporary mention was found of him in that place. Further, on May 24, 1876, the *Wichita Weekly Beacon* reported: "Wyatt Erp has been put on the police force at Dodge City."

Little is known about Wyatt Earp in Dodge during 1876 and 1877. The only 1876 Dodge City newspaper in the files of the State Historical Society is a single issue of the *Times* dated October 14. On the first page, in a box labeled "Official Directory," Earp's name appeared as deputy city marshal. The next issue of this paper in the Society's files is that of March 24, 1877. Earp was similarly listed in the directory of this issue as well as in that of March 31. However, the *Times* of April 7, 1877, in reporting the proceedings of the city council meeting of April 4, said the salary of Marshal Lawrence E. Deger was allowed for March, but no mention was made of Wyatt Earp.

On July 7, 1877, the *Dodge City Times* noted:

Wyatt Earp, who was on our city police force last summer, is in town again. We hope he will accept a position on the force once more. He had a quiet

way of taking the most desperate characters into custody which invariably gave one the impression that the city was able to enforce her mandates and preserve her dignity. It wasn't considered policy to draw a gun on Wyatt unless you got the drop and meant to burn powder without any preliminary talk.

Earp was still in Dodge City two weeks later according to this article from the *Times* of July 21, 1877:

. . . Miss Frankie Bell, who wears the belt for superiority in point of muscular ability, heaped epithets upon the unoffending head of Mr. Earp to such an extent as to provoke a slap from the ex-officer, besides creating a disturbance of the quiet and dignity of the city, for which she received a night's lodging in the dog house and a reception at the police court next morning, the expense of which was about \$20.00. Wyatt Earp was assessed the lowest limit of the law, one dollar.

The Dodge City papers did not mention Earp again until January 22, 1878, when the *Ford County Globe* noted that "Wyatt Earp, our old assistant Marshal, is at Ft. Clark, Texas."

The ex-officer returned to Dodge on May 8, 1878. Said the *Times*, May 11: "MR. WYATT EARP, who has during the past served with credit on the police arrived in this city from Texas last Wednesday. We predict that his services as an officer will again be required this Summer."

By May 14 the *Ford County Globe* was able to report that "Wyatt Earp, one of the most efficient officers Dodge ever had, has just returned from Fort Worth, Texas. He was immediately appointed Asst. Marshal, by our City dads, much to their credit."

This time Earp served under City Marshal Charles E. Bassett, appointed to replace Edward J. Masterson who had been killed on April 9, 1878. Ed's brother, Bat, was sheriff of Ford county and James H. Kelley served as mayor of Dodge City. Earp's salary now was \$75.00 per month.¹⁰

For the first two months of Wyatt Earp's second tour of duty on the Dodge City police force the newspapers had little to report in the way of excitement. On June 11, 1878, the *Ford County Globe* felt that "Marshal Earp deserves credit for his endeavors to stop that 'bean business' at the Theatre the other night." On June 18 it stated that "Wyatt Earp is doing his duty as Ass't Marshal in a very creditable manner.—Adding new laurels to his splendid record every day."

On July 26 Dodge's second fatal shooting within two weeks occurred. The *Times* reported the affair in these words:

BULLETS IN THE AIR.

MUSIC FROM THE FESTIVE REVOLVER.

TWENTY SHOTS FIRED AND ONLY ONE MAN WOUNDED.

Yesterday morning about 3 o'clock this peaceful suburban city was thrown into unusual excitement, and the turmoil was all caused by a rantankerous cow boy who started the mischief by a too free use of his little revolver.

In Dodge City, after dark, the report of a revolver generally means business and is an indication that somebody is on the war path, therefore when the noise of this shooting and the yells of excited voices rang out on the midnight breeze, the sleeping community awoke from their slumbers, listened a while to the click of the revolver, wondered who was shot this time, and then went to sleep again. But in the morning many dreaded to hear the result of the war lest it should be a story of bloodshed and carnage, or of death to some familiar friend. But in this instance there was an abundance of noise and smoke, with no very terrible results.

It seems that three or four herders were paying their respects to the city and its institutions, and as is usually their custom, remained until about 3 o'clock in the morning, when they prepared to return to their camps. They buckled on their revolvers, which they were not allowed to wear around town, and mounted their horses, when all at once one of them conceived the idea that to finish the night's revelry and give the natives due warning of his departure, he must do some shooting, and forthwith he commenced to bang away, one of the bullets whizzing into a dance hall near by, causing no little commotion among the participants in the "dreamy waltz" and quadrille. Policemen Earp and [James] Masterson made a raid on the shootist who gave them two or three volleys, but fortunately without effect. The policemen returned the fire and followed the herders with the intention of arresting them. The firing then became general, and some rooster who did not exactly understand the situation, perched himself in the window of the dance hall and indulged in a promiscuous shoot all by himself. The herders rode across the bridge followed by the officers. A few yards from the bridge one of the herders fell from his horse from weakness caused by a wound in the arm which he had received during the fracas. The other herder made good his escape. The wounded man was properly cared for and his wound, which proved to be a bad one, was dressed by Dr. [T. L.] McCarty. His name is George Hoy, and he is rather an intelligent looking young man.¹¹

Hoy died on August 21, 1878. The *Ford County Globe*, August 27, said of him:

DIED.—On Wednesday last, George Hoy, the young Texan who was wounded some weeks since in the midnight scrimmage, died from the effects of his wound. George was apparently rather a good young man, having those chivalrous qualities, so common to frontiersmen, well developed. He was, at the time of his death, under a bond of \$1,500 for his appearance in Texas on account of some cattle scrape, wherein he was charged with aiding and assisting some other men in "rounding up" about 1,000 head of cattle which were claimed by other parties. He had many friends and no enemies among Texas men who knew him. George was nothing but a poor cow boy, but his brother cow-boys permitted him to want for nothing during his illness, and

buried him in grand style when dead, which was very creditable to them. We have been informed by those who pretend to know, that the deceased, although under bond for a misdemeanor in Texas, was in no wise a criminal, and would have been released at the next setting of the court if he had not been removed by death from its jurisdiction. "Let his faults, if he had any, be hidden in the grave." ¹²

Earp may have been one of the policemen who "interfered" in this melee reported by the *Globe*, August 20, 1878:

Another shooting affair occurred on the "south side" Saturday night. It appears that one of the cow boys, becoming intoxicated and quarrelsome, undertook to take possession of the bar in the Comique. To this the bar keeper objected and a row ensued. Our policemen interfered and had some difficulty in handling their man. Several cattle men then engaged in the broil and in the excitement some of them were bruised on the head with six shooters. Several shots were accidentally fired which created general confusion among the crowd of persons present. We are glad to chronicle the fact that none were seriously hurt and nobody shot. We however cannot help but regret the too ready use of pistols in all rows of such character and would like to see a greater spirit of harmony exist between our officers and cattle men so that snarling cayotes and killers could make their own fights without interesting or dragging good men into them.

Early in the morning of October 4, 1878, one James Kennedy fired two shots into the small frame house occupied by Fannie Keenan, a vocalist whom the *Dodge City Times* once described as a "general favorite" of the town. Miss Keenan, alias Dora Hand, was killed and within half a day a Dodge City posse was on Kennedy's trail. Earp was a part of that posse but since its direction properly came under the duties of the sheriff of Ford county, the full story may be found under W. B. Masterson.

The shooting of Dora Hand and the capture of James Kennedy was the last excitement in which Earp participated for quite some time judging from the Dodge City newspapers.

In December, 1878, the city council cut the salaries of the assistant marshal and the single policeman,¹³ but on April 9, 1879, about the time the season's trail herds began to arrive, it more than restored the cut. The *Ford County Globe*, April 15, 1879, carried the following story:

CITY FINANCES.

The City Council did a wise thing in endeavoring to wipe out the city indebtedness by raising the dram shop license from one hundred to three hundred dollars. The city has a debt of nearly \$3,000 hanging over it. But while the Council had their eyes on a depleted treasury they also had their attention called to the large pockets of our police force and City Attorney, to whom they have allowed an additional amount for their invaluable services. While they

have left the City Marshal's salary at \$100, they have raised the salary of Assistant Marshal and Policeman from \$50 to \$100 per month, making the expense of police force \$300 per month. . . . When an officer makes an arrest he is allowed a fee of \$2.

The Dodge City *Times*, in its article on the same subject, April 12, 1879, added: "The revenue derived from fines on gambling and prostitution, which will be revived next month, will pay the police force."

The local papers carried no items about arrests made by Earp until May 24, 1879, when the Dodge City *Times* reported:

Officers Earp and Jas. Masterson served a writ on a horse drover, out on Duck Creek, Wednesday, in order to obtain the claim of a darkey against the drover, for services rendered by the aforesaid colored individual. Seven brave horse herders stood against the two officers, who, showing no signs of "weakening," soon obtained satisfaction of the claim, the drover promptly paying the debt when resistance was no longer available.

On September 5, 1879, some of Dodge's characters engaged in what the editor of the *Globe* headlined "A Day of Carnival." This is the story:

It was casually observed several times by several old timers last Friday that Dodge City was redeeming herself. By this remark they intended to convey the idea that we were extricating ourselves from that stupid lethargy which had fallen upon us of late, and were giving vent to our uncurbed hilarity—"getting to the booze joint," as it were, in good shape, and "making a ranikaboo play for ourselves." We speak in the plural number because a large portion of our community were "to the joint" and we cannot mention the pranks of each without overlooking some and causing them to feel slighted. The signal for the tournament to begin was given by a slender young man of handsome external appearance who regaled his friends with a pail of water. The water racket was kept up until it merged into the slop racket, then the potatoe and cucumber racket, and finally the rotten egg racket, with all its magnificent odors. This was continued until the faces, eyes, noses, mouths and shirt bosoms of several of the boys were comfortably filled with the juicy substance of the choicest rotten eggs, compelling them to retire from the field, which they did in a very warlike manner. As the evening shades began to appear the skirmishers were soon actively engaged, and at a little before the usual hour slugging commenced all along the line. One or two "gun plays" were made, but by reason of a lack of execution, were not effective. We cannot indulge our readers with a lengthy description of the scenes of this glorious occasion. It is described by many eye witnesses as being equal to the famous "Mystery of Gil-Gal," where the inspired poet says:

"They piled the 'stiffs' outside the door,
I reckon there was a cord or more,
And that winter, as a rule,
The girls went alone to spelling-school."

Upon the sidewalks ran streams of the blood of brave men, and the dead and wounded wrestled with each other like butchered whales on harpooning

day. The "finest work" and neatest polishes were said to have been executed by Mr. Wyatt Earp, who has been our efficient assistant marshal for the past year.

The finest specimen of a polished head and ornamented eyes was bestowed upon "Crazy Horse." It is said that his head presented the appearance of a clothes basket, and his eyes, like ripe apples, could have been knocked off with a stick. He was last seen walking up the railroad track, on his way to Las Vegas. It was not until towards morning that the smoke cleared away, the din of battle subsided and the bibulous city found a little repose. And such is life in the far, far west.¹⁴

In the same issue, September 9, the *Globe* reported that "Mr. Wyatt Earp, who has been on our police force for several months, resigned his position last week and took his departure for Las Vegas, New Mexico." The *Globe* of September 30 mentioned that he was still in Las Vegas but by March 30, 1880, he was in Tombstone and said to be a rich man:

We understand that our fellow townsman Mr. Harry Finaty is contemplating a trip to the Tombstone district of Arizona to look after his interest in a mine which was recently sold by his partner Mr. Wyatt Earp for thirty thousand dollars. The mine is called the "Cooper Lode" and is not worked at present owing to the quantity of foul air that has accumulated in the shaft. . . .¹⁵

Late in November it was reported that Earp had been killed. The *Times* reprinted the story and added its own thoughts on the matter in its issue of November 27, 1880:

It is reported that Wyatt Earp, at one time a policeman in Wichita, but more recently of Dodge City, was shot and killed on Sand Creek, Colorado, by Jas. Kennedy, of Texas, a week or two ago. Earp had shot and wounded Kennedy in the shoulder a year or two since, and meeting at Sand Creek both pulled their revolvers, but Kennedy got his work in first, killing Earp instantly.—Caldwell Commercial.

The above statement is not believed in Dodge City. Earp is engaged as a special messenger by Wells, Fargo & Co., on a division of the railroad in New Mexico. The story looks like a fabrication. Earp was never engaged in a difficulty with Kennedy. The latter was shot in the shoulder by a posse of officers at one time in pursuit of him. Earp was not of that party.

By January 18, 1881, Earp was back in Tombstone. The *Ford County Globe* wrote: "Wyatt Earp, ex-City Marshal of Dodge City, and W. H. Harris, C. M. Beeson's partner, are at Tombstone, Arizona, one of the promising young cities of that Territory."

Within a few months Earp's supposed wealth was mentioned again. The *Globe* on October 11, 1881, said that "Wyat Carp [*sic*], formerly a policeman in this city, is now one of the wealthy men of Tombstone. He owns a large portion of the land on which the town is built, and some valuable mining property."

Two weeks later the famous gunfight at the OK Corral occurred. The *Globe* reported the shootout in these words:

A Tombstone, Arizona, dispatch says: Four cow boys, Ike and Billy Clanton and Frank and Tom McLowery, have been parading the town for several days, drinking heavily and making themselves obnoxious. On Wednesday last the city marshal arrested Ike Clanton. Soon after his release the four met the marshal, his brother Morgan and Wyatt Earp, and a citizen named Holliday. The marshal ordered them to give up their weapons, when a fight commenced. About thirty shots were fired rapidly. Both the McLowery boys were killed. Bill Clanton was mortally wounded, dying soon after. Ike was slightly wounded in the shoulder. Wyatt Earp was slightly wounded, and the others were unhurt.¹²

On November 8, 1881, the *Globe* added:

The Earp boys, who had the fight with the cow boys, at Tombstone, Arizona, which resulted in the killing of three cow boys, have been arrested by the friends of the men who were killed. The Earp boys were acting as peace officers, and from all reports were justified in doing what they did. Wyatt Earp was formerly city marshal of Dodge City, and a paper setting forth his good qualities was circulated last week and signed by all the prominent citizens.

Trouble is likely to arise from the recent shooting of cowboys by Marshal Earp and posse, at Tombstone. Earp to-day telegraphed Gen. Wilcox to send a company of cavalry to protect him from the cowboys. Wilcox referred the matter to Acting Governor Gosper and ordered a company of cavalry at Huachuca to be ready to march if required. Sheriff Bedau, of Tombstone, telegraphs that everything is quiet there. The examination of the Marshal's posse is going on with closed doors. A large amount of money has been raised to assist the prosecution by the friends of the cowboys.

The *Times* of December 8, 1881, reported Earp's acquittal:

Wyatt Earp, formerly a city marshal in this city, was recently under trial before a magistrate in Tombstone, Arizona, charged with homicide. Great interest was taken in trial which lasted four weeks. From the voluminous testimony taken the Justice makes a long review of the case and discharges the defendant. The following is an extract from his decision: "In view of all the facts and circumstances of the case; considering the threats made, the character and position of the parties, and the tragical results accomplished, in manner and form as they were, with all surrounding influences bearing upon the res gestae of the affair, I cannot resist the conclusion that the defendants were fully justified in committing these homicides; that it was a necessary act, done in the discharge of an official duty."

An Earp was shot on December 28, 1881, and the incident was reported in the Dodge City *Times*, January 5, 1882:

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION.

A Tombstone, Arizona, dispatch of Dec. 29, to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat says when the Clanton and McClary gang were shot by the Earps and Doc Holliday, about six weeks ago, the friends of the cow boys vowed they would

have revenge for what they called the cold-blooded murder of their friends. Only a fortnight ago, Mayor Clum, of Tombstone, was shot at in a stage near the city and one bullet grazed his head. Clum was a warm sympathizer with the Earps, and did much to secure their acquittal at the preliminary examination. Wednesday night, just before midnight, an attempt was made on the life of United States Deputy Marshal Earp, as he was crossing the street, between the Oriental Saloon and the Eagle Brewery. When in the middle of the street he was fired upon with double-barreled shotguns, loaded with buckshot, by three men concealed in an unfinished building diagonally across on Allen street. Five shots were fired in rapid succession. Earp was wounded in the left arm just above the elbow, producing a longitudinal fracture of the bone. One shot struck him above the groin, coming out near the spine. The wounds are very dangerous, and possibly fatal. The men ran through the rear of the building and escaped in the darkness.

Nineteen shots struck the side of the Eagle Brewery, three going through the window and one passing about a foot over the heads of some men standing by a faro-table. The shooting caused the wildest excitement in the town, where the feeling between the two factions runs high.¹⁷

On an inside page of the same issue, the *Times* said: "Virgil Earp, and not Wyatt Earp, was shot at Tombstone. At last accounts he was resting easy with chances of recovery. The wounded arm will probably have to be amputated."

In May, 1882, Ed Colborn, a Dodge City attorney visiting in Gunnison, Colo., wrote the *Ford County Globe* of an "absorbing" conversation with Wyatt Earp about the Tombstone business and Wyatt's somewhat grandiose plans for the future. The *Globe* printed Colborn's letter on May 23, 1882:

LETTER FROM E. F. COLBORN.

GUNNISON, COL., May 20.

EDITOR GLOBE:

. . . Wyatt and Warren Earp arrived here some days ago and will remain awhile. Wyatt is more robust than when a resident of Dodge, but in other respects is unchanged. His story of the long contest with the cow boys of Arizona is of absorbing interest. Of the five brothers four yet live, and in return for the assassination of Morgan Earp they have handed seven cow boys "over to the majority."

Of the six who actually participated in the assassination they have killed three—among them, Curly Bill, whom Wyatt believes killed Mike Mayer [Meagher], at Caldwell, last summer. Stillwell, Curly Bill and party ambuscaded the Earp party and poured a deadly fire into them, Wyatt receiving a charge of buckshot through his overcoat on each side of his body and having the horn of his saddle shot off. Wyatt says after the first shock he could distinguish David Rudebaugh and Curly Bill, the latter's body showing well among the bushes. Wyatt lost no time in taking him in, and will receive the reward of \$1,000 offered. From what I could learn, the Earps have killed all, or nearly all of the leaders of the element of cow boys, who number in all

about 150, and the troubles in Arizona will, so far as they are concerned, be over.

Wyatt expects to become a candidate for sheriff of Cochise county this fall, and as he stands very near to the Governor and all the good citizens of Tombstone and other camps in Cochise county he will without doubt be elected. The office is said to be worth \$25,000 per annum and will not be bad to take. . . .

Late in April, 1883, trouble broke out in Dodge City. Luke Short, part owner of the Long Branch saloon, and several other gamblers were run out of town by city authorities. At his request, some of Short's old friends came back to Dodge to help him regain his property and position. Wyatt Earp was one of these. He arrived in Dodge City on May 31, 1883, and the *Ford County Globe*, in reporting his coming, said nothing about the purpose of the visit: "Wyatt Earp, a former city marshal of Dodge City arrived in the city from the west, last Thursday. Wyatt is looking well and glad to get back to his old haunts, where he is well and favorably known."¹⁸

For the next ten days Earp was in and out of Dodge City. Finally the trouble was settled; seven friends of Short gathered for a group photograph and Dodge fell back into its normal ways. (A full account of the "Dodge City War" will be included in the section on Luke Short.)

Earp visited Dodge City again during its cowtown days. In November, 1883, it was recorded:

W. B. Masterson, formerly sheriff and ex-city marshal, and Wyatt Earp, ex-city marshal of this city quietly and unostentatiously dropped in onto our inhabitants early last Tuesday morning, and their presence about the polls on that day had a moral effect on our would-be moral element, that was truly surprising. It is needless to say every thing passed off quietly at the city precinct on election day.¹⁹

1. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal B, pp. 44, 53; *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, April 28, 1875. 2. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal B, pp. 55, 62, 66, 71, 75, 77, 78, 81, 85, 90, 96, 100. 3. *See, also*, the *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, May 26, 1875. 4. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal B, pp. 66, 67, 71. 5. *Ibid.*, p. 103. 6. *Ibid.*, p. 107. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 112. 8. *Wichita Evening Eagle*, January 20, 1893. 9. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal B, p. 115. 10. *Dodge City Times*, June 8, July 6, August 10, September 7, October 5, December 7, 1878. 11. July 27, 1878; *see, also*, the *Ford County Globe*, July 30, 1878. 12. *See, also*, the *Dodge City Times*, August 24, 1878. 13. *Dodge City Times*, December 7, 1878. 14. September 9, 1879. 15. *Ford County Globe*, March 30, 1880. 16. November 1, 1881. 17. *See, also*, the *Ford County Globe*, January 3, 1882. 18. June 5, 1883. 19. *Ford County Globe*, November 13, 1883.

FLATT, GEORGE W.

(1853?-1880)

Though "old" by frontier standards, Caldwell was not yet incorporated and consequently had no police force of its own when the *Caldwell Post* printed this exciting news story on July 10, 1879:

A TERRIBLE TRAGEDY!

A LAWLESS MOB MAKES AN ATTACK UPON THE OFFICERS—

TWO OF THE MOB KILLED OUTRIGHT!

ONE OFFICER TWICE WOUNDED AND STILL VICTORIOUS—

INQUEST AND BURIAL.

Last Monday evening [July 7] our usual quiet little city was thrown into intense excitement by an attack upon our officers of the law by a couple of desperadoes from the Chickasaw Nation, who came into town during the afternoon of the day above mentioned, and commenced spreading themselves over a sufficient quantity of "rot-gut" whiskey to become very troublesome. Agged on by one H. F. Harris, a sneak-thief ruffian, who has been a terrible bore to the citizens of the town for the past few weeks, they concluded to "take the town," and began to fire their six-shooters promiscuously on the streets, endangering the lives of our citizens. They finally went back into the Occidental Saloon where they had been, threatening and bragging about the poor victims who had heretofore fallen before the muzzles of their pistols. Dave Spear, who was in the saloon at the time started out, when one of the men cocked his pistol and sprang at him exclaiming at the same time, "that boy is going to give me away," James Moreland caught him and prevented his shooting. About this time Constable W. C. Kelly, and Deputy Constable John Wilson who had summoned a posse, among whom was the brave and daring George Flatt, to go and suppress them in their lawlessness, came up; Wilson entered the front door and past to the back part of the room near the middle door, Flatt followed stopping at the bar, in front of the room where the men were standing. They dropped on the object of Wilson and Flatt, and cocking their pistols, which was distinctly heard by the officers and holding them down by their sides at the same time making for the door, but Flatt seeing their object was to get between him and the door backed out right in front of them, on reaching the door they both leveled their six-shooters on him demanding his arms; Flatt replied: "I'll die first;" and at that instant one of the fellows fired; the ball passing close by Flatt's head and grazed the temple of W. H. Kiser, who stood a little in the rear. Flatt then drew both of his pistols which he had kept concealed behind him, and fired with the one in his right hand at the man who had got farthest out the door, the ball taking effect on the right hand, taking off the end of the fore-finger, and also the trigger the finger was on and penetrating the body in the upper part of the right breast ranging downward passing through both lungs and coming out a little below the left shoulder blade, which caused him to drop heavily to the sidewalk and rolling off in the street died almost instantly.

The man who stood in the door and shot first, received a ball in the right side, which passed straight through his body, from the pistol held in Flatt's

left hand; the man returned the fire at Flatt, and then turned and fired at Wilson, who was closing in the rear, the ball glazed Wilson's wrist, making a slight flesh wound, Wilson returned the fire so rapidly that the man failed to get his work in, although he is said to have been an expert with a six-shooter. Wilson's first shot took effect in the right hand of the fellow, and the second in the abdomen just below the short-ribs, from which he fell, shooting Wilson in the thigh as he went down. After the excitement subsided somewhat, Esq. Thomas acting as coroner summoned a jury of six men and held an inquest over the dead bodies of the two men. From what testimony could be gathered their names were supposed to be George Wood and Jack Adams. They had just arrived from the Chickasaw Nation with Johny Nicholson with a herd of cattle, had been discharged and came in for a spree. The jury, after a partial examination adjourned until nine o'clock the next day, at which time quite a number of witnesses were examined. The jury returned the following verdict: "That said men came to their death by pistol shots fired from the hands of the officers of the law and their deputies, while in the act of performing their duties." Their bodies were properly interred.

LATER.—CORONER J. H. Folks arrived about forty-eight hours after the fatal shooting; summoned a jury; raised the bodies, which had been buried, and held another inquest, with about the same result—that the killing was done by officers in the discharge of their duties, and in self-defense.

Rumor and legend being at least half of a gun fighter's reputation, little time was lost in adding to Flatt's prowess with a six shooter. The *Post*, July 24, 1879, squelched the attempt with this paragraph, ending in a commercial:

The rumor of "George Flatt killing another man," as was reported in the *Vidette* of last week is a false report. A more peaceable and quiet citizen cannot be scared up in Caldwell or any other place than George. But when it comes down to the work and our citizens lives are in danger he is always there, ready to uphold law and order. And we will take occasion to state right here that Flatt & Horseman have just opened an elegant saloon south of the City Hotel one door, where they would be pleased to see their friends at any time, and where you can always find that "that's good for shore."

On July 22, 1879, Caldwell was incorporated under order of W. P. Campbell, judge of the Sumner county district court, and an election for city officers was ordered held on August 7. The first mayor and the first city council, who were elected at that time, adopted, on August 14, an ordinance which created the office of city marshal. The *Post*, August 21, 1879, printed the ordinance which also defined the duties of the officer and established his rate of remuneration:

ORDINANCE No. 3.

An Ordinance providing for the appointment of City Marshal, and relating to his duties and compensation.

Be it ordained by the Mayor and Councilmen of the city of Caldwell:

Sec. 1. The Mayor shall, by and with the consent of the Council, appoint some suitable person to the office of City Marshal.

Sec. 2. The Marshal shall, in addition to the powers, duties, privileges and liabilities prescribed by the laws of the State, file complaints for any and all violations of the city ordinances; provided, however, that he shall not be liable for costs in any action so instituted by him.

Sec. 3. He shall have charge of the city prison, and any person arrested for the violation of state or city laws may be given into his custody for safe keeping.

Sec. 4. He may appoint any number of assistants, or deputies, for whose official acts he shall be liable, but they shall have no claim against the city for services.

Sec. 5. The Marshal, or any assistant, or deputy, or other officer of the city empowered to make arrests, is hereby authorized to call upon any male inhabitant of the city to assist him in making an arrest, or in quelling a disturbance of the public peace. Whoever neglects or refuses in said case, when called upon to assist said officer, shall be liable to a fine of not less than five dollars and not exceeding ten dollars.

Sec. 6. Whoever commits an assault upon, or resists, an officer in the discharge of his duty, or attempts to rescue a person lawfully arrested, shall be liable to a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars and not exceeding one hundred dollars.

Sec. 7. The Marshal shall receive for his services, \$33½ dollars per month, and in addition thereto, the following fees, viz: For making an arrest authorized by law, two dollars; for serving legal process, the same fee as Sheriffs in like cases; provided, however, that in no case shall the city be liable for said fees.

Sec. 8. Before entering upon the duties of his office, the Marshal shall execute, to the city of Caldwell, a bond, with sufficient surety to be approved by the Mayor, in the penal sum of two hundred dollars, conditioned to faithfully discharge the duties of his office, and file the same with the City Clerk.

Sec. 9. This ordinance shall take effect from and after the date of its first publication in *The Caldwell Post*.

Approved August 14th, 1879,

Attest:

N. J. DIXON, Mayor.

J. D. Kelly, Jr.,
City Clerk.

[L. S.]

Published August 21st.

The man named to the position created by this ordinance was George W. Flatt.

The first arrest recorded in the Caldwell police court docket, September 6, 1879, was made by Marshal Flatt. "J. H. Wendels was arraigned and plead guilty to the charge of fast driving . . .," wrote the police judge, James D. Kelly. Wendels was fined \$3 and cost but the fine was remitted on October 13.

On October 30, 1879, the *Caldwell Post* printed this story of a successful getaway:

John Dean came into town yesterday afternoon and after getting a little full concluded that he was a second Henion, swore he would not be arrested in Caldwell. Some one discovering fire-arms on his person, informed the

marshal of the fact, he at once, accompanied by his deputy Wm. Jones, better known as "Red Bill" proceeded to hunt him up and inform him of the fact that it was against the city ordinance to carry fire-arms in the city limits. Mr. Dean getting wind of their intentions and determined not to be disarmed, mounted his horse and started out of town firing his revolver promiscuously. The marshal started in pursuit and commanded him under arrest, he answered their summons with a shot from his six-shooter. At the crack of his pistol the marshal and deputy turned loose with their six-shooters. Dean being mounted and moving pretty lively, the distance between the parties became so great, the marshal and deputy being pretty well out of wind, they did no very accurate shooting, although they emptied their revolvers at him before he got out of the corporation. The papers are in the constable's hands for his arrest, for assaulting the officers with a deadly weapon.

Flatt served as marshal probably until the city election of April 5, 1880. The last arrest credited to him in the police court docket was dated March 23. On April 5, Mike Meagher, ex-city marshal of Wichita, was elected mayor and he, with the city council, named William Horseman to Flatt's post.¹

The United States census of 1880, enumerated in Caldwell on June 5, listed both George Flatt and his wife, Fanny. Flatt, then 27, was born in Tennessee and was a detective, according to the record. Fanny was just 18 and had married Flatt within the 1879-1880 census year.

On June 19, 1880, George Flatt was gunned down on a Caldwell street by apparently unknown assailants. The *Post*, June 24, 1880, reported:

THE BULLET DOES ITS WORK.

GEORGE W. FLATT ASSASSINATED—

A DELIBERATELY PLANNED AND EXECUTED MURDER.

This city has for months been exceedingly free from any serious disturbances—and the citizens of Caldwell began to flatter themselves with the idea that the day of the shot-gun and the revolver had forever departed from its limits, but last Saturday morning between twelve and one o'clock this notion was suddenly and forcibly dispelled. The saloons were all closed and the quiet of the night was unbroken, when all of a sudden there rang out upon the air the reports of several firearms fired in quick succession. The people rushed out of their houses towards the place from which the shooting seemed to come, and found George W. Flatt weltering in his blood. The police force was immediately upon the ground and shortly after Justice Kelly and Dr. Noble arrived upon the scene. Upon the examination of the body by Dr. Noble, it was found that life was entirely extinguished, and the remains were, upon the direction of Justice Kelly, removed to Mr. Hohler's new barber shop adjoining the Caldwell Post building. The coroner, Mr. Folks, came down on the construction train Saturday morning and an inquest was commenced shortly after his arrival. An extract of the inquest up to Monday evening will give our readers some information of the assassination of George Flatt. From

Tuesday morning the examination was held in secret. The following gentlemen were summoned as a coroner's jury:

John Hinchcliffe, T. A. Mills, C. T. Avery, C. B. Dixon, James Roberts and T. A. Cooksey.

The jury after being sworn proceeded to view the body, and Drs. Noble and MacMillan exhibited and explained the wounds. The coroner and jury then adjourned to the room in the rear of Meagher & Shea's saloon where the examination of witnesses took place. Doctor Noble testified that he was called to examine the body of George W. Flatt about half past one that morning. When he arrived the body was lying on the sidewalk in front of Bailey's harness shop on Main street. Flatt was lying on his back with his head lying to the southwest, but he had evidently fallen forward. On examination he found that one ball entered at the base of the skull almost in the center; he also found a wound just under the right shoulder and that morning he found two more wounds which he did not detect when he examined the body on the sidewalk. He did not find any ball or leaden missile of any kind. He did probe the wound and struck either a bone or bullet of some kind but could not tell which. The ball which entered the base of the skull proved fatal, that which entered the neck might also prove fatal but not necessarily so. He could not say what killed Flatt, whether it was buckshot or pistol balls. He could of course give closer and more correct opinion by more minute examination. The coroner then issued an order to Drs. Noble and MacMillan to make a post mortem examination of the body of George W. Flatt.

Samuel H. Rogers was the next witness who was called. He testified in substance—that he is a member of the city police force, was acquainted with Flatt in his lifetime. The last time he saw him alive, was when he was walking with him about one o'clock that morning—Saturday—in front of Bailey's harness shop, on south side of Main street. He was walking south in company with Flatt and C. L. Spear. Spear was nearest the buildings and a little ahead of Flatt, then came Flatt, and he, the witness, was on the outside and about a step behind Flatt. When about one hundred feet from the northwest corner of Main and Fifth streets, heard a report of a firearm, and Flatt fell forward and a little in front of the witness, several shots were then fired in rapid succession, the balls striking the buildings all around him. The witness immediately backed out. He thought about a dozen shots were fired. The first shot was fired so close to his left ear that it deafened him, should say it was fired a little above, as if coming from the awning. The other shots came from across the street, from about the scales or well. He backed off about thirty feet and hallooed, "Let up, you have killed that man." At the first report he saw sparks fall off Flatt's head, the blaze of the fire arms seemed to be all around them. He, the witness, had no knowledge that shots would be fired. Had seen Flatt off and on during the preceding evening, he went to the dance hall to get him away. The witness had heard that Flatt had had trouble with Frank Hunt and others and he went to get him to go home, fearing that he might cause trouble, went with Flatt and others from the dance hall to the Kentucky Saloon, and then went over to the I. X. L. Saloon. Flatt was accustomed to sleep in rear of that saloon, tried to get Flatt to bed, he said, "I want to go and take a lunch first," or words to that effect. Flatt, Spear and the witness then started for Louis Segerman's restaurant to get some lunch, did not see any one on the street,

nor heard any noise as if persons were walking, the first witness, saw after the shots were fired and Flatt fell, were the city marshal, the mayor, Dan Rogers, Dan Jones and Spear, who came back. The first man he spoke to was Dan Jones. The marshal, mayor and Spear came from the south. This was the last witness examined before the noon hour.

Upon the reassembling of the jury after dinner, the coroner informed the jury that his business and sickness in his family did not permit him to remain any longer that day, and would therefore adjourn the inquest till Monday, the 21st inst., at one o'clock p. m.

The first witness examined on Monday afternoon was C. L. Spear, one of the persons who were with Flatt at the time he was shot.

Mr. Spear testified substantially that he had been acquainted with Geo. W. Flatt for about one year and a half, saw Flatt last alive in front of the barber shop on Main street about seventy-five feet from the corner of Fifth street, between twelve and one o'clock last Saturday morning. Flatt was walking south on Main street between Sam Rogers and witness, witness was on the inside on the sidewalk, Flatt was on his right and a little behind, and Rogers to the right of Flatt and about a step behind him. They were all coming from the I. X. L. Saloon and were going to Louis Segerman's for a lunch. The first that happened was the firing, and he, Flatt, fell, and the shot was so close that the light shone on him. The shot came from the rear of us. Flatt fell forward on his face and right side. Witness stopped at once, but somebody commenced firing from the opposite side of the street and he ran around Meagher & Shea's saloon building. Didn't see Flatt move after he fell, believe he died at once. The witness testified further: There might have been two shots fired from a double barreled shot gun, both barrels going off at the same time; then came a moment's lull and then commenced the other firing, which seemed to come from near some salt barrels by Smith & Ross' grocery store. There were between six and a dozen shots fired. When the bullets commenced to strike the building, he ran away to escape being hit, saw flashes around the hay scales and stairway between Smith & Ross' and Thrailkill's stores, met Mike Meagher and the city marshal and some third person, whom the witness believed was Frank Hunt. When the witness turned the corner of Meagher & Shea's saloon, those persons were coming from the other side of the building. They asked "what shooting that was," and he replied that some one had shot Flatt. Mike was the first he saw, the others came after him, then all walked to where Flatt lay. It was not more than a minute from the time he left Flatt till he returned. Dan W. Jones, Sam Rogers and some other persons were at the body, when they came up, Flatt had two pistols on his body, and witness had one, don't know whether Rogers had any pistol or not. The witness then testified regarding his habit of carrying a weapon at night when he went from his saloon to his home.

Question by Mr. Cooksey—Did you see any persons with shot guns in their hands?

Answer—Those parties I met when I came around the corner had guns, also Dan Jones had a gun, I don't know whether they were shot guns or rifles.

Doctors Nobles and MacMillen testified similarly in regard to the post mortem examination of the body of George Flatt. They found that the bullet which entered at the base of the brain had severed the spinal cord, and striking the spheroid bone, glanced off, passing either out of the neck or down the

spinal column. The wounds were not made by anything larger than No. 1 buckshot. The tendency of the balls were very slightly upwards, and were evidently made by the same sized balls. The wounds might have been made by No. 2 buckshots. The course of the balls for the four wounds were the same. Flatt was killed instantly by the shot which severed the spinal cord, and was the only shot which brought him down. Both doctors were of the opinion that he received the four wounds at one fire.

James Johnson testified that he was on duty as policeman at the time of the firing, and was then sitting at a front window in Reily's new building, saw and heard the firing on the street down by Canida's barber shop, there were between six and a dozen shots fired, heard Flatt talking down the street immediately before the shooting. He started at once for the place where the firing was. Came across Sam Rogers, then the crowd seemed to come from every direction. Johnson further testified to the actions of Flatt during the evening previous to the murder, that he pulled his revolver on the witness and threatened to shoot his feet off, and also that he drew his revolver to shoot Policeman Hunt. Witness said he saw no one on the street immediately preceding the firing.

The next witness was H. A. Ross, the jeweler, who testified substantially as follows: I was acquainted with Flatt during his life time, my place of business is at Horner's drug store, saw Flatt Saturday morning about forty rods from where he was killed, he was coming down the street, saw him when he was killed in front of the saddler shop, two gentlemen were with him, one of whom I recognized as Sam Rogers, as they walked past the bank building, Flatt said, he was the "cock of the walk of Caldwell," and just then he was killed. The shots came from the north of him, and he, Flatt, dropped. I think the shot which brought him down came from the alley-way north of the bank building; can't tell how many shots was fired, I was scared so bad that I couldn't tell, some shots came from my side of the street, I was sitting in front of my shop, didn't see any person on my side of the street, there is an opening between the buildings near the stairway on my side of the street, heard Sam Rogers say, "Let up, the man is dead or killed," or words to that effect, then I saw Rogers fall back and the other man ran ahead. I sat quite still while the shooting was going on, was rather scared, saw Dan Jones after the firing, he was standing south from where I was, on the sidewalk on the same side of the street I was, I followed Dan Jones across the street. Rogers came from the north. Dan Jones had a gun when he crossed the street, can't tell whether it was a shot gun or rifle.

Mr. Ross' testimony closed the examination on Monday evening, at which time the inquest was adjourned till the following day at the school house. The coroner at the beginning of the examination on that day, announced that the inquest would be secret after that time. Nothing is therefore known of the proceedings from that time except that an adjournment was ordered on Wednesday, until Friday afternoon at 2 o'clock.²

The death of Flatt had several political ramifications which will be presented in the section on Mike Meagher.

Flatt was buried the afternoon of the same day he was killed. The *Post*, June 24, 1880, said:

The funeral of Geo W. Flatt took place Saturday afternoon. At the Sunday morning services, at the school house, Rev. S. Wood, made some appropriate remarks upon the death of Mr. Flatt, and expressing feelingly the sympathy he felt, with many others, for the young widow left to mourn such a fearful death of one who to her, at least, was very dear.

A tragic part of Flatt's death was an event which occurred only four days after he was shot: "Mrs. Flatt, the widow of George Flatt, gave birth yesterday to a fine boy. Mother and child are doing well," reported the *Caldwell Commercial*, June 24, 1880.

The decision of the coroner's jury, if ever made available, was not disclosed in the newspapers of Caldwell. However, in the spring of 1881 William Horseman, city marshal at the time of Flatt's death, was tried for the murder but was acquitted.³

1. *Caldwell Post*, April 15, 1880. 2. *See, also, Caldwell Commercial*, June 24, 1880.
3. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1881.

GAINSFORD, JAMES

(1840?-—)

On November 5, 1870, James Gainsford and C. C. Kuney captured Moses Miles and Andrew McConnell, the men who had killed and nearly beheaded Abilene Chief of Police Thomas J. Smith on November 2. The *Abilene Chronicle*, November 10, 1870, reported:

CAPTURE OF THE MURDERERS.—Miles and McConnell, the murderers of U. S. Marshal and Chief of Police, Thos. J. Smith, were captured on last Saturday morning by Police Magistrate C. C. Kuney, and James Gainsford, of this place. These gentlemen with a large number of others repaired to the scene of the murder on last Wednesday afternoon. Kuney and Gainsford were the only persons who started in pursuit and continued on the trail until the murderers were captured. They traveled almost day and night; they lost track of the murderers on the Republican river, some ten miles from Junction City and traveled nearly one hundred miles out of the way, going nearly to Waterville and back before they got on the trail again, which they found at Milford, ten miles north of Junction, from whence they traveled to Clay Center, where they were joined by Sheriff Rodman, M'Laughlin and Mr. Lindsey. Knowing that they were now close upon the fleeing criminals the party renewed the pursuit at 3 o'clock on Saturday morning, and about sunrise reached a farm house fifteen miles northwest of Clay Center. Before reaching the house they learned upon inquiry that two men had stopped there the previous evening. On reaching the house, Mr. Gainsford made for the rear door, while Squire Kuney entered the house at the front door. Gainsford met Miles outside of and in the rear of the house, while Kuney encountered M'Connell immediately upon entering. Both criminals surrendered without offering resistance, although M'Connell could have used his gun had he been so disposed—but it is probable that he considered it useless to do so with any prospect of escape.

The murderers were brought to Abilene, reaching town on the Sunday morning train. From a telegraphic dispatch, sent from Junction City, news got out that they were captured, and a large crowd gathered at the depot

on the arrival of the train, and deep threats were made of lynching the prisoners—but the officers were on the alert and hurried them into a room in the second story of the court house, where they were securely guarded until Monday when they were brought before Esquire Barber. They waived an examination, and were remanded to the custody of the sheriff. Court is in session and we presume their trial will take place during the present week. Too much praise cannot be awarded to Messrs. Kuney and Gainsford, for the persistent and unflinching pursuit which resulted in the capture of the fugitives, who were making their way for the mountains in Colorado, where it seems that one or both once resided for a period of ten or twelve years. It is said that both have been desperadoes, and it is probable that they have more than once imbrued their hands in the blood of their fellow men. In all human probability their stay in this world is short. God have mercy upon their souls.

For their work, Kuney and Gainsford were each rewarded with \$100 by the Abilene board of trustees on March 11, 1871.¹

In April Gainsford was elected constable of Grant township, in which Abilene is located.²

The city clerk of Abilene made this entry in the city council minute book on June 16, 1871: "James Gainesford and J. H. McDonald were appointed as policemen by the mayor at the unanimous request of the Council. The mayor protesting against the appointment of McDonald."³

The only mention found of a duty performed by Gainsford as a member of the Abilene police force was the gathering of "names of lewd women, Gaming tables &c."⁴

Gainsford was relieved from the Abilene force on September 2, 1871. The minute book of the city council, pp. 86 and 87, carried this entry:

The propriety of reducing police force was discussed by Mayor and Council and after due deliberation and consideration the following resolution was adopted and ordered recorded.

Be it resolved by the Mayor and Council of the City of Abilene

That J. H. McDonald and James Gainsford be discharged from off the Police Force of said City from and after this 2d day of Sept. A. D. 1871, and that a copy of this resolution be given by City Clerk to City Marshall [James B. Hickok] and to be served upon said J. H. McDonald and James Gainesford by the said City Marshall

2d Be it further resolved that the said J. H. McDonald and James Gainsford are discharged by reason that their services are no longer needed.

Passed the Council

September 2d A D 1871

E. H. KILPATRICK

City Clerk

1. "City Council Minute Book," Records of the City of Abilene, p. 49. 2. "Dickinson County Commissioners Journal," v. 1, p. 157. 3. Page 71. 4. "City Council Minute Book," Records of the City of Abilene, p. 69.

Bypaths of Kansas History

A SHEEP DRIVE TO TEXAS

From the *Fort Scott Democrat*, September 29, 1859.

SHEEP.—Another drove, numbering nine hundred, bound for Texas, passed through Fort Scott Monday evening.

A WOMAN'S COURAGE

From the *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, October 8, 1870.

Under the above head the *Solomon Valley Pioneer*, Lindsey, tells the following story of a plucky young woman:

"Mr. Talcott, of Genesee county, New York, came to this frontier some months ago, to homestead a claim, and settle here, leaving his wife and two children to follow him as soon as he had erected a house and got things ready for their reception. He sent for them in July last. Mrs. Talcott immediately disposed of such things as she did not require to bring with her, and purchased a wagon and team, and started, with only herself and two children, for her new home in the far west, where she safely arrived early last month; having teamed the whole of the enormous distance from New York to Kansas by her own unaided courage and energy, although she is only 26 years of age."

WHEN PRESIDENT GRANT VISITED POTTAWATOMIE COUNTY

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, May 1, 1873.

FROM WAMEGO

THE PRESIDENT'S RECEPTION IN A COUNTY WHICH GAVE HIM A
ROUSING MAJORITY.

WAMEGO, April 25, 1873.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH:

Uncle Joe, an old resident of Pottawatomie county, at the reception of President Grant to-day, while the train was changing engines, stepped up to his excellency and said:

"Have we the honor as citizens of Wamego and Pottawatomie county of meeting President Grant?"

Grant—"You have sir, I am the president of the United States."

Uncle Joe—"Then let me inform you that we, the citizens of Pottawatomie county gave you a rousing vote last fall and now give you a rousing welcome."

Whereupon H. W. Cole, the proprietor of the Ames house, suggested that three cheers be given, which was responded to by a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen.

At Brookville, on meeting the K. P. express the president was called for and came out upon the platform. He conversed a few moments with the crowd, and as the train started all wished him a pleasant trip and a safe return.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

"Dan D. Casement: Viking on a Sea of Grass," by James C. Carey, constituted the December, 1959, number of *The Trail Guide*, Independence, Mo., published by the Kansas City Posse of the Westerners.

Prairie Printers, Inc., Colby, in co-operation with the Thomas County Historical Society, began publication of a monthly magazine entitled *Thomas County, Yesterday and Today*, in January, 1960. The 20 to 24-page issues feature articles and pictures on Thomas county history.

"Out of the West," a series of reminiscences by Cliff Ling, began in the Cawker City *Ledger*, January 21, 1960.

Special editions featuring information on businesses, schools, churches, and other phases of community life, have recently been published by the following newspapers: Newton *Kansan*, 52-page progress edition, February 10, 1960; Winfield *Daily Courier*, 112-page achievement edition, February 22; Coffeyville *Daily Journal*, 124-page progress edition, February 28; and the Caney *Chronicle*, 36-page progress edition, March 3.

Publication, in serial form, of "A History of Morrill and Surrounding Community" began in *The Northwest Brown Countian*, Morrill, February 17, 1960. The history, much of which was written by a Morrill high school English class of 1934, was compiled by the Woman's Literary Club of Morrill.

Coffeyville history taken from the town's first ordinance book appeared in the Coffeyville *Journal*, February 28, 1960. According to this record Coffeyville became a third-class city in 1872. On March 27 the *Journal* printed an article by Tillie Karns Newman on Montgomery county courthouses. The first, a log building, was erected in 1869.

Among the many Kansas and Missouri newspapers featuring histories of the Pony Express on the occasion of the centennial of its start were: Holyrood *Gazette*, March 2, 1960; St. Joseph (Mo.) *News-Press*, March 7; Horton *Headlight*, March 24, 31; Emporia *Gazette*, March 28; and the *Kansas Chief*, Troy, March 31.

A history of Fort Scott and stories of women spies operating from the fort during the Civil War, by Harold O. Taylor, appeared in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, March 14, 1960. A history of the Pittsburg Public Library was printed in the *Headlight*, April 4.

Said to be the oldest federated club in Kansas, the Ladies' Reading Club of Junction City recently observed its 85th anniversary. A history of the club by Mona E. Kessinger appeared in the *Junction City Republic*, March 17, 1960. The *Junction City Weekly Union* printed a history of the club March 31.

O. W. Mosher's column, "Museum Notes," in the *Emporia Gazette*, included a sketch of the George W. Newman family of Emporia, in the issues of March 23 and 29, 1960.

LaGrand Stone, one of Smith county's earliest pioneers, was the subject of an article by Mrs. Martin Wiersma in the *Downs News*, March 31, 1960.

With the issue of March 31, 1960, the *Nemaha County Journal-Leader*, Centralia, began publication of a series entitled "History of Methodism in Centralia," by Joyce DeBord.

Among historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* were: "Bible Ruled Man [Alexander Majors] Who Ran Pony Express," by Martha Swearingen, April 1, 1960; "Raiders and Redskins in His Memories," a review of James Francis Riley's *Recollections*, by John T. Alexander, May 18; and "Kansan Called 'Red' at a Vital Helm," a biographical sketch of Rear Adm. Howard A. Yeager, director of antisubmarine warfare, by John R. Cauley, May 25.

Marvin Swanson reviewed the O. K. Corral gun fight of October, 1881, in Tombstone, Ariz., involving the Earp brothers and "Doc" Holliday, and a group led by "Ike" Clanton, in an article published in the *Hays Daily News*, April 10, 1960. On May 8 the *News* printed an article by Swanson entitled "A Century of Unusual People [Menonites] Behind Kansas Wheat Empire."

Using material from its files of a century ago, the *Leavenworth Times* recently started publication of a 100-year-ago column.

On November 18, 1892, the Concordia Public Library was opened with 56 books on the shelves. A history of the library, prepared by Mrs. Ross E. Weaver, was printed in the *Concordia Kansan*, April 14, 1960.

Kansas Historical Notes

The 85th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held at Topeka on Tuesday, October 18, 1960.

It was recently announced that the Iowa, Sac, and Fox Indian Mission Museum, two miles east of Highland, is open each afternoon except Mondays. The museum is operated by the Northeast Kansas Historical Society.

Wm. R. Hainline and Paul Wheeler are cochairmen of the newly organized Trego County Historical Society. The organization meeting was held March 31, 1960, in WaKeeney. I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, special representative of the Kansas Centennial Commission, assisted with the meeting.

Rolla Clymer, El Dorado publisher, and Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, were the principal speakers at Bazaar's centennial celebration, April 16, 1960.

Ruby Peterson was elected president of the Edwards County Historical Society at its annual meeting held April 19, 1960, in Kinsley. Other officers chosen were: Mel Tatum, first vice-president; Iva Herron, second vice-president; Jessie Winchester, third vice-president; Elsie Jenkins, secretary; Cecil Matthews, treasurer; Myrtle H. Richardson, historian; Ethel Gilley, assistant historian; Mary Vang, custodian; and Mae Zimmett, assistant custodian.

Mrs. Ross E. Weaver and Steve White were the speakers at a meeting of the Cloud County Historical Society in Concordia, April 28, 1960. Both told of pioneer ancestors and early Cloud county history.

Officers elected at a meeting of the newly organized Kingman County Historical Society, May 6, 1960, in Kingman, include: Sadie Journey, president; Harriette Kinman, secretary; and Nellie Frisbie, treasurer.

John Brown in Kansas is the theme of a 667-page novel by Truman Nelson entitled *The Surveyor*, recently published by Doubleday and Company, Garden City, N. Y.

In 1839 Matthew C. Field spent the summer traveling the Santa Fe trail and visiting the settlements of New Mexico. He recorded events and impressions of his journey in articles and verse. These

writings have been collected by Clyde and Mae Reed Porter, edited by John E. Sunder, and recently published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., in a 322-page volume entitled *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail*.

Edward Everett Dale is the author of a collection of articles recently published by the University of Texas Press, Austin, Tex., in a 265-page volume entitled *Frontier Ways—Sketches of Life in the Old West*.

John Palmer Usher—Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior is the title of a 152-page biographical work by Elmo R. Richardson and Alan W. Farley, published by the University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, in April, 1960.

A 358-page history of the High Plains and Rocky Mountain country, by Robert G. Athearn, entitled *High Country Empire*, was published in April, 1960, by McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York. It is the "story of the land which was the Old West."

The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859 is the title of a 311-page volume by Norman F. Furniss, published by the Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., in 1960. It is an account of the efforts of the Latter-day Saints "to live a life of their own choosing, politically and religiously, and the Government's retaliatory efforts to protect and enforce federal laws."

Jacques Marquette's part in the Jolliet voyage of exploration down the Mississippi river in 1673 has been re-examined in a new 350-page work by the Rev. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., entitled *Marquette Legends*, published by Pageant Press, Inc., New York.

A history of the Pony Express entitled *Hoofbeats of Destiny*, by Robert West Howard, assisted by Roy E. Coy, Frank C. Robertson, and Agnes Wright Spring, was published in June, 1960, by the New American Library, New York, in a 191-page, paper-bound, pocket-size volume.

James Francis Riley's story of his experiences as a freighter on the Plains in 1859 and the years following, was recently printed in an 82-page booklet entitled *Recollections*. The manuscript was prepared for publication with a "Foreword" by Judge John Riley James, of Independence, Mo., a grandson.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Winter 1960



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Correspondence concerning articles for the *Quarterly* should be addressed to the managing editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Second-class postage has been paid at Topeka, Kan.

THE COVER

Abilene, major Kansas cowtown during the years 1867-1871, as it appeared in 1875 after the trail trade had moved on and the city had settled down. *Courtesy* Denver Public Library.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXVI

Winter, 1960

Number 4

Kansas Congressmen and Reapportionment

LORENE ANDERSON HAWLEY

I. INTRODUCTION

THE admission of two new states to the Union and the announcement of preliminary population figures from the 1960 federal census have stimulated interest in how representatives are apportioned. This is a brief review of the history of apportionment, with special attention to the changes that have affected Kansas.

The constitution of the United States provided for a census within three years after the first meeting of congress, and within every subsequent term of ten years. Until the enumeration could be made, the constitution assigned the number of representatives each state should have, each being allotted at least one.¹ There was no provision, however, for a method of apportionment by congress after the census was taken, nor for a limit on the total number, so long as it did "not exceed one for every thirty thousand."²

In consequence, the question of how to distribute the representatives equitably among the states has been bitterly debated in congress in nearly every decade since the first census in 1790. It is no easy matter to devise a fair method that will come out in whole numbers so there will be no fractional voting. It is just as difficult to limit the total number so that the house will not become too unwieldy, and at the same time satisfy states clamoring for more representation and make provision for new states.

It is not the purpose here to examine the techniques of apportionment, but merely to review some of the action taken by congress to solve the problems. Those interested in the mathematical aspects are referred to Edward V. Huntington's, "A Survey of Methods of Apportionment in Congress," presented to the 76th

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1. *U. S. Constitution*, Art. I, sec. 2.

2. *Ibid.*

congress in October, 1940.³ He pointed out that "In the absence of any clear-cut mathematical theory of the problem a variety of makeshift methods were used or proposed, many of which were basically unsound."⁴ He favored the method known as "the method of equal proportions," later adopted by the 77th congress.

After each census from 1790 to 1840 the number of representatives was increased. After the 1840 census "a mathematical peculiarity resulted in reducing the number of seats despite an increase in population."⁵ From then until 1910 the number was increased every ten years, although never to the extent that there was one representative to each 30,000 of population.⁶ In 1911 the house was increased from 391 to 433 members, and the provision was made that if the territories of Arizona and New Mexico became states before the next decennial census, they should have one representative each, to be added to the number 433.⁷ Thus with the admission of these territories in 1912, the number became 435.⁸

No new apportionment was made in 1921 in spite of the obvious intent of the constitution.

The 1929 act providing for the 15th census and a subsequent reapportionment, directed that the number of representatives was to be figured by the method of major fractions and by the method of equal proportions.⁹ "In 1931, both methods happened, by a rare accident, to give the same result."¹⁰ The method of equal proportions was designated when congress amended the 1929 act in November, 1941.¹¹

When Alaska and Hawaii were added to the Union, they were, of course, each entitled to one representative. Congress acknowledged this with a provision that

such Representative shall be in addition to the membership of the House of Representatives as now prescribed by law: *Provided*, That such temporary increase in the membership shall not operate to either increase or decrease the permanent membership of the House of Representatives . . . nor shall such temporary increase affect the basis of apportionment established by the Act of November 15, 1941. . . .¹²

3. Edward V. Huntington, "A Survey of Methods of Apportionment in Congress," *Senate Doc. 304* (serial no. 10469), 76th Cong., 3d Sess.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

5. Hon. Emanuel Celler, in *Congressional Record, Appendix*, v. 97, p. A 1386.

6. By 1911 there was one for every 194,182.

7. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 37, pt. 1, pp. 13, 14.

8. New Mexico was admitted January 6; and Arizona, February 14, 1912.

9. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 46, pt. 1, p. 26.

10. Huntington, *loc. cit.*, p. III.

11. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 55, p. 762.

12. *Ibid.*, v. 72, p. 345; *U. S. Code, Supp. 1*, 1959, Title 48, ch. 3, sec. 8.

Under existing law, the President must transmit to the congress during the first week of its January, 1961, session a statement of the population of each state and the number of representatives to which it is entitled. Within 15 calendar days after such statement has been received, the clerk of the house must send to the executive of each state a certificate of the number of representatives to which such state is entitled.¹³

With the total number of representatives to be elected in 1962 set at 435, mathematicians in the census bureau have already worked out the gains and losses on the basis of population estimates; and before congress assembles next January, the final figures will have been well publicized. So unless congress decides to modify existing laws, the information on the certificates to be received from the house clerk will surprise no one.

Kansas, it has been generally agreed, will find the number "five" on its certificate. Many suggestions have been offered as to what action the legislature will take to provide for electing the five. Perhaps an examination of what has been done in the past will best suggest what may be expected of the 1961 legislature.

Kansas did not feel the effect of apportionment laws until 1872. Knowing that it would be entitled, under the constitution, to one representative when it became a state, Kansas elected Martin F. Conway, on December 6, 1859, along with the state officials provided for by the Wyandotte constitution. Conway was in Washington when Kansas was admitted to the Union, January 29, 1861, and was seated in congress the following day.¹⁴ Conway and his immediate successors served the state at large.

The apportionment law, approved February 2, 1872, gave three representatives to Kansas.¹⁵ In November, 1872, therefore, Kansas elected three representatives at large. By an act of the Kansas legislature approved March 2, 1874, the state was for the first time divided into districts "for the election of representatives to the Congress of the United States,"¹⁶ In November, 1874, and again in 1876, each of these three districts chose one representative to congress.

The 1878 population of Kansas was almost double that of 1870, yet the number of representatives remained fixed at three.¹⁷ On

13. *U. S. Code*, 1958, Title 2, ch. 1, sec. 2a.

14. *Congressional Globe*, v. 30, p. 652.

15. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 17, p. 28.

16. *Laws of Kansas*, 1874, p. 11.

17. The 1870 population was 364,399; the 1878 estimate by the state board of agriculture was 708,497.

September 24 a three-column notice to the people of Kansas appeared in the Topeka *Commonwealth* wherein Former Gov. Samuel J. Crawford announced his independent candidacy for representative at large, contending that the population had increased so much that it "entitles us, by every rule of right and of justice, to an additional representation in Congress." He stated that he believed "if an additional Member should be elected from the *State at Large*, that upon a proper showing he would be admitted. . . ."

Future events proved how wrong this reasoning was, but it was enough to convince and worry the Republican party. Ten days later the state central committee met and nominated James R. Hallowell as the Republican candidate.¹⁸ Hallowell was elected in November, receiving 73,978 votes to 60,158 for Crawford.¹⁹ But on March 18, 1879, in the U. S. house of representatives, When the State of Kansas was reached and the names called, The Clerk said: The Clerk begs also to remark, with the permission and indulgence of the Representatives-elect, that he has received a certificate accrediting an additional Representative from the State of Kansas as elected from the State at large; but as he is not aware of any law authorizing that State to have more than three Representatives, he has not placed the name of the person who is claimed to have been elected for the State at large upon the roll.²⁰

Thus ended the attempt to force congress to grant Kansas more representation.

The census of 1880 assured Kansas of seven congressmen. In 1882 three were elected from the old districts and four from the state at large, but in 1883 the legislature created seven districts for the 1884 and following elections.²¹

On the basis of the 1890 census Kansas was allotted eight representatives. The legislature, however, did not create an additional district until March 9, 1905.²² Until after the 1906 election, seven representatives served their own districts and one served the state at large.

No further changes in Kansas' congressional districts were necessary until after the 1930 census was taken, showing Kansas entitled to seven instead of eight representatives. The 1931 legislature set up seven districts for the 1932 election.²³

Again after the 1940 census, Kansas lost one seat in the house,

18. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, October 5, 1878.

19. Secretary of State, *Appendix to the First Biennial Report*, 1878, p. 8.

20. *Congressional Record*, v. 9, pp. 4, 5.

21. *Laws of Kansas*, 1883, pp. 1, 2.

22. *Ibid.*, 1905, pp. 212, 213.

23. *Ibid.*, 1931, pp. 31, 32.

and the 1941 legislature reorganized the state into the present six districts.²⁴

According to law, the certification of the number of representatives Kansas will have in 1963 should reach the governor in January, 1961. The legislature will be in session and may redistrict the state as it did in 1931 and 1941. If the legislature prefers to wait, the federal statute provides that "if there is a decrease in the number of Representatives and the number of districts in such State exceeds such decreased number of Representatives, they shall be elected from the State at large."²⁵

II. KANSAS CONGRESSMEN, 1861-1960

Political affiliation has been indicated in the following list by (R) Republican; (D) Democrat; (I) Independent; and (P) People's party. In 1890 the People's party was commonly known as the Alliance; later it was better known as the Populist.

AT LARGE

CONWAY, MARTIN FRANKLIN, Lawrence. (R) Elected Dec. 6, 1859; served Jan. 30, 1861-Mar. 3, 1863; d. Washington, D. C., Feb. 15, 1882.

WILDER, ABEL CARTER, Leavenworth. (R) Mar. 4, 1863-Mar. 3, 1865; d. San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 22, 1875.

CLARKE, SIDNEY, Lawrence. (R) Mar. 4, 1865-Mar. 3, 1871; d. Oklahoma City, Okla., June 19, 1909.

LOWE, DAVID PERLEY, Fort Scott. (R) Mar. 4, 1871-Mar. 3, 1875; d. Fort Scott, Apr. 10, 1882.

COBB, STEPHEN ALONZO, Wyandotte. (R) Mar. 4, 1873-Mar. 3, 1875; d. Wyandotte, Aug. 24, 1878.

PHILLIPS, WILLIAM ADDISON, Salina. (R) Mar. 4, 1873-Mar. 3, 1875; d. Fort Gibson, I. T., Nov. 30, 1893. (Also 1st dist.)

HALLOWELL, JAMES REED, Columbus. (R) Elected Nov. 5, 1878; refused a seat in the house Mar. 18, 1879, since Kansas was entitled to only 3 members; d. Crawfordsville, Ind., June 24, 1898.

PETERS, SAMUEL RITTER, Newton. (R) Mar. 4, 1883-Mar. 3, 1885; election unsuccessfully contested by Samuel N. Wood; d. Newton, Apr. 21, 1910. (Also 7th dist.)

MORRILL, EDMUND NEEDHAM, Hiawatha. (R) Mar. 4, 1883-Mar. 3, 1885; d. San Antonio, Tex., Mar. 14, 1909. (Also 1st dist.)

HANBACK, LEWIS, Salina. (R) Mar. 4, 1883-Mar. 3, 1885; d. Kansas City, Sept. 6, 1897. (Also 6th dist.)

PERKINS, BISHOP WALDEN, Oswego. (R) Mar. 4, 1883-Mar. 3, 1885; d. Washington, D. C., June 20, 1894. (Also 3d dist.)

HARRIS, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Linwood. (P) Mar. 4, 1893-Mar. 3, 1895; d. Chicago, Ill., Dec. 20, 1909.

24. *Ibid.*, 1941, p. 25. The apportionment after the 1950 census did not affect Kansas.

25. U. S. Code, 1958, Title 2, ch. 1, sec. 2a.

- BLUE, RICHARD WHITING, Pleasanton. (R) Mar. 4, 1895-Mar. 3, 1897; d. Bartlesville, I. T., Jan. 28, 1907.
- BOTKIN, JEREMIAH DUNHAM, Winfield. (P) Mar. 4, 1897-Mar. 3, 1899; d. Liberal, Dec. 29, 1921.
- BAILEY, WILLIS JOSHUA, Baileyville. (R) Mar. 4, 1899-Mar. 3, 1901; d. Kansas City, May 19, 1932.
- SCOTT, CHARLES FREDERICK, Iola. (R) Mar. 4, 1901-Mar. 3, 1907; d. Iola, Sept. 18, 1938. (Also 2d dist.)

FIRST DISTRICT

- PHILLIPS, WILLIAM ADDISON, Salina. (R) Mar. 4, 1875-Mar. 3, 1879; d. Fort Gibson, I. T., Nov. 30, 1893. (Also at large.)
- ANDERSON, JOHN ALEXANDER, Manhattan. (R) Mar. 4, 1879-Mar. 3, 1885; d. Liverpool, Eng., May 18, 1892. (Also 5th dist.)
- MORRILL, EDMUND NEEDHAM, Hiawatha. (R) Mar. 4, 1885-Mar. 3, 1891; d. San Antonio, Tex., Mar. 14, 1909. (Also at large.)
- BRODERICK, CASE, Holton. (R) Mar. 4, 1891-Mar. 3, 1899; d. Holton, Apr. 1, 1920.
- CURTIS, CHARLES, Topeka. (R) Mar. 4, 1899-Jan. 28, 1907; resigned to become senator; d. Washington, D. C., Feb. 8, 1936. (Also 4th dist.)
- ANTHONY, DANIEL READ, JR., Leavenworth. (R) Elected May 23, 1907; vice Curtis; served Dec. 2, 1907-Mar. 3, 1929; d. Leavenworth, Aug. 4, 1931.
- LAMBERTSON, WILLIAM PURNELL, Fairview. (R) Mar. 4, 1929-Jan. 3, 1945; d. Hiawatha, Oct. 26, 1957.
- COLE, ALBERT McDONALD, Holton. (R) Jan. 3, 1945-Jan. 3, 1953.
- MILLER, HOWARD S., Morrill. (D) Jan. 3, 1953-Jan. 3, 1955.
- AVERY, WILLIAM H., Wakefield. (R) Jan. 3, 1955-

SECOND DISTRICT

- GOODIN, JOHN RANDOLPH, Humboldt. (I) Mar. 4, 1875-Mar. 3, 1877; d. Wyandotte, Dec. 18, 1885.
- HASKELL, DUDLEY CHASE, Lawrence. (R) Mar. 4, 1877-Dec. 16, 1883; d. Washington, D. C., Dec. 16, 1883.
- FUNSTON, EDWARD HOGUE, Iola. (R) Elected Mar. 1, 1884, vice Haskell; served Mar. 21, 1884-Aug. 2, 1894, when contested 1892 election was decided in favor of H. L. Moore; d. Iola, Sept. 10, 1911.
- MOORE, HORACE LADD, Lawrence. (D) Aug. 2, 1894-Mar. 3, 1895; d. Lawrence, May 1, 1914.
- MILLER, ORRIN LARABEE, Kansas City. (R) Mar. 4, 1895-Mar. 3, 1897; d. Kansas City, Sept. 11, 1926.
- PETERS, MASON SUMMERS, Kansas City. (P) Mar. 4, 1897-Mar. 3, 1899; d. Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 14, 1914.
- BOWERSOCK, JUSTIN DE WITT, Lawrence. (R) Mar. 4, 1899-Mar. 3, 1907; d. Lawrence, Oct. 27, 1922.
- SCOTT, CHARLES FREDERICK, Iola. (R) Mar. 4, 1907-Mar. 3, 1911; d. Iola, Sept. 18, 1938. (Also at large.)

- MITCHELL, ALEXANDER CLARK, Lawrence. (R) Mar. 4-July 7, 1911; d. Lawrence, July 7, 1911.
- TAGGART, JOSEPH, Kansas City. (D) Elected Nov. 7, 1911, vice Mitchell; served Dec. 4, 1911-Mar. 3, 1917; d. Wadsworth, Dec. 3, 1938.
- LITTLE, EDWARD CAMPBELL, Kansas City. (R) Mar. 4, 1917-June 27, 1924; d. Washington, D. C., June 27, 1924.
- GUYER, ULYSSES SAMUEL, Kansas City. (R) Elected Nov. 4, 1924, vice Little; served Dec. 1, 1924-Mar. 3, 1925; d. Bethesda, Md., June 5, 1943.
- LITTLE, CHAUNCEY BUNDY, Olathe. (D) Mar. 4, 1925-Mar. 3, 1927; d. Olathe, Sept. 29, 1952.
- GUYER, ULYSSES SAMUEL, Kansas City. (R) Mar. 4, 1927-June 5, 1943; d. Bethesda, Md., June 5, 1943.
- SCRIVNER, ERRETT POWER, Kansas City. (R) Elected Sept. 14, 1943, vice Guyer; served Sept. 28, 1943-Jan. 3, 1959.
- GEORGE, NEWELL A., Kansas City. (D) Jan. 3, 1959-

THIRD DISTRICT

- BROWN, WILLIAM RIPLEY, Hutchinson. (R) Mar. 4, 1875-Mar. 3, 1877; d. Kansas City, Mo., Mar. 4, 1916.
- RYAN, THOMAS, Topeka. (R) Mar. 4, 1877-Mar. 3, 1885; d. Muskogee, Okla., Apr. 5, 1914. (Also 4th dist.)
- PERKINS, BISHOP WALDEN, Oswego. (R) Mar. 4, 1885-Mar. 3, 1891; d. Washington, D. C., June 20, 1894. (Also at large.)
- CLOVER, BENJAMIN HUTCHINSON, Cambridge. (P) Mar. 4, 1891-Mar. 3, 1893; d. Douglass, Dec. 30, 1899.
- HUDSON, THOMAS JEFFERSON, Fredonia. (P) Mar. 4, 1893-Mar. 3, 1895; d. Wichita, Jan. 4, 1923.
- KIRKPATRICK, SNYDER SOLOMON, Fredonia. (R) Mar. 4, 1895-Mar. 3, 1897; d. Fredonia, Apr. 5, 1909.
- RIDGELY, EDWIN REED, Pittsburg. (P) Mar. 4, 1897-Mar. 3, 1901; d. Girard, Apr. 23, 1927.
- JACKSON, ALFRED METCALF, Winfield. (D) Mar. 4, 1901-Mar. 3, 1903; d. Winfield, June 11, 1924.
- CAMPBELL, PHILIP PITT, Pittsburg. (R) Mar. 4, 1903-Mar. 3, 1923, d. Washington, D. C., May 26, 1941.
- SPOUL, WILLIAM HENRY, Sedan. (R) Mar. 4, 1923-Mar. 3, 1931; d. Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 27, 1932.
- MCGUGIN, HAROLD CLEMENT, Coffeyville. (R) Mar. 4, 1931-Jan. 3, 1935; d. Hot Springs, Ark., Mar. 7, 1946.
- PATTERSON, EDWARD WHITE, Pittsburg. (D) Jan. 3, 1935-Jan. 3, 1939; d. Weir, Mar. 7, 1940.
- WINTER, THOMAS DANIEL, Girard. (R) Jan. 3, 1939-Jan. 3, 1947; d. Pittsburg, Nov. 7, 1951.
- MEYER, HERBERT ALTON, Independence. (R) Jan. 3, 1947-Oct. 2, 1950; d. Bethesda, Md., Oct. 2, 1950.

GEORGE, MYRON VIRGIL, Altamont. (R) Elected Nov. 7, 1950, vice Meyer; served Nov. 27, 1950-Jan. 3, 1959.

HARGIS, DENVER D., Coffeyville. (D) Jan. 3, 1959-

FOURTH DISTRICT

RYAN, THOMAS, Topeka. (R) Mar. 4, 1885-Apr. 3, 1889; announced his resignation to become minister to Mexico; d. Muskogee, Okla., Apr. 5, 1914. (Also 3d dist.)

KELLEY, HARRISON, Burlington. (R) Elected May 21, 1889, vice Ryan; served Dec. 2, 1889-Mar. 3, 1891; d. Burlington, July 24, 1897.

OTIS, JOHN GRANT, Topeka. (P) Mar. 4, 1891-Mar. 3, 1893; d. Topeka, Feb. 22, 1916.

CURTIS, CHARLES, Topeka. (R) Mar. 4, 1893-Mar. 3, 1899; d. Washington, D. C., Feb. 8, 1936. (Also 1st dist.)

MILLER, JAMES MONROE, Council Grove. (R) Mar. 4, 1899-Mar. 3, 1911; d. Council Grove, Jan. 20, 1926.

JACKSON, FRED SCHUYLER, Eureka. (R) Mar. 4, 1911-Mar. 3, 1913; d. Topeka, Nov. 21, 1931.

DOOLITTLE, DUDLEY, Strong City. (D) Mar. 4, 1913-Mar. 3, 1919; d. Emporia, Nov. 14, 1957.

HOCH, HOMER, Marion. (R) Mar. 4, 1919-Mar. 3, 1933; d. Topeka, Jan. 30, 1949.

CARPENTER, RANDOLPH, Marion. (D) Mar. 4, 1933-Jan. 3, 1937; d. Topeka, July 26, 1956.

REES, EDWARD H., Emporia. (R) Jan. 3, 1937-

FIFTH DISTRICT

ANDERSON, JOHN ALEXANDER, Manhattan. (R) Mar. 4, 1885-Mar. 3, 1891; d. Liverpool, Eng., May 18, 1892. (Also 1st dist.)

DAVIS, JOHN, Junction City. (P) Mar. 4, 1891-Mar. 3, 1895; d. Topeka, Aug. 1, 1901.

CALDERHEAD, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Marysville. (R) Mar. 4, 1895-Mar. 3, 1897; d. Enid, Okla., Dec. 18, 1928.

VINCENT, WILLIAM DAVIS, Clay Center. (P) Mar. 4, 1897-Mar. 3, 1899; d. St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 27, 1922.

CALDERHEAD, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Marysville. (R) Mar. 4, 1899-Mar. 3, 1911; d. Enid, Okla., Dec. 18, 1928.

REES, ROLLIN RAYMOND, Minneapolis. (R) Mar. 4, 1911-Mar. 3, 1913; d. Anaheim, Cal., May 30, 1935.

HELVERING, GUY TRESILLIAN, Marysville. (D) Mar. 4, 1913-Mar. 3, 1919; d. Washington, D. C., July 4, 1946.

STRONG, JAMES GEORGE, Blue Rapids. (R) Mar. 4, 1919-Mar. 3, 1933; d. Washington, D. C., Jan. 11, 1938.

AYRES, WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, Wichita. (D) Mar. 4, 1933-Aug. 21, 1934; announced his resignation to accept appointment on federal trade commission; d. Washington, D. C., Feb. 17, 1952. (Also 8th dist.)

HOUSTON, JOHN MILLS, Newton. (D) Jan. 3, 1935-Jan. 3, 1943.

HOPE, CLIFFORD RAGSDALE, Garden City. (R) Jan. 3, 1943-Jan. 3, 1957.
(Also 7th dist.)

BREEDING, J. FLOYD, Rolla. (D) Jan. 3, 1957-

SIXTH DISTRICT

HANBACK, LEWIS, Salina. (R) Mar. 4, 1885-Mar. 3, 1887; d. Kansas City, Sept. 6, 1897. (Also at large.)

TURNER, ERASTUS JOHNSON, Hoxie. (R) Mar. 4, 1887-Mar. 3, 1891; d. Los Angeles, Cal., Feb. 10, 1933.

BAKER, WILLIAM, Lincoln. (P) Mar. 4, 1891-Mar. 3, 1897; d. Lincoln, Feb. 1, 1910.

MCCORMICK, NELSON B., Phillipsburg. (P) Mar. 4, 1897-Mar. 3, 1899; d. Phillipsburg, Apr. 10, 1914.

REEDER, WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, Logan. (R) Mar. 4, 1899-Mar. 3, 1911; d. Beverly Hills, Cal., Nov. 7, 1929.

YOUNG, ISAAC DANIEL, Beloit. (R) Mar. 4, 1911-Mar. 3, 1913; d. Beloit, Dec. 10, 1927.

CONNELLY, JOHN ROBERT, Colby. (D) Mar. 4, 1913-Mar. 3, 1919; d. Concordia, Sept. 9, 1940.

WHITE, HAYS BAXTER, Mankato. (R) Mar. 4, 1919-Mar. 3, 1929; 1926 election unsuccessfully contested by W. H. Clark; d. Mankato, Sept. 29, 1930.

SPARKS, CHARLES ISAAC, Goodland. (R) Mar. 4, 1929-Mar. 3, 1933; d. Goodland, Apr. 30, 1937.

MCCARTHY, KATHRYN (O'LOUGHLIN), Hays. (D) Mar. 4, 1933-Jan. 3, 1935; elected as Kathryn O'Loughlin, she married Daniel M. McCarthy, Feb. 4, 1933; d. Hays, Jan. 16, 1952.

CARLSON, FRANK, Concordia. (R) Jan. 3, 1935-Jan. 3, 1947.

SMITH, WINT, Mankato. (R) Jan. 3, 1947- ; 1958 election unsuccessfully contested by Elmo J. Mahoney.

SEVENTH DISTRICT

PETERS, SAMUEL RITTER, Newton. (R) Mar. 4, 1885-Mar. 3, 1891; d. Newton, Apr. 21, 1910. (Also at large.)

SIMPSON, JEREMIAH (JERRY), Medicine Lodge. (P) Mar. 4, 1891-Mar. 3, 1895; d. Wichita, Oct. 23, 1905.

LONG, CHESTER ISAAH, Medicine Lodge. (R) Mar. 4, 1895-Mar. 3, 1897; d. Washington, D. C., July 1, 1934.

SIMPSON, JEREMIAH (JERRY), Medicine Lodge. (P) Mar. 4, 1897-Mar. 3, 1899; d. Wichita, Oct. 23, 1905.

LONG, CHESTER ISAAH, Medicine Lodge. (R) Mar. 4, 1899-Mar. 4, 1903; resigned to become senator; d. Washington, D. C., July 1, 1934.

MURDOCK, VICTOR, Wichita. (R) Elected May 26, 1903, vice Long; served Nov. 9, 1903-Mar. 3, 1907; d. Wichita, July 8, 1945. (Also 8th dist.)

MADISON, EDMOND HAGGARD, Dodge City. (R) Mar. 4, 1907-Sept. 18, 1911; d. Dodge City, Sept. 18, 1911.

NEELEY, GEORGE ARTHUR, Hutchinson. (D) Elected Jan. 9, 1912, vice Madison; served Jan. 29, 1912-Mar. 3, 1915; d. Hutchinson, Jan. 1, 1919.

SHOUSE, JOUETT, Kinsley. (D) Mar. 4, 1915-Mar. 3, 1919.

TINCHER, JASPER NAPOLEON, Medicine Lodge. (R) Mar. 4, 1919-Mar. 3, 1927; d. Hutchinson, Nov. 6, 1951.

HOPE, CLIFFORD RAGSDALE, Garden City. (R) Mar. 4, 1927-Jan. 3, 1943. (Also 5th dist.)

EIGHTH DISTRICT

MURDOCK, VICTOR, Wichita. (R) Mar. 4, 1907-Mar. 3, 1915; d. Wichita, July 8, 1945. (Also 7th dist.)

AYRES, WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, Wichita. (D) Mar. 4, 1915-Mar. 3, 1921; d. Washington, D. C., Feb. 17, 1952.

BIRD, RICHARD ELY, Wichita. (R) Mar. 4, 1921-Mar. 3, 1923; d. Long Beach, Cal., Jan. 10, 1955.

AYRES, WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, Wichita. (D) Mar. 4, 1923-Mar. 3, 1933; d. Washington, D. C., Feb. 17, 1952. (Also 5th dist.)

The Early Careers of William Bradford Waddell and William Hepburn Russell: Frontier Capitalists

RAYMOND W. SETTLE and MARY LUND SETTLE

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THE story of the early life and career of Alexander Majors, partner of William B. Waddell and William H. Russell in the great freighting firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, is not included in detail herein because it is fully told elsewhere.¹ Little, however, has been known or told about the other two. To begin with, it is significant that to a very great degree the business careers of Waddell and Russell, even when they were not partners in the same undertaking, always ran parallel to each other. Living as they did in the pioneer town of Lexington, Mo., the metropolis of western Missouri for many years, it was inevitable that they should be more or less involved in the same social, civic, and business enterprises from 1836, the year of Waddell's settlement in the community. Although they differed greatly in racial ancestry, background, and environment, each seems to have been so irresistibly drawn to the other that a kind of Damon and Pythias relationship existed between them. While they were intimate, just and fair in their dealings with Majors, neither of them felt toward him as they did toward each other.

The Waddell family originated in Glasgow, Scotland, where John, I, the immigrant ancestor of the American branch, was born in 1724. As a boy he was apprenticed to a man by the name of Carter, but in what trade or occupation he was trained is not known. In view of the youth's later life it is probable that he was a merchant. In 1735, when he was 11 years of age, Carter brought him to Fauquier county, Virginia, where the lad grew to young manhood.²

In 1757, at 33 years of age, John, I, married Elizabeth Green, also of Virginia. Their eldest child was William, who was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. He served seven years in the army,

MR. AND MRS. RAYMOND W. SETTLE of Monte Vista, Colo., have written several Western books, including *March of the Mounted Riflemen* (1940), *Empire on Wheels* (1949), and *Saddles and Spurs* (1955). They have also collaborated on numerous magazine articles.

1. Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Chicago and New York, 1893); Hildegard Hawthorne, *Ox-Team Miracle* (New York, 1942); Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Empire on Wheels* (Stanford, 1949) pp. 12-14; Settle and Settle, *Saddles and Spurs* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1955), pp. 6-15.

2. Henry C. Chiles, "William Bradford Waddell, 1807-1872."—Ms. copy in author's library. "Waddell, Phillips, Byram, Bradford Families"—Ms. This extensive genealogy is typewritten and in the possession of Mrs. W. B. Waddell, Lexington, Mo.

was made sergeant in the Pennsylvania volunteers, and participated in the Battles of Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and others. Patrick Henry gave him a black and white striped blanket, which was kept in the family for many years. In that conflict he lost an eye in battle. He also served in the War of 1812.³

The seventh child of John Waddell, I, and Elizabeth Green was John Waddell, II, who was born in 1779. John, II, first married Catharine Bradford, a descendant of Gov. William Bradford, of Plymouth colony. Their eldest son, William Bradford, was born in Fauquier county, Virginia, October 14, 1807.⁴ When he was four years of age his mother died, his father married Sarah Crow in 1813, and two years later the family migrated to Mason county, Kentucky.⁵

By the time young William Bradford Waddell was 17 Kentucky had been a state 15 years. Evidence that it had once been a crude raw frontier was rapidly disappearing, and immigrants from the east no longer came in huge numbers. The new Meccas toward which home-seeking pilgrims now bent their steps were Missouri and Illinois. Living as he did upon the romantic highroad to the newest frontier, the Ohio river, Waddell saw the great flatboats loaded with men, women, children, horses, cattle, and household possessions floating boldly downstream. It was therefore natural that an urge to join them and "Go West" should seize him.

In 1824, at 17 years of age, Waddell yielded to the impulse, joined the stream of travelers, and went to Galena, Ill., where he found employment in the old lead mines. Family tradition holds that he ran away from home.⁶ Perhaps he did, then again it is more than likely that he did not, for in those days it was customary for young men to leave the older communities and follow the moving frontier toward the setting sun. After a short stay at Galena he went to St. Louis, Mo., where he clerked in the Berthoud & McCleery store.⁷ Here on the very threshold of the illimitable, still mysterious West, he found the type of life and people he had always known. In fact it is not impossible that he found old neighbors and friends from Mason county in the city, for many from that area had gone to Missouri.

Having become the farthest Western state three years before Waddell's arrival, Missouri was rapidly forging ahead in the devel-

3. Grace M. Cheatham, "Genealogy of John Waddell."—Ms. copy in author's library.

4. Chiles, *op. cit.*; Lexington (Mo.) *Intelligencer*, April 10, 1872, William B. Waddell obituary.

5. Mrs. Alonzo Slayback, "Genealogy of the John Waddell Family."—Ms. copy in author's library.

6. Chiles, *op. cit.*

7. *Ibid.*

opment of her social, economic, and political institutions. A flood of immigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina was flowing through St. Louis and ascending the Missouri river to the central and western portions of the state. Steamboating was still in its infancy, but it was off to a promising start, the fur trade from the half-legendary Rocky Mountains was burgeoning, and there was much excitement about the possibilities of the newly opened trade with far-off Santa Fe. What was most significant of all perhaps was that he heard much about the Boone's Lick country near the western border of the state, and of a new town on the Missouri river called Lexington.

The Berthoud & McCleery store was an ideal place for a young sight-seeing tourist who wished to get acquainted with the Missouri frontier and what was spoken of in Kentucky as "the West." As he went about his task of waiting upon customers he accumulated a mass of information which proved useful in days to come. When he had seen all he wished to see he went back to Mason county and became a clerk in a store in the town of Washington. After working there for a brief period he quit and took up farming.

This proved to be a fortunate move, for nearby lived Susan Clark Byram, daughter of William and Susan Phillips Byram, a wealthy Kentucky planter, whom he married on January 1, 1829. The bride's father, with customary generosity, started the young couple off with the gift of Negro slaves, horses, sheep, \$1,500, and a feather bed.⁸ Now it appeared that Waddell was launched upon the successful, though somewhat prosaic career of a Southern gentleman farmer.

But farming, even on an expansive Southern scale was not what he wanted. His experience in business in St. Louis and Washington had turned his thoughts toward merchandising. Consequently, after a few years on the farm he sold out and opened a dry goods store in Mayslick, Mason county, Ky.⁹ By instinct and inclination he was fundamentally a merchant all his days. Fortunate would it have been for him had he never tried to be anything else.

Although the business prospered, he was not content with it. In spite of the fact that he was well situated with a prosperous business, his thoughts kept running back to the Missouri frontier and the ground floor opportunities it offered. He wished to remain in the mercantile business, but he also wanted land, which was always the true frontiersman's ambition. No matter what his chief vocation might be, he strove to possess as many acres of land as possible and

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

slaves to cultivate it. That was the hallmark of genuine success and gentility. Improved land in Kentucky, which had been sufficiently reduced from a raw natural state to grow crops, was expensive, and that which was unimproved was not desirable. Consequently Waddell thought more and more about Missouri. That was the place where a young man could sink his roots deep and flourish. In 1832 he united with the Mayslick Baptist church, with which group he affiliated the remainder of his life.¹⁰

The inevitable result of his thinking was that he sold his store in Mayslick, and in 1836 with his wife and three or four children, migrated from Kentucky to Lexington, Mo., by steamboat.¹¹ In those days the 14-year-old town, which within a few years would be known as "Old Town," consisted mostly of log houses. It was a primitive community, but to a discerning man like Waddell it was also a wide-open door of opportunity. The steamboat landing and Jack's Ferry were located about a mile west of the town square. At that time the population of the whole of Lafayette county was only about 3,000 white people and 1,200 slaves.¹² From the very beginning of Waddell's residence in the town and county he was regarded as one of its most substantial citizens.

Although Lexington, judged by modern standards, was still a small town, in 1836 it was the largest in western Missouri, rapidly growing in importance as a river port, and as a retail and wholesale center. Being located in one of the best agricultural areas in the world, whose main products were hemp, livestock, and grain, the economy of the town was based upon a solid foundation. In addition, much of the fur and Santa Fe trade centered in Lexington at that time. This trade was largely carried on through the J. & R. Aull store, which was one of four operated by James and Robert Aull, who were natives of Delaware. They also had stores at Independence, Liberty, and Richmond. A third brother, John, also had a store at Lexington.

Not long after his arrival in "Old Town" Waddell opened a retail, wholesale, and commission business. He also engaged in the buying of hemp and other products of the farm. In addition he bought furs from the far-off Rocky Mountains, outfitted Santa Fe traders, and bought honey and beeswax brought in from north Missouri by professional wild bee hunters. Some of his goods were brought up the Missouri river on steamboats and other items were bought

10. William B. Waddell obituary, Lexington (Mo.) *Express*, April 10, 1872.

11. Lexington *Intelligencer*, April 10, 1872; Cheatham, *op. cit.*

12. *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 35 (January, 1941), p. 236.

at wholesale from J. & R. Aull.¹³ Included in the stock of dry goods and groceries he offered to the public were fresh and home-cured meats, dry goods, boots, shoes, women's hats, clothing for men, women, and children, patent medicines and common nostrums of the day, tools, and farm equipment. At the back stood a battery of 40-gallon barrels containing homemade vinegar, sorghum molasses, and whisky. From the very beginning he enjoyed a marked degree of success.

Among the clerks in the J. & R. Aull store was a medium-sized, highly competent, 24-year-old young man by the name of William Hepburn Russell, whose speech instantly betrayed the fact that he was not a Southerner like the great majority of the people among whom he lived. He had been working there six years and the townspeople had grown accustomed to his accent and ways.

Russell was a lineal descendant of Lord William Russell of England, who was beheaded July 21, 1683, because of participation in the Rye House plot against Charles, II.¹⁴ Almost a hundred years later, about the close of the Revolutionary War, three brothers, David, Stephen, and Benjamin Russell, descendants of the slain nobleman, migrated to America. Benjamin settled in Vermont, where he married Betsy Ann Eaton, daughter of Gen. William Eaton, noted soldier, Indian fighter, and United States consul to Tunis in 1798. The youngest of their 11 children was William Eaton, who married Betsy Ann Hepburn, descendant of the noted Hepburn clan of Scotland, who did not live very long. Next he married her sister Myrtilla, by whom he had a daughter Adala Elizabeth and a son William Hepburn, the latter of whom was born at Burlington, Vt., January 31, 1812.¹⁵ By ancestry he was as much Scotch as was Waddell.

Family tradition holds that William Eaton Russell fought in the War of 1812 as a colonel, and that he commanded the American troops in the little battle of Lake Champlain. He died in 1814 while still in service, and his body was taken back to Burlington by an escort of army officers, among whom was 2d Lt. Oliver Bangs. The acquaintance of Bangs and Mrs. Russell ripened into love, and they were married January 1, 1816, at Vergennes, Vt.¹⁶

13. J. & R. Aull, "Order Book Oct. 6, 1836," p. 149.—Ms. in "Aull Collection," Lexington (Mo.) Literary and Historical Society; *Lexington Express*, February 24, August 1, 1842.

14. John Richard Green, *England* (New York, 1898), v. 3, pp. 452, 453; Mrs. William H. Russell, "Genealogy and Family History," Ms.

15. William H. Russell, letter, n. d.

16. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), v. 1, p. 188; National Archives, Record of Veterans Administration, War of 1812, "Bounty Land File" of Oliver Bangs, Warrant No. 7848.

After long service in the army Lieutenant Bangs was honorably discharged in 1821. So far as is known the family continued to live in Vermont until 1828, when he was appointed agent for the Iowa Indians in the early part of Pres. Andrew Jackson's administration. At that time the Iowas lived in northwest Missouri in what was later known as the "Platte Purchase." The agency may have been located at Liberty arsenal at that time, for family tradition holds that he was also commandant of that institution. Perhaps he filled both offices.¹⁷

The settlements in western Missouri in 1828 constituted not only the farthest limit of American civilization, but also the last traditional, strictly American frontier. Beyond them lay the broad "Prairie Ocean" which was labeled "Great American Desert" in the geographies.¹⁸ A few miles away lay the intriguing Santa Fe trail, and the great Missouri river, the fur traders' and trappers' highway to the Rocky Mountains, churning restlessly past his doorstep. Liberty, although only six years old, was already another of the important towns on the frontier.

In all probability Russell's schooling was completed in Vermont before the family moved to the west. His boyish handwriting in those early days, while not a good example of the beautiful, ornate chirography in vogue at that time, was firm, and legible. His letters indicate that he was endowed with more than ordinary ability to think clearly and express himself forcibly. Unfortunately he abandoned that style of writing when he grew older and indulged in an almost indecipherable scrawl. Both he and Waddell were above the average in education, culture, and refinement. They certainly were not the ignorant, rough, bullwhacker type some writers have imagined they were. Neither of them ever drove an ox team on the Santa Fe or Oregon trail. Both were endowed with the same fundamental instinct, that of merchandising.

Of the noted Aull brothers the first to come west was John, who opened a store in Chariton, Mo., on the Missouri river, now a ghost town, from 1819 to 1822. When the original town of Lexington was laid out he moved there and opened a store, which he operated until 1842. James and Robert came west in 1825, and in that year the former established a retail and commission business at Lexington. In 1827 he opened another store at Independence, with Samuel C. Owens as manager. On January 1, 1829, he opened a store in

17. Pryor Plank, "The Iowa, Sac and Fox Indian Mission . . .," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), p. 312.

18. J. Olney, *New and Improved School Atlas* . . . (New York, 1829).

Liberty, with Robert Aull in charge, and in 1830 a fourth one was established at Richmond.¹⁹ Thus they became Missouri's first chain store operators. When their interests were all merged in one institution in 1831, James became head of it.

In 1828, at the age of 16, Russell went to work in the Ely & Curtis store in Liberty. He remained there only a few months, however, then went to work for Robert Aull. The relationship thus established continued in one form or another for more than 30 years. James made his home in Lexington, from which he managed the firm's wide and varied interests. Young Russell so gained the confidence of his employer that some time in 1830 he was transferred from Liberty to the Lexington store²⁰ where he became James' right hand man. At 18 years of age he was now successfully launched upon one of the most amazing careers ever known in Lexington and on the frontier. His rise in business circles might well constitute the theme for an Horatio Alger story. Considering his temperament, native ability, and as later revealed, his predisposition to large scale business operations, the Aull organization was the ideal place for him.

Early in his business career Russell seems to have developed an interest in transportation. All his life this particular phase of commercial activity fascinated him. When Lexington became one of the outfitting points for the fur and Santa Fe trade he familiarized himself with those businesses. He watched the traders and trappers who came into Aull's store to buy goods for the outbound trips, carefully observed what they bought, and listened to discussions concerning the various items. Though he never went to Santa Fe, and never even saw the Rocky Mountains until 1861, he was intimately acquainted with the trade.

One of his most valuable assets throughout life was the fact that people liked and trusted him to an extraordinary degree. In dealing with people he was genial, thoughtful, and obliging. He was as courteous to the farmer's wife who came into the store to exchange her produce for groceries and dry goods as he was to a merchant from another town who wished to buy enough goods at wholesale to load a wagon. He made friends easily, and what was better, he kept them.

19. Mrs. William H. Russell, *op. cit.*; Joseph Thorp, *Early Days in the West*, p. 43; Lewis E. Atherton, "James and Robert Aull—A Frontier Merchantile Firm," in *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 30 (October, 1935), p. 4.

20. Burtis M. Little, *A Brief Sketch of the National Old Trails Road and the Part Played by Lexington in the Westward Movement* (Lexington, Mo., 1928), p. 14; Atherton, *loc. cit.*, p. 4; James Aull, "Letter Book II, 1831-1833," p. 135.

At 19 years of age Russell appears to have been manager of the store. The extent of the firm's business is seen in the fact that it had an interest in three Missouri river steamboats, operated a ropewalk in Liberty, owned a saw and grist mill, and engaged in the Santa Fe and fur trade. It also contracted to furnish supplies to Fort Leavenworth, Indian missions, emigrating tribes, and United States troops.²¹

Although only fragmentary studies of this giant pioneer firm have been made, it is clear that during the early 1830's it was the largest and most influential business enterprise on the western Missouri frontier. As such it not only constituted excellent training ground for Russell, but to a very great degree provided a blue print for his career in days to come. In breadth of vision, energy, daring, and remarkable skill in organization, he was destined to operate in a similar though much wider field and by far surpass his old employer and mentor.

On June 9, 1835, Russell married Harriet Eliot Warder, daughter of the Rev. John Warder,²² who was born in Kentucky in January, 1812. John Warder had moved to Kentucky in 1807, where he developed a large plantation on Bear creek. Being a Baptist minister, he built a church called Pisgah on his own land and preached in it himself. In 1824 he moved to Lafayette county, Mo., and settled on an extensive tract of land near Lexington. One of his first concerns was to build another church upon it, which he called Sni-a-Bar after a creek that ran nearby. In 1825 it was moved into the town of Lexington and became the First Baptist church.²³ The author of this narrative served that institution as pastor from 1942 to 1948.

By the latter 1830's "Old Town," which had not been advantageously located, had outgrown its original site. In the first place it was too far from Jack's Ferry and the steamboat landing. Consequently business men and other community leaders, in 1837, organized the Lexington First Addition Company. Eighty-seven shares were issued, of which James Aull subscribed for ten, William H. Russell five, and William B. Waddell five.²⁴ This was the first intimate business relationship established between Russell and Waddell. Thereafter they were continually associated together in a variety of partnerships and enterprises until 1861.

21. Atherton, *loc. cit.*, pp. 4, 5, 13-27.

22. Lafayette county, Mo., "Marriage Record B," June 9, 1835, p. 83; their children were, John Warder, b. March, 1836; Charles Benjamin, b. September 3, 1838; Myrtilla (Tillie), b. 1840, and Fanny, b. 1844.—Mrs. William H. Russell, *op. cit.*

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 19; William E. Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition* . . . (Topeka, 1907), pp. 600, 601.

24. Lafayette county, Mo., "Record Books F to M."

Although Russell filled an enviable position in the Aull institution, and apparently had his feet firmly planted upon the financial ladder, he was not the kind of man who could work for a salary even under James Aull's benevolent supervision. What he wanted was to go into business for himself. In 1838 he resigned his position at Aull's, and in partnership with James S. Allen and William Early opened a retail store under the name of Allen, Russell & Company.²⁵ Whether this was in "Old Town" or the new addition is not known, although it probably was the former.

The First Addition Company laid out a narrow strip of land extending from Jack's Ferry to "Old Town," and from two to four blocks wide. Immediately the new part of town began to grow as business houses and residences were erected. A few years later, about 1843, when the new addition had attained substantial proportions, Waddell moved his store from "Old Town" to Broadway and Levee on the waterfront near Jack's Ferry and the steamboat landing. In 1845 he again moved his store to North or Main Street, as it is now known.²⁶

In 1840 Russell was appointed treasurer for Lafayette county to succeed his old employer James Aull.²⁷ He was also appointed postmaster at Lexington by Pres. John Tyler on June 16, 1841, which office he filled until January 31, 1845.²⁸ Like everyone else on the frontier who could do so, Russell began a program of investment in land when in 1837 he secured a patent from the United States government in Ray county for 248 acres.²⁹ He continued to add to his holdings, until by 1845 he owned about 3,000 acres in Lafayette and Ray counties.³⁰ The only thing which seems to have marred this period of prosperity was the failure of Allen, Russell & Company in 1845.³¹ This was his first experience in that sort of thing, but it was by no means his last.

In 1840 both Russell and his wife joined the First Baptist church of Lexington, of which body Waddell was a member.³² Both of them were appointed members of a committee to erect a new house of worship on Franklin street in the First Addition. There-

25. Lexington Express, February 24, 1842; Lafayette county Mo., "Record Book F," p. 510.

26. Lexington Express, July 4, 1843, October 13, 1845.

27. James Aull, "Receipt Book V," 1836-1847.

28. William Young, *History of Lafayette County* (Indianapolis, 1910), v. 2, p. 316; Asst. Post. Gen. J. M. Donaldson, letter to authors, August 23, 1945.

29. Ray county, Mo., "Record Book D," p. 32.

30. Lafayette county, "Record Books F to M"; Lafayette county, "Book of Original Entries"; Lexington Express, March 25, 1845.

31. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1845.

32. Lexington First Baptist church, "Minutes," March 28, 1840.

after the minutes of the church meetings are liberally sprinkled with their names. In the meantime Russell increased his holdings in the Lexington First Addition Company until he owned 65 lots. Upon one of these at the corner of 12th and South street he built a 20-room house with a garden, Negro quarters, and stables at the back for the good horses he always owned. Waddell also built a commodious home a block away at the corner of 13th and South streets.

In 1843 Russell, James S. Allen, William Early, Alexander Ramsay, and James W. Waddell formed a company to manufacture hemp rope and bagging.³³ The following year, in partnership with James H. Bullard, DeWitt Pritchard, and Robert B. Bradford, he opened another store under the name of Bullard & Russell. In 1845 Russell was appointed a director of the Lexington branch of the Bank of the State of Missouri.³⁴

The Santa Fe trade, begun on a small scale by William Becknell in 1821, gained volume year by year until by 1843 the wagons engaged in it numbered 230, men 320, and the value of goods transported \$450,000.³⁵ Before the founding of the upper Missouri river towns of Lexington, Liberty, and Independence, the old village of Franklin enjoyed a monopoly of the outfitting business for Santa Fe traders. With the founding of Independence in 1827 it began to be centered at that place. About the years 1838-1840 it began at Westport, with the result that Independence was soon thrust into the background.

At first the Santa Fe trade was carried on wholly as a co-operative proposition in which each member of a party made a contribution to a common fund and shared proportionally in the profits. Owing to the hostility of Indians along the route, and exorbitant customs duties levied in Santa Fe, capitalists were slow in entering the field. The survey and marking of the road by George C. Sibley in 1825-1827, occasional military escorts to the international boundary, the assembling of the wagons into great caravans capable of repelling Indian attacks, and interest in it on the part of the Federal government, all reacted favorably upon the trade.

Not until the capture and annexation of New Mexico in 1846, however, were all barriers and handicaps entirely removed and the trade freed to pursue an unhindered course. Prior to that, however, the professional, contract freighter appeared upon the scene. These

33. Lafayette county, Mo., "Record Book I," p. 382.

34. *Lexington Express*, March 25, 1845.

35. William E. Connelley, *Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1919), v. 1, p. 141; statistics for the period 1822-1843 were prepared by Josiah Gregg.

were men, like Alexander Majors,³⁶ who organized their own wagon trains, and contracted to transport goods belonging to someone else.

One of these early contract freighters was E. C. McCarty of Westport, who entered the business in 1838. In 1847 Russell formed a partnership with him and sent a train load of goods to Santa Fe. This venture, under the name of Bullard & Russell, was his introduction to the freighting business. James H. Bullard accompanied the train and returned home March 1, 1848. They also sent out another train in 1849. In this latter year Russell and Robert Aull engaged in speculation in hemp with very satisfactory results. Incidentally, in that same year Russell was fined \$20 in Lafayette county circuit court "for permitting a slave to go at large and hire his own time."³⁷

When the war with Mexico broke out Col. S. W. Kearny was ordered to lead a small army of 1,701 officers and men on a forced march across the Great Plains and capture Santa Fe, 873 miles away, before reinforcements could be sent from Chihuahua. To supply Kearny's troops with food, clothing, equipment, and munitions on the unprecedented march and for a year after their arrival at their destination, required 900 wagons, 10,000 oxen and mules, and 1,000 teamsters. Under the time-honored method, the government provided the wagons and animals and hired civilian drivers. During the fiscal year 1846-1847, 459 horses, 3,658 mules, 14,904 oxen, 1,556 wagons, and 516 packsaddles were used in supplying Kearny's army and reinforcements sent out to New Mexico under Col. Sterling Price.³⁸

Although the customary method of transporting military stores for the army had always given satisfaction elsewhere, it proved almost a total failure in supplying the troops in New Mexico in 1846-1847. The principal reasons were lack of experience in handling wagon trains on the part of officers in the quartermaster's department, the ignorance of drivers, Indian depredations, and the hard fact that freighting upon the Santa Fe trail was entirely different from anything the army had ever undertaken. While the officers in that department struggled heroically to perform an impossible task they observed that the traders' caravans left the Missouri river on schedule, rolled along successfully day after day, had

36. Settle and Settle, *Empire on Wheels*, pp. 12, 13.

37. Theo. S. Case, *History of Kansas City, Missouri* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1888), pp. 32, 33; Aull, "Letter Book IV," March 7, 1848; Lafayette county circuit court, "Civil Record," Book 8, p. 133.

38. Walker D. Wyman, "The Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting, 1846-1865," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (November, 1932), pp. 415, 416.

little trouble with the Indians, and arrived safely at their destination.

Probably at the suggestion of Q. M. Capt. L. C. Easton of Fort Leavenworth, the experiment of contract freighting of military supplies was made in 1848. On May 17 he signed a contract with James Brown of Pettis county, Missouri, for the transportation of 200,000 pounds of government stores to Santa Fe, N. M., for 11½ cents per pound. So anxious was the government to try the experiment that Quartermaster Easton sold him the wagons in which to haul the goods on credit.³⁹ The experiment was as closely watched by the civilian freighters of western Missouri as it was by the quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth and War Department officials in Washington. When Brown returned in the fall after a highly successful, uneventful trip a ripple of excitement ran through freighting circles. All of them hoped that a new source of comfortable profit had been uncovered.

Encouraged by Brown's successful venture, the authorities in Washington instructed the quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth to continue the experiment in 1849, probably calling for bids. Having become convinced good money was to be made in freighting government supplies to military posts in the West and Southwest, Russell and James Brown formed a partnership that year, called Brown & Russell, and contracted to deliver an unspecified amount of stores in Santa Fe for \$9.88 per 100 pounds.⁴⁰ Their surety bond of \$150,000 was signed by John S. Jones, William B. Waddell, Robert B. Bradford, and others. The firm of Bullard & Russell, again in partnership with E. C. McCarty in 1849 sent a train loaded with merchant's goods to the same destination. Both undertakings were completely successful.

Among the freighters of civilian goods to Santa Fe in 1848 was Alexander Majors making his first trip over the Santa Fe trail with six wagons loaded with merchandise,⁴¹ 30 or 40 oxen, and ten or twelve men. A small beginning indeed for a man who in less than ten years would estimate the number of great Conestoga and Murphy prairie schooners under his command by the acre, count his oxen by the thousands, and employ several regiments of bullwhackers. In 1849 his business required about the same number of wagons as in 1848. In 1850, however, it had grown until ten wagons and 130 oxen were used.⁴²

39. *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 26*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 12.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

41. Majors, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Upon returning home in the fall of 1850 Majors learned that Q. M. Maj. E. A. Ogden at Fort Leavenworth wished to send 20 wagon loads of supplies to Fort Mann at the Cimarron crossing on the Arkansas river, 400 miles down the Santa Fe trail. Although the time for starting on a journey of that kind was long past he took the contract and reached his destination without difficulty. Before leaving for home he hired his train at Fort Mann to the commandant of the fort, which was under construction, to haul logs from a creek 25 miles away. He returned home in time to celebrate Christmas with his family.⁴³

In 1851 Majors was again on the Santa Fe trail with 25 wagons loaded with merchandise. When he returned he corraled his wagons, sold his oxen to California immigrants, and remained at home in 1852. The following year he bought a new outfit of oxen for his train, hired some 30 bullwhackers, and freighted civilian goods to Santa Fe. Again he returned home in time to make a second trip to Fort Union, N. M. In 1854 he freighted no merchandise, but transported 100 wagon loads of military supplies to New Mexico. This work required 1,200 oxen and about 120 men,⁴⁴ a creditable showing indeed for a man who only six years before owned only six wagons and employed a dozen men or so. This, in brief, is the story of the rise of the man who became the partner of Waddell and Russell in 1854.

While Majors was expanding his freighting business in the latter 1840's and early 1850's Waddell and Russell were reaching out in various directions at Lexington and elsewhere. In 1850 Russell, James Brown, and John S. Jones formed a partnership, called Brown, Russell & Company, and contracted to deliver at least 600,000 pounds of military stores in Santa Fe for 14½ cents per pound. This was the largest contract for the transportation of government supplies ever let at Fort Leavenworth up to that time. In addition Brown also sent out 30 wagons of his own loaded with military stores.⁴⁵

From September 14 to October 2, more than three months past the usual starting time, Brown, Russell & Company put four trains of 25 wagons each and one of 15 on the road to Santa Fe. These were organized into two caravans, with Brown himself in charge of the one in the lead. In the latter part of November this train arrived at the old Pecos pueblo, 45 or 50 miles from Santa Fe. Here

43. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

45. *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 32d Cong., 1st Sess., pt. 1, p. 295; *Senate Report of Committee on Military Affairs*, 36 Cong., 2d Sess., p. 311.

it was stalled by a heavy mountain blizzard. Since they could not travel Brown rode into Santa Fe to report the situation to the commandant of the garrison and ask permission to lay over until better conditions prevailed. Immediately after arriving he suffered a severe attack of typhoid fever and erysipelas from which he died on December 5.⁴⁶

When he did not return at the time he said he would, his assistant, Charles O. Jones, brother of John S. Jones, rode into Santa Fe to ascertain the cause of the delay. He made the same request that Brown did, but was refused. Moreover, the commandant delivered an ultimatum that unless the caravan moved immediately he would bring it in himself at the contractor's expense. There being no alternative Jones returned to the camp to do his best. He forced the caravan through to Santa Fe, but with the loss of most of the oxen. Forage alone for the animals cost the firm \$14,000. Russell presented to congress a claim for losses amounting to \$39,800, but it was several years before it was paid. The other two trains wintered in the neighborhood of Bent's fort and went on to their destination in the spring. In 1851 Russell and John S. Jones, under the name of Jones & Russell, got a two-year contract to deliver government stores in New Mexico. This was the first time contracts for more than one year were given.⁴⁷

In 1850 both Russell and Waddell helped organize the Lexington Mutual Fire and Marine Insurance Co., to do a general insurance business, and became directors of it. They wrote insurance upon houses, buildings, and steamboat cargoes. This concern was well managed and did a profitable business for many years. In 1859 it was announced that its average dividends amounted to 35 per cent. Russell became the company's president in 1854. In that same year Waddell and Robert B. Bradford formed a partnership with John Durham, John I. Waddell, George Waddell, and William B. Brookshire, under which the latter four went to the gold fields of California. Waddell and Bradford furnished the wagon, six mules, all necessary equipment, provisions, etc.⁴⁸ Needless to say none of them struck it rich.

From the earliest days of the settlement of Lafayette county the pioneers were deeply interested in the education of their children. Both rural and town subscription schools were common from the

46. Aull, "Letter Book V," p. 307.

47. *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 32d Cong., 1st Sess., p. 295.

48. William B. Waddell and Robert B. Bradford, contract with John I. Waddell, John Durham, George G. Waddell, and William B. Brookshire, April 25, 1850,—Ms., Huntington library, San Marino, Calif.; *Lexington Express*, September 3, 10, 1859.

beginning. Since there was need for higher branches of learning the people of Lexington determined to found the Lexington Collegiate Institute in 1850.⁴⁹ It was housed in the old county courthouse in "Old Town." Both Russell and Waddell were elected as trustees of the infant institution. In 1855 the Baptist church of the town took it over and renamed it Lexington Baptist Female College.⁵⁰ Russell and Waddell were elected trustees, the one heading the list of subscribers with \$1,000 and the other with \$500. Waddell continued to serve in that office until 1871. In 1859 the two of them subscribed \$8,000 to pay the debts of the school.⁵¹ In 1869 the trustees bought the William B. Waddell home at 13th and South streets and changed the name of the school to Lexington Ladies College. It continued to operate until 1916.

In the late 1840's and early 1850's speculation in government land in western Missouri was running at high tide. Believing money was to be made in it, Russell, William H. Ewing, William Limrick, and William Shields formed a partnership to buy large tracts of it in Lafayette and Johnson counties. When they were through buying they jointly owned 6,950 acres on equal share. In February, 1851, Russell and Limrick were given deeds of trust to sell the land, which they proceeded to do.⁵² In October, 1852, Russell bought Ewing's quarter share,⁵³ which gave him a one-half interest in the tracts. William Shields sold his interest to Henry H. Gratz in March, 1854, and three years later Gratz sold his one-quarter interest in the lands, now reduced by sales to 4,961 acres, to William B. Waddell.⁵⁴

In March, 1857, Russell and Limrick, as trustees, sold the remainder of the tracts, 3,881 acres, to Waddell. After holding the lands for a short time Waddell sold them to Russell for \$25,000.⁵⁵ This transaction undoubtedly made Russell one of the largest land owners in Lafayette county. Now at the age of 45 he possessed the credentials—land, a big house, money, and slaves—to admit him into the inner fellowship of very important people in the business and social circles of the town. This was remarkable for a Yankee lad who had arrived in town with nothing 26 years before, to serve as clerk in James Aull's store. He had successfully over-

49. Raymond W. Settle, *The Story of Wentworth*, p. 19n.

50. Lexington Baptist Female College, "Agreement Between Subscribers," June 15, 1855.

51. Young, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 211, 212; trustees Lexington Baptist Female College, "Minutes," June 15, 1855, January 24, August 3, 1869.—In records of First Baptist church, Lexington, Mo.

52. Lafayette county, "Record Book R," pp. 9, 11.

53. *Ibid.*, "Record Book T," p. 152.

54. *Ibid.*, "Record Book B, No. 1," pp. 131, 132.

55. William B. Waddell and wife, warranty deed to William H. Russell, March, 1857, in Lafayette county "Record Book B, No. 1," p. 274.

come a host of adverse circumstances, scaled the difficult heights of success, and earned the universal respect of his fellow townsmen. Although he never did become a frontiersman or a typical Southern planter, he so adjusted himself that he was no longer conspicuous as an outsider.

One of the mercantile firms doing business in Lexington early in 1851 was Morehead, Benson & Company. It was composed of Charles R. Morehead, Sr., brother-in-law of William H. Russell, and John W. Waddell. Upon the death of Benson in that year William B. Waddell bought his interest and the firm took the name of Morehead, Waddell & Company. Early in 1853 Waddell and Russell bought Morehead's share, and the new firm was given the name of Waddell & Russell.⁵⁶ This concern became a part of the copartnership in 1854 created by Russell, Majors & Waddell⁵⁷ under the name of Waddell, Russell & Co.

In 1852 William B. Waddell was a partner in the wholesale firm of Smock & Waddell on Water street, which dealt in groceries, hemp, and produce.⁵⁸ The extent of the business and variety of commodities which they bought and sold is indicated in a newspaper advertisement in the summer of 1852. They announced they had for sale 100 barrels of Kanawha salt, 200 sacks of ground alum salt, 100 barrels of Old Rectified whisky, 75 sacks of Rio coffee, 20 hogsheads of sugar, 20 barrels of Sugar House molasses, 21 barrels of mackerel, five barrels of brandy, three barrels of port wine, four barrels of Old Rye whisky, 50 boxes of raisins, and 20 boxes of candy. In addition to these items they advertised groceries, dry goods, hardware, and other necessities.⁵⁹ Waddell was also a member of the firm of Moore & Waddell which operated a ropewalk in Lexington.⁶⁰

In turning the pages of the old Lexington newspapers of that day it is clear that members of the Waddell family, other than William B., were all prominent in the business life of the town. As early as 1845 W. W. Waddell was operating a steam grist and flour mill there.⁶¹ Later he disposed of his business and went to California where he was engaged in the lumber business near Santa Cruz in 1861.⁶² James W. Waddell was partner in the firm of Waddell,

56. *Lexington Express*, January 23, 1853.

57. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1855.

58. *Ibid.*, August 10, 1852.

59. *Ibid.*, April 6, August 10, 1852.

60. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1854.

61. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1845.

62. R. W. Durham, letter to W. B. Waddell, February 3, 1861.—Ms., Huntington Library.

Ramsay & Company, manufacturers of hemp rope and bagging.⁶³ It appears that John W. Waddell, eldest son of William B. was employed by Russell, Majors & Waddell as manager of the Lexington business from 1855 on, and in the buying of oxen. Other Waddells well known in the town where John, II, father of William B., who died there in 1851, John I., who went to California in 1850, James W., and John P., who was in Denver in 1860.⁶⁴ The story of the Waddells in Lexington is a long, intricate, and honorable one.

Russell's son, John W., was sent to Leavenworth in 1855 as book-keeper in the Russell, Majors & Waddell office. Charles R. Morehead, Jr., Russell's nephew, was also sent there as manager of the firm's store.⁶⁵ John W. Russell, became a partner in the firm of Hensley, Russell & Company, and secretary of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Co. in 1859.⁶⁶ He held the same office in the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co. when it was organized in the latter part of that year.⁶⁷ Webster M. Samuel, Russell's son-in-law, was a partner in the brokerage and commission firm of Samuel & Allen which opened in St. Louis early in 1859.⁶⁸

Following a railroad convention in St. Louis in 1849, agitation for laying rails in western Missouri became vigorous. Other conventions were held in various counties, and enthusiasm ran high. One noteworthy thing about them was that instead of soaring off into panegyrics concerning a road from the Mississippi river to the Pacific Ocean a more modest plan for linking county seats and other important towns was discussed. At that time there was no railroad in the state, and St. Louis had no rail connection with the East. Like the people of all other towns, those of Lexington wanted a railroad. Their ideas took the form of a proposal to build a 50-mile line running north and south between Daviess county and the Missouri river opposite Lexington. In brief, it appears that what they had in mind was to create a feeder for Missouri river traffic. When a company, called the Lexington & Daviess County Railroad was organized in 1852, Russell, R. C. Ewing, and William Shields were among the directors. In a meeting at Richmond on

63. Lafayette county, "Record Book I," p. 382.

64. John W. Russell, letters to W. B. Waddell, March 30, April 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 21, May 1, 1858.—Ms., in Huntington Library.

65. "Personal Recollections of Charles R. Morehead," in Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 602.

66. Settle and Settle, *Empire on Wheels*, p. 35.

67. Russell, Majors & Waddell, contract with John S. Jones, et al, October 28, 1859.

68. William H. Russell, letter to Waddell & Russell, March 26, 1858.—Ms., Huntington Library.

October 14 of that year they were instructed to open books for the sale of stock.⁶⁹

The interest of the Lexington promoters, however, did not end with the Lexington & Daviess County project. They were also busy with plans to build another 30- or 40-mile line southeast to Brownsville, now Sweet Springs. This was also intended as a feeder line for Missouri river business. Under this arrangement the importance of the town as a river port would be increased and it would also become a railroad center. In April, 1853, Russell was also elected director of this concern, called the Lexington & Brownsville railroad.⁷⁰ Unfortunately neither of these roads was ever built. Later the Missouri Pacific ran a line from Sedalia, Mo., to Lexington over the proposed route for the Lexington & Brownsville road. Russell's next venture in railroading was in 1855 when he assisted in organizing the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western railroad in Kansas and became a director of it. It was intended that the line should run to the western boundary of the territory, and on to the Pacific Ocean. The road was surveyed and located from Leavenworth to Fort Riley and grading was begun. It was never finished either. This was later known as the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, and still later as the Kansas Pacific.⁷¹

From the earliest days the people of Lafayette county were concerned about country roads. In fact, most roads for many years were little more than trails meandering along the ridges to take advantage of the easiest grades. They served reasonably well in the summer and fall, but in the winter and spring they became almost impassable. Usually at those times of the year they were no more than rivers of gelatinous mud, with bottomless mudholes in low places. To alleviate this handicap as much as possible the citizens of Lexington organized the Lexington Plank Road Co., and elected Russell president.⁷²

In the dawn of 1855 Kansas territory presented a scene unique in American history. Six months before, when its 22 million acres were thrown open to settlers, there were few white men in it except at Forts Leavenworth, Scott and Riley, and at Indian missions. Neither was there a town of any size within its borders. There were few roads, no schoolhouses or churches, and no stores or

69. *Lexington Express*, October 20, December 22, 1852.

70. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1852.

71. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 245; John D. Cruise, "Early Days on the Union Pacific," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11 (1909-1910), pp. 534, 535.

72. *Lexington Express*, March 15, 1854.

other business concerns necessary to develop communities, and no newspapers. In fact, Kansas territory in the spring of 1854, so far as civilized political, economic, commercial, and social institutions were concerned, was almost a total vacuum.

When Russell, Majors & Waddell signed a copartnership agreement on December 28, 1854, effective January 1, 1855,⁷³ creating the great freighting firm of Waddell, Russell & Co., Majors & Russell, Majors, Russell & Company, or Russell, Majors & Waddell, as it was variously known, they evidently meant to assemble their trains at Westport and drive them to Fort Leavenworth for loading. In the meantime, however, they looked the situation in Kansas over and decided that entirely apart from the freighting business the new territory offered fabulous opportunities to capitalists able to grasp them. Consequently they established field headquarters in the infant town of Leavenworth. They opened a store under the name of Majors, Russell & Company,⁷⁴ built a warehouse, an office, a blacksmith and wagon shop, a packing plant to provide meat for their trains, a sawmill on nearby Shawnee creek, a lumber yard, and corrals for their oxen.

Although much confusion exists concerning the several names under which the copartnership created by Russell, Majors and Waddell operated the explanation is simple enough. The agreement between them dated December 28, 1854, contained a proviso that read, "which partnership shall be conducted in the city of Lexington under the name, style, and firm of Waddell, Russell & Co., and at such other places in Jackson County as the partners may agree upon under the name, style and firm of Majors & Russell." The contract with the quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth in 1855 was signed under the latter name. A clause dated April 10, 1855, providing for the opening of a store in Leavenworth stipulated that it should be called Majors, Russell & Company. This name appeared at the bottom of the first advertisement of the concern, with the names of the three partners at the top. The contract with the government for 1857 was again signed as Majors & Russell, but in that for 1858 the name Russell, Majors & Waddell was used. This latter name came to be also applied to the store in Leavenworth. Therefore it is necessary to remember that no matter which of these firm names was used the partners in all of them was always the same. It is also often said, due no doubt to

73. William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, and William B. Waddell, copartnership agreement, December 28, 1854.—Ms., photographic copy in author's library.

74. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, May 11, 1855.

the use of the name Majors & Russell in the 1855 and 1857 contracts with the government, that the firm at first included only Majors & Russell, and that Waddell joined it later. That is wholly wrong, for as the copartnership agreement shows, he was a member of it from the beginning.

Another error that has gained wide acceptance is that there was a company called the Pony Express company organized for the purpose of founding and operating that institution. Technically and legally the company which organized and managed the Pony Express was the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co., which was incorporated, financed, and mostly owned by the members of the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell. There never was an organization called "The Pony Express Company," although the name was sometimes loosely used in referring to the express company.

In Leavenworth Russell and Waddell followed much the same pattern they had woven in Lexington when the town was young. With Majors they formed a separate partnership, called Majors, Russell & Co., to speculate in Kansas lands. Employees of the freighting firm and other responsible men were told to stake out claims and were supplied with money to buy the land when government sales were held. Having paid for it, and received a receipt, they signed it over to Russell, who acted for his partners. By this method they came into possession of 5,120 acres of highly desirable land which lay mostly upon the old Delaware Indian reservation and in its vicinity. They also bought 53 lots in the town itself. On March 20, 1857, Majors sold his interest in the company to Russell and Waddell for \$5,000,⁷⁵ and on September 14, 1859, Russell sold his share to Waddell. It thus came about that Waddell, for the time being at least, was probably the largest land owner in Kansas territory.

When Kansas was opened to settlement the organization of town companies and the laying out of new towns naturally became something of a mania. Russell helped promote the towns of Tecumseh, Louisiana, and Rochester, while Majors became the godfather to stillborn Wewoka. Waddell, however, appears to have withstood the temptation to become involved in town building and confined himself to speculation in land and town property.

In 1855 Russell was elected president of the Lexington Fire and

75. Majors, Russell & Co., Kansas land account, November 12 to December 16, 1856.—Ms., Huntington Library; Majors, quitclaim deed, March 20, 1857; William H. Russell, William B. Waddell, and Alexander Majors, contract, December 18, 1856.—Huntington Library.

Marine Insurance Co.⁷⁶ On March 27 of the same year he and his partners, under the name of Majors & Russell, signed a two-year contract with Q. M. Maj. E. S. Sibley at Fort Leavenworth to transport *all* of the military stores to *all* of the army posts in the West and Southwest.⁷⁷ This gave them a monopoly upon that class of freighting business, which enviable position they held until 1860.

Among the first things Russell did after establishing the freighting firm in the infant town was to organize the Leavenworth Fire and Marine Insurance Co. with a capital of \$100,000, of which he was elected president.⁷⁸ Waddell was probably a director in this concern. The company prospered from the start, and grew as the town and country developed. During the year 1855 the population of the town increased from 200 to over 2,000. Russell, Majors & Waddell was the insurance company's best single customer, for the huge amount of goods for their store, wagons, sheets, ox yokes and chains, and supplies for the trains were insured in it for their passage from St. Louis and the East. Other businesses which quickly sprang up also contributed heavily to the insurance company's prosperity. When a company was formed to build the Planter's Hotel Russell's name headed the list of stockholders.

From the very beginning of the vicious, bloody struggle to determine the status of Kansas as a free or slave state, Russell, Majors & Waddell, being slave owners in Missouri, threw their weight as the most influential capitalists in the territory on the side of slavery. Majors and Waddell do not seem to have actively participated in the battle, but Russell did. When David R. Atchison of Platte City, Mo., former United States senator, standard bearer, and chief rabble rouser of the Proslavery element on both sides of the border, formed an association to make Kansas a slave state Russell became treasurer of it.⁷⁹

He also became a member of the "Law and Order Party" when it was organized in 1856. He and five other members of the organization were appointed to prepare a fervent appeal to the South for Proslavery immigrants and money.⁸⁰ On July 2 of that year it was announced the "Majors, Russell & Company will receive money for proslavery immigrants to Kansas." In Columbia, Mo., on

76. *Lexington Express*, January 15, 1855.

77. *House Ex. Doc. No. 17*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 9, 10.

78. *Statutes of the Territory of Kansas*, 1855, pp. 862-866; Paul Wallace Gates, "A Fragment of Kansas Land History," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 6 (August, 1937), p. 234.

79. D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 142.

80. Elmer LeRoy Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 15 (1919-1922), p. 360; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 11, 1856.

July 28, in a meeting called to raise money to promote the interests of slavery in Kansas, Russell made a speech.⁸¹ A correspondent for the *New York Tribune* wrote that the Russell, Majors & Waddell warehouse in Leavenworth was used as a depot for selling rifles, stores, and agricultural implements which had been seized from Free-State immigrants. In 1856 Russell and a group of Lexingtonians, among whom was probably Waddell, built a large, three-deck, double-engine, side-wheel steamboat which was christened *The William H. Russell*.⁸²

The fact that Russell was appointed postmaster at Lexington in 1841 would appear to indicate he was a Whig in politics. Waddell probably was also. When that party lost power and disintegrated, Russell, like many other men in western Missouri and the nation, formed ties with the Democrats. The town of Leavenworth, laid out by a town company organized in Democratic, violently pro-Southern Platte county, was headquarters for the proslavery faction which was dedicated to making Kansas a slave state. When Russell, Majors & Waddell established its business there in 1855 Russell not only identified himself with that faction, but as previously shown, became something of a leader in it. When he went to Washington about that time to attend to the business of the freighting firm he cultivated the Southern Democratic members of the administration from the president on down.

When Russell, Majors & Waddell moved into Leavenworth there was no bank in the town. This situation presented Russell with an unprecedented opportunity. On his trips to Washington he became acquainted with Luther R. Smoot, partner in the banking firm of Suter, Lea & Co., of that city. Previous to that he had served as a clerk in the Indian Department from 1850 to 1853. In the fall of 1855 Russell and Smoot organized a bank under the name of Smoot, Russell & Co., for the purpose of doing a general banking business, including exchange, land warrants, uncurrent bank notes, and gold dust. Smoot came out to Leavenworth in 1856⁸³ to run the institution. Waddell does not appear to have been a partner in it. Owing to the tremendous amount of business created by Russell, Majors & Waddell the bank enjoyed a high degree of prosperity from the beginning and became one of the largest and most important private banks in the West. It continued to

81. Craik, *loc. cit.*, p. 378.

82. *New York Tribune*, July 17, 1856; *Lexington American Citizen*, June 23, 1856; Kansas Valley bank, \$100 note, 1862.

83. *House Report No. 78*, 36th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 102; Sutherland & McEvoy, *Leavenworth City Directory*, . . . 1859-60, p. 36.

SMOOT, RUSSELL & CO.,
BANKERS
 AND
 DEALERS IN EXCHANGE,
 Corner of Main and Shawnee Sts.,
 LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS.

Exchange on all Points
 FOR SALE IN SUMS TO SUIT.

LAND WARRANTS,
 UNCURRENT BANK NOTES, GOLD DUST, &C.,
 Bought and Sold.
COLLECTIONS
 MADE ON ALL ACCESSIBLE POINTS,
AND RETURNS PROMPTLY MADE

REFER TO
 BANK OF THE REPUBLIC, NEW YORK; BANK OF AMERICA,
 NEW YORK; BANK OF ST. LOUIS, ST. LOUIS;
 JOHN M. TAYLOR, ST. LOUIS.

In the fall of 1855 Luther R. Smoot and William H. Russell organized the Smoot, Russell & Company bank in Leavenworth. This was the first such institution in that city, and it soon became one of the best known and strongest in the West.

In the winter of 1858 William H. Russell and John S. Jones organized the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company in Washington, D. C. It began operation April 18, 1859. The company never paid expenses, and was taken over by Russell, Majors & Waddell on October 28, 1859. It was absorbed by the new Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company which Russell organized in New York November 23, 1859.

The above pages, considerably reduced in size, are from the Sutherland & McEvoy Leavenworth City Directory . . . for 1859-60. . . .

FOR THE
GOLD REGION.
 CARRYING THE U. S. MAIL.
 TIME . . . TEN DAYS!
 THE ONLY RELIABLE
Passenger Express Line
 TO DENVER CITY, K. T.
JONES, RUSSELL & Co.,
 PROPRIETORS OF THE

LEAVENWORTH CITY & PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS
 And also Contractors for carrying the U. S. Mail
 From St. Joseph, Mo., to Salt Lake City, Utah,
 Are fully prepared to transport any number of passengers and express matter to the Gold Regions or Salt Lake City, in their coaches from Leavenworth City.
 The Public are assured that this Company intends to carry out, fully and completely its engagements with Passengers and others, and may confidently rely upon their efforts and means to give entire satisfaction to all who may entrust them with their business.
COACHES WILL LEAVE LEAVENWORTH DAILY, FOR DENVER CITY,

Connecting at "Armour's" every Tuesday with the Salt Lake Mail Coach leaving St. Joseph same day by way of Atchison.
TICKETS \$125 EACH,
 (Including board en route, and a reasonable amount of baggage, consisting of wearing apparel only) for sale at this Office, and all the principal Railroad Offices, East and West.
 As the Passenger Coaches will start from Leavenworth City only, all parties holding tickets from Railroad Companies or the General Agents of this Company, must present them at the office of the Company in Leavenworth City, where through tickets will be issued in their stead.
 For further information, or passage to Salt Lake City, apply at this office.
JOHN S. JONES, Sup't,
 Office under Planter's Hotel, Leavenworth City.

GENERAL AGENTS:
 St. Louis, Mo.---**SAMUEL & ALLEN,**
 No. 132 North Second Street,
 New York,---**J. B. SIMPSON,**
 Continental Bank Building.
 LEAVENWORTH CITY,---D. B. RILEY, General Ticket Agent.
 DENVER CITY,---J. M. FOX, Ticket Agent.
 B. D. WILLIAMS, Road Agent.
 GEORGE TROWBRIDGE, Freight Agent at Leavenworth City.
 J. S. ROBERTSON, Postal Agent at Leavenworth City.
 MARTIN FIELD, Postal Agent at Denver City.

PONY EXPRESS NOTICE

ORDERS HAVING BEEN RECEIVED
 from W. H. RUSSELL, President Pony Express Company,
 I hereby transfer the office and everything appertaining thereto,
 to Messrs. Wells, Fargo & Co. All letters to be forwarded by
 Pony Express must be delivered at their office, corner California
 and Montgomery streets,
 April 15
 J. W. BROWN, Agent Pony Express Co.

Pony Express Notice!

REDUCED ~~RATES~~ RATES.

**THE RATES FOR LETTERS,
 Per Pony Express,**

UNTIL FIRST JULY NEXT,

....WILL BE....

**For Half Ounce and under.....\$1
 For each additional Half Ounce or fraction thereof.....30**

Letters must be enclosed in Ten Cent Government Envelopes,
 and Pony Postage prepaid.
 The Express will be despatched from our office on

WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY

Of each week.

**WELLS, FARGO & CO.,
 Agents.**

Hazard's Gunpowder,



On March 2, 1861, congress passed a bill removing the Overland Mail Company from the Southern to the Central route and gave it a \$1 million contract for carrying the U. S. mail to California. William H. Russell, president of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company, and William B. Dinsmore, president of the Overland Mail Company, signed a contract March 16, 1861, under which the route was divided at Salt Lake City. Russell's company continued mail service on the eastern half while the Overland Mail Company took over the western half. On April 15 Russell ordered his San Francisco office closed and appointed Wells, Fargo & Company as agent to serve until the Overland Mail Company took over the western end on July 1, 1861. When that was done the latter company appointed Wells, Fargo & Company as its San Francisco agent. This company never owned the Pony Express, had no authority to fix rates, and was not responsible for its policies or management. Never was it anything more than agent.

William H. Russell (left, above) from a painting, courtesy William H. Russell.
 William B. Waddell, reproduced from a \$50 Atchison bank note, courtesy Mrs. W. B. Waddell.

operate successfully until the collapse of Russell, Majors & Waddell, and was succeeded by J. C. Hemingray & Co.⁸⁴

Although Waddell appears not to have had an interest in the Smoot, Russell & Co. bank he nevertheless was busy in 1856 and 1857 with a more ambitious undertaking of that nature. In association with Russell, A. J. Isaacs, Luther R. Smoot and others, the Kansas Valley bank of Leavenworth was planned, with capital stock of \$800,000 and branches at Atchison, Lecompton, Doniphan, Fort Scott, and Shawnee. The capital stock of the branches was set at \$300,000 each.⁸⁵

The Atchison institution was the only one organized. Early in 1857 stock was sold and a board of directors including Russell, Waddell, Luther R. Smoot and others was elected. Samuel C. Pomeroy was the first president. Pomeroy resigned in 1858, and was succeeded by Russell, who served until about 1861 when he was succeeded by Waddell. The institution operated until 1866, when its affairs were wound up by the stockholders.⁸⁶

Since it is not within the province of this article to follow the activities and fortunes of Waddell and Russell to the close of their spectacular career we take leave of them here. In other studies by these authors the rise and fall of the great firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Co., R. B. Bradford & Co., Miller, Russell & Co., the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co., the Pony Express, etc., is told in detail.⁸⁷ The interested reader is referred to them.

In 1836, at the time Waddell located in Lexington, the western Missouri frontier was an open door for men of ability and experience with sufficient capital to set themselves up in business. Waddell possessed all those requisites, although he was not a rich man at that time. In fact he never was as rich as some have said he was. The oft-repeated statement that all three of the partners

84. H. Miles Moore, *Early History of Leavenworth City and County* (Leavenworth, 1906), p. 150.

85. George W. Martin, "A Chapter From the Archives," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12 (1911-1912), p. 364.

86. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Sheffield Ingalls, *History of Atchison County* (Lawrence, 1916), pp. 234, 235; Kansas Valley bank, \$50 and \$100 notes, in Kansas State Historical Society; Martin, *loc. cit.*, p. 366.

87. Settle and Settle, *Empire on Wheels* (Stanford, 1949); Settle and Settle, *Saddles and Spurs* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1955); Raymond W. Settle, "The Pony Express: Heroic Beginning—Tragic End," in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Salt Lake City, v. 27 (April, 1959), pp. 103-126, reprinted in *The American Philatelist*, Federalsburg, Md., May, 1959, in *Congressional Record*, August 26, 1959, in *Linn's Weekly Stamp News*, Columbus, Ohio, December 7, 14, 21, 28, 1959, January 4, 11, 18, 1960; Settle and Settle "Napoleon of the West," *Annals of Wyoming*, Cheyenne, v. 32 (April, 1960), pp. 5-47; and "Origin of the Pony Express," Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, *Bulletin*, v. 16 (April, 1960), pp. 199-212. Russell, Majors & Waddell: *Military Freighters* (Hesperian House, San Francisco, 1960); "Pony Express Legend vs Wells Fargo," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Carson City, Nev., October, 1960.

became millionaires is pure myth. There never was a time when their combined fortunes, minus debts, equalled that amount. Huge sums of money, sometimes amounting to as much as \$2,000,000 a year flowed through their hands, but from 1855 on their debts were mountainous.

Fortune favored them in 1855 and 1856, and their profits from freighting military supplies those two years amounted to about \$300,000.⁸⁸ That was the only period of unbroken prosperity they would ever know. The year 1857 began auspiciously. By the time it ended, 14 entire trains, including 1,906 oxen, which had hauled supplies to Utah for Gen. Albert S. Johnston's army were destroyed. This disaster cost Russell, Majors & Waddell \$230,208.20. Additional cost for agents and teamsters who had to spend the winter in Utah amounted to \$35,167.15 making a total of \$265,375.35.⁸⁹ Russell prepared a claim against the United States, which included \$228,378.26 extra compensation for transporting supplies to Utah over and above that for which their contract called. The total amount of the claim was \$493,772.61.⁹⁰ It was presented to congress in February, 1860, but none of it was ever paid. All the financial troubles Russell, Majors & Waddell encountered from 1857 on had their roots in the losses in Utah and the failure of the government to reimburse them.

Russell made many mistakes in his career, but the one which proved fatal in the end was that instead of paying the firm's debts he used whatever funds were available to launch new and profitless enterprises. Chief among these were the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Co., the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co., Miller, Russell & Co., and the Pony Express. In fact the only concern which made a profit after 1855 was the freighting firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell. It not only more than paid its own way, but also financed the undertakings which proved to be nothing more than liabilities. Waddell and Majors saw the folly of Russell's policy and protested again and again, but he never abandoned it. Being inextricably bound to him by business ties, and moved by a misguided sense of loyalty, they followed him in a course that could only lead to ruin.

During Russell's lifetime and afterwards he was stigmatized as a gambler.⁹¹ It is true that he took long, sometimes fearfully long

88. Majors, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 142.

89. Majors & Russell, "Bill Against the United States," February, 1860.—Ms., Huntington Library.

90. *Ibid.*; *A Brief Statement of the Claim of Majors & Russell and the Evidence Upon Which It Rests*.—Huntington library. This is the only known copy of this valuable pamphlet.

91. William H. Russell, letter to W. B. Waddell, April 12, 1859.—Ms., Huntington library.

chances, but he possessed none of the instincts or attributes of the devotees of Lady Luck. A confirmed, daring speculator he certainly was, from the day he helped organize the Lexington First Addition Co., and became a partner in Allen, Russell & Co. From the late 1830's to the outbreak of the Civil War, fortunes were made, and lost, in land speculation and in business of all kinds in western Missouri. Hundreds of other speculators of that period, some of whom lived in Lexington, followed the same pattern Russell did. Some won success, while others like Russell and Waddell utterly failed.

As one cons the history of Russell and Waddell and the record of their vast undertakings he is impressed again and again by the fact that many of their decisions, especially those made by Russell himself, were premature. The first and most conspicuous example of this was the organization of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Co., in the winter of 1858. Russell and John S. Jones, the promoters, invited Alexander Majors to join them in the undertaking, but he declined to do so. The development of the Rocky Mountain country at that time, he said, was such that a line of stage coaches from Leavenworth to Denver would not be a paying proposition.⁹² Waddell agreed with him. Jones and Russell disregarded their opinion and put the concern into operation at a cost of about \$79,000, most of which was borrowed money.⁹³ Majors & Waddell were right, and by November 1, 1859, the new company was in debt \$525,532.⁹⁴ Russell, Majors & Waddell took over the bankrupt concern, assumed its debts, and incorporated it in a new, and also premature stage and express company, called the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co. David A. Butterfield organized a stage line to Denver six years later with no better success. There were other mistakes in judgment and premature investments, but these suffice to indicate one of the fundamental reasons for their failure.

Although Waddell was by nature ultra conservative when it came to business expansion, he allowed himself to be too easily led into Russell's daring speculations and promotional undertakings. He and Majors were very much alike in this respect. They often disagreed with Russell and sometimes even quarreled with him, but nevertheless in the end they yielded to his judgment and followed him. Unfortunately they relied too much upon his wisdom, and allowed him entirely too much latitude in making decisions in-

92. Majors, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

93. Jones, Russell & Co., balance sheet, November, 1859.—Ms., Huntington library.

94. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1859.

volutioning their interests. It was Russell who got them into the disastrous stage coach, express, and mail business, and finally into the romantic, yet profitless Pony Express. Had he been content with the profitable freighting business the story would be far different from what it is.

After nearly 20 years intimate association with Russell, worldly-wise Robert Aull accurately characterized him when he said "Russell is generally too sanguine."⁹⁵ Having perfect confidence in his own judgment, he was certain that everything to which he chose to put his hand would be a success. Always, even when what he had built was crashing to earth about him in 1860-1861, and he was not only bankrupt but disgraced by involvement in the Indian trust bond affair, he assured his partners everything would be adjusted and they could go on as before. Failure of one enterprise only spurred him to greater exertions and the organization of some new undertaking.

With characteristic persistence Russell attempted a comeback in Colorado in 1861, which also ended in dismal failure. Majors salvaged enough out of the wreck to continue in the freighting business for a few years, then lost everything he possessed. Waddell never engaged in business again. The loss of fortune and tragedies resulting from the Civil War seem to have utterly broken his stern, Scotch spirit.

Today William B. Waddell, William H. Russell, and Alexander Majors are best known, not for their great fleets of lumbering prairie schooners drawn by thousands of oxen across the vast Great Plains to military posts in New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah, or for the swift Concord stage coaches plying between the Missouri river and Denver, Salt Lake City, and the West Coast, but for having conceived, organized, financed, and operated the incredible Pony Express. Waddell and Majors did not want it, and Russell himself apologized to them for having inaugurated it. It cost Russell, Majors & Waddell at least \$500,000, ran only about 18 months and failed to achieve the purpose for which it was organized.

And yet despite these somber facts the thrilling story of that fabulous organization long ago became one of the most treasured items in American folklore. Almost every public, college, and university library has at least one book on it, and it is included in the approved reading lists for public schools. More than a dozen

95. Robert Aull, "Letter Book V," p. 138.

volumes devoted exclusively to it have been issued since the first one appeared in 1908. Two of these were released late in 1959, and others have appeared in 1960. In addition it has appeared in pamphlet form, as chapters in books on other subjects, and in magazines and newspapers hundreds of times. As the story is told and retold by historians and writers public interest in it continues to mount.

That interest, which was building up for half a century, reached a climax in 1960 when the centennial of the famous institution was celebrated on a national scale. Plans to that end were made by the National Pony Express Centennial Association in conjunction with Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Postmaster Gen. Arthur E. Summerfield, other members of the administration, and congress. Many state and local groups, from St. Joseph, Mo., to San Francisco, Calif., also helped celebrate the centennial.

The 2,000-mile, nonstop relay line of men and horses founded and operated by Russell, Majors & Waddell was unique in the history of communication. In detail of organization, method and efficiency of operation, and speed of transmission it had no predecessor and no successor. Not even the famed messenger service inaugurated by Genghis Khan is to be compared with it.

As was proper, the personalities of the three great capitalists who had the vision, experience, organizational skill, and resources to create and maintain this unprecedented line of horsemen should have held the spotlight of unanimous national acclaim throughout the centennial year of 1960. However this was not the case. From the very beginning of the widespread public interest in the Pony Express certain misinformed writers, publicity agents, motion picture, radio, and TV producers, who were notoriously indifferent to historical accuracy, promoted the wholly false propaganda that the Pony Express was in reality a Wells, Fargo & Co., institution. This campaign was prompted by a variety of motives, none of which were worthy. Glaring historical injustices resulted. The persistent campaign to belittle Russell, Majors & Waddell, meanwhile magnifying Wells, Fargo & Co. was so successful that many American people, including school children, are still unacquainted with the names of the men to whom the honor really belongs.

It is thoroughly a documented fact that Wells, Fargo never had any connection with the Pony Express except as agent for the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co., in San Francisco from April 15 to July 1, 1861. When the Overland Mail

Company took over the management of the western half of the line on the latter date it appointed Wells, Fargo as its agent in that city. This arrangement continued until the Pony Express stopped running on October 26, 1861.⁹⁶

It has also been said that Ben Holladay operated the Pony Express during the last months of its existence. This is obviously incorrect because Holladay did not take over the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co., until March 7, 1862, five months after the Pony Express was discontinued.⁹⁷

96. *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 15, June 26, 1861; *Daily Alta California*, San Francisco, April 30, 1861; *Sacramento Union*, October 26, 1861.

97. *Federal Cases, Comprising Cases Argued and Determined in Circuit and District Courts of the United States*, Book 21 (St. Paul, 1896).

College Days at Cooper Memorial, 1895-1898

Edited by KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER

I. INTRODUCTION

THIS article is a section of the reminiscences of Cassie (Catharine) Wiggins Porter. The author was born in Page county, Iowa, in 1873, and the story of her first 11 years has been told in "A Little Girl on an Iowa Forty, 1873-1880," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Iowa City, v. 51 (April, 1953), pp. 131-155; "Winter Evenings in Iowa, 1873-1880," *Journal of American Folklore*, Menasha, Wis., v. 56 (April-June, 1943), pp. 97-112; and "School Days in Coin, Iowa, 1880-1885," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, v. 51 (October, 1953), pp. 301-328. She came by covered wagon with her parents in 1885 to northwest Kansas ("By Covered Wagon to Kansas," *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, 1941, pp. 76-80; "Building a Kansas 'Soddy,'" *ibid.*, 1942, pp. 17-18), where she endured three years of hardship helping "hold down" the claim on which her father had filed and on which he had died a year later—years which have been described in "'Holding Down' a Northwest Kansas Claim, 1885-1888," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 22 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 220-235.

Cassie and her mother then lived for seven years in various small northwest Kansas towns where the writer's older brother, D. L. Wiggins, worked as a pharmacist and where she herself alternately attended and taught school, beginning her teaching career at the age of 16. At the age of nearly 20 the writer graduated from the Hoxie high school and then taught for two years in the Hoxie grade school. Her account of her experiences as pupil and teacher, 1888-1895, remains in manuscript. The author was always keenly conscious of the inadequacy of her education and by 1895 had resolved to continue her training in a Kansas college. Her account of her three years at the college of her choice follows.

After graduation from Cooper Memorial (now Sterling) College the author taught for four years in one-room country schools in Rice county until her marriage to Ellis K. Porter, photographer and part-time farmer, in 1902. Mr. and Mrs. Porter made their home in Sterling until the former's death in 1936 and the latter's removal to Cali-

DR. KENNETH W. PORTER, a native of Sterling, is professor of history at the University of Oregon, Eugene. The editing of this narrative was, however, completed during 1955-1958 when he was a member of the University of Illinois history department by which he was given typing assistance; he also benefited by a research grant from the University of Illinois graduate school.

fornia in 1942 to live with her brother, D. L., when the only one of her five sons still at home enlisted in the marines. Mrs. Porter wrote her reminiscences at intervals from about 1938 until 1945, interrupted by a nearly fatal illness in 1942 and a long convalescence. She died early in 1952 in Glendale, Calif.

II. THE REMINISCENCES OF CATHARINE WIGGINS PORTER

In the summer of 1895 I decided to attend summer school at Cooper Memorial College, Sterling, in order to find out whether or not this was the school in which I wished to obtain a much-needed college education. I was principally influenced by the fact that Cooper was a United Presbyterian¹ college and my mother, who throughout her ten years in northwest Kansas had staunchly refused to affiliate with any other church, greatly longed to be again in a community where there was a church of her own denomination.

I did a little crooked maneuvering on my train-fare, for which I was punished before the journey ended. There was a washout between Hoxie and Hill City, which caused passengers between these two points to be routed by way of Salina, which lay far to the east and on my way to Sterling, so a bunch of us decided to buy tickets to Hill City and, of course, pay only the usual fare, even though we had to be taken clear to Salina. However, those who went with me returned from Salina on the first train to Hoxie, and since there was no train out of Salina to Sterling for the entire day, I did penance by spending the day in a hotel, in a town where I knew not a soul. Finally I got away, but then had to stay all night in Geneseo.² On the way from Geneseo to Sterling I noticed two girls across the aisle from me, one almost a young lady, a blonde, and beside her a younger girl, with dark eyes and black hair worn in two braids. They got off at Sterling, and I wondered who they might be. I

1. The United Presbyterian Church of North America, organized in 1858, was at this time one of the stricter Presbyterian sects, distinguished from the larger Presbyterian denominations by its insistence on (1) "closed communion"—refusing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to anyone not a United Presbyterian; (2) the use in worship of a metrical version of the Psalms of the Bible to the exclusion of all uninspired religious songs (hymns); (3) banning musical instruments from church services; (4) exclusion from church membership of members of oath-bound secret societies. It was difficult for a devout and convinced member of this denomination to feel entirely at home in any other church. By 1925, however, it had given up all its "distinctive principles" and in 1958 it joined with the much larger Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., to form a new United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., which must be carefully distinguished from the United Presbyterian Church, N. A., 1858-1958.

2. An examination of a railroad map of Kansas is necessary to an understanding of what the author intended to do and what came of it. Hill City lies a very few miles east of Hoxie, on the Union Pacific; both are in northwest Kansas. Salina, also on the Union Pacific, is in central Kansas, northeast of Sterling, which is in almost the exact center of the state. Presumably the author went west from Hoxie to Colby, and transferred there to a branch of the Union Pacific, passing *south* of the Hoxie-Hill City section, which would take her to Salina; here the two branches of the Union Pacific joined, and from Salina it would have been possible to reach Hill City from the *east*. Miss Wiggins presumably then went from Salina to Geneseo, in the extreme northern part of Rice county, and thence, by the Missouri Pacific, to Sterling, in southern Rice county.

took a bus from the depot to the home of the president of the college, Dr. Francis Marion Spencer, who was to help me find a room and had arranged for me to stay in the home of Mrs. J. U. Brush. What was my surprise to find the two girls visiting at the Spencer home. I have since seen much of the one with the dark braids, now Mrs. E. C. Wellman.³

My first evening in Sterling I attended the graduating exercises and listened to an oration by Talmon Bell, the sole graduate.⁴ The attendance at the summer school was very small, some 30 perhaps, but everybody was most friendly and cordial, and I also liked the teachers. I consequently rented what was known as the "Sudborough property" to take possession September 1, 1895. This house, now⁵ owned by Floyd Ross, has been completely remodeled and converted into a beautiful modern home.⁶

At the close of the summer term at Sterling I returned to Hoxie, where I attended the Normal Institute. Then mother and I began preparations to move to Sterling, where we planned to remain until I should be graduated. We shipped all our household goods, but sold the carpet loom to Mrs. Bird, and often did mother regret that sale, since, as she used to say, she could "work off a spell of the blues faster and easier by weaving than in any other way."⁷

We had to come to Sterling via Salina, on the Missouri Pacific, much out of our way, and stay all night at Geneseo. We finally arrived in Sterling about noon, August 29. I distinctly recall the date, because shortly after our arrival mother remarked that exactly 30 years before was her wedding day. We had brought some lunch with us, and purchased in Sterling the other necessities for a cold dinner, but before we could find a drayman to bring our goods from the depot it was well toward evening and, like the

3. Of Sterling: Mrs. Wellman, the former Jessie Coyle, tells me that she remembers seeing the author on the train and that, being herself a young girl on almost her first trip away from home, she was impressed by what she considered the great poise and self-possession of this mature young lady. What Mrs. Wellman took for self-possession, the writer, however, explains on the ground of incipient homesickness which necessitated rigid self-control on her part to avoid breaking down and giving expression to her feeling of misery.

4. Talmon Bell (1867-1949), immediately on graduation, joined the Cooper Memorial faculty, on which he served with great benefit to the college community for 51 years, becoming professor emeritus in 1946.—*Sterling College Alumni Directory* (February, 1957), p. 1. All subsequent information about graduates and former students of Cooper Memorial College, where no other source is specified, will be assumed to be drawn from this publication.

5. In this narrative "now" means the time of composition, which was about 1941. The Rosses (1958) are residents of Wellington.

6. The house in question is north of and across the street from the Sterling Public Library.

7. Mrs. Catharine McCollum Wiggins was by trade a hand-loom rag-carpet weaver whose labors had been highly important to the support of her family, particularly after her husband's sudden death in 1886.—*See Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Iowa City, v. 51 (April, 1953), pp. 135, 136, 138; *ibid.* (October, 1953), pp. 326, 327; *Journal of American Folklore*, Menasha, Wis., v. 56 (April-June, 1943), pp. 97-99, 111, 112; *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 22 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 225, 226.

foolish virgins, "we had no oil in our lamps and the doors (of the stores) were shut." So I went across the street to borrow enough oil for the evening and the request was rather grudgingly granted. But the oil was returned the next day and we grew to know Mr. and Mrs. Evans quite well.

Bertha Moore, now Mrs. Merton Hall, had our house all clean and ready to move into, so the moving was not a particularly difficult task. The house was quite well arranged for two families, having two stairways, and in a short time we rented the south side, upstairs and down, to Mr. and Mrs. Carson and daughter Mabel, a girl of a very pleasing disposition whom I came to admire greatly. Mr. Carson was a carpenter and his wife was a sister of Dr. H. T. McLaughlin, with whom I was later to become connected by marriage.⁸ We lived in the Sudborough house until the spring of 1896, when we moved to the first house east of the Frank Purdy residence.⁹

Sterling was considerably different from any of the towns in which I had previously lived, having a population of 1,200 or 1,500 in comparison with only 500 in Hoxie, the town of my most recent previous residence. It even had electricity, which was used for the street lights and in *some* residences, although in the latter only until about 11 P. M., when—after a blinking of the lights about five minutes earlier as a signal—they were turned off for good. However, if a party were to last longer than the above hour, special arrangements could be made to keep the lights on longer.¹⁰ But Sterling's outstanding feature, to me, was the great number of trees, from which it was sometimes called "The Forest City."

Cooper Memorial College was named after a prominent United Presbyterian minister,¹¹ and was known by that name during the entire period of my attendance. Later the name was shortened to Cooper College, and finally changed to Sterling College.¹² It had a campus of ten acres and only one building, Cooper Hall, which, when I entered college in September, 1895, had not yet been completed, though classes had been held in it since the fall of 1887. The campus was well away from the main part of town,

8. Dr. H. T. McLaughlin, then a missionary in Egypt, was married to Lena Porter, whose brother, Ellis K. Porter, the author married in 1902.

9. The former Frank Purdy residence is northeast and across the street from the United Presbyterian Church.

10. It was a good many years after 1895 before the use of electricity for home illumination became general in Sterling. During the editor's early school days—I entered the Sterling schools in 1910—the "coal-oil lamp" was still standard and the small areas of illumination around them were precious to the seamstress, reader, and writer.

11. Dr. Joseph T. Cooper, a professor in Allegheny Theological Seminary.

12. In 1911 and 1919, respectively.

and there were only three or four dwellings within the same number of blocks from Cooper Hall. Board walks, bordered with sand burrs, were the paths trod by the students. Trees of some two inches in diameter had been planted along the way by those with eyes of faith.¹³ Today the boards have given way to broad cement walks over which the trees form an archway. The ten-acre campus has grown to 40 acres, and the buildings have increased to four, not counting the power plant: old Cooper Hall; Spencer Hall, with its recitation and music rooms and an auditorium with a capacity of 1,800; Wilson Hall, the gymnasium; and Campbell Hall, the girls' dormitory, in which is also housed the cafeteria and banquet hall.¹⁴

When I entered college there were four recitation rooms downstairs; on the second floor, there was another class room, a room used by the Chrestomatheon literary society, a vacant room which was fitted up that fall for the Theomoron literary society, and the chapel, seating some 400 persons. The chapel was used only for large meetings and on Sabbath by the congregation of the Second U. P. Church. For the daily chapel exercises the students gathered in the room of Dr. Spencer, the president, on the first floor.

Each of the four large rooms was heated by a stove, the lower part of which was a fire bowl and the upper part of sheet iron, about five feet high in all. The coal was kept in a box alongside the stove. In the morning a student janitor brought in a supply, started the fire, and from then on it was the teacher's responsibility. The fire was usually kindled by the aid of three or four corncocks which had been soaked overnight in a can partly filled with coal oil. A lighted match would be applied to the saturated cobs, more cobs put on, followed by coal, after which the door was closed and the damper adjusted. Often it was so cold we wore our coats all day. The college finances were always low and coal cost money, so often when a red-hot spot appeared on the stove, Prof. Wilson (Greek and Latin) would hasten to turn the damper and even open the stove door to cut down the consumption of coal. Fuel rationing is no novelty to me.

13. The board-walk had been laid and the trees planted by the volunteer labor of the students, after the trustees had managed to raise enough money to purchase the boards and nails and the seedlings.—Letter from F. L. Weede, December 29, 1957. Francis Marion Spencer, *Reminiscences: Twenty Years Presidency Sterling College* (Sterling College: Sterling, ca. 1927), p. 9. This pamphlet is exceedingly useful for the early history of Cooper Memorial College, covering in particular the period 1889-1909. The author of "College Days" has probably drawn on it occasionally to refresh or reinforce her own memories. When no other source is given for editorial statements about Cooper Memorial College and, particularly, its early faculty, *Reminiscences* may be assumed to be the authority.

14. Since the date of this manuscript, two other permanent buildings have been added: a library and administration building, and a new girls' dormitory. Also, construction of a student union building is in progress and funds are being raised for a new science building.

There was a study room for the girls, but none for the boys,¹⁵ who in cold weather studied in the recitation rooms, and when the talk in the girls' room became too noisy we would do the same, studying while a class was reciting.

There was no sewerage, and hence no lavatory or indoor toilet. I don't recall that I ever washed my hands or took a drink of water in the college building, although there must have been some provision for such needs in the chemistry room, and possibly it was there that water could be obtained in an emergency. The toilets, of the orthodox number, of standard size and shape, and appropriately identified, were located some 50 yards west of the college building. They were reached by first descending a flight of 18 or 20 steps at the rear of the building, these steps and their railings being used as a lounging or perching place for the male members of the student body, whenever the day was at all suitable. Only dire necessity ever drove the female members to pass this review. I recall an occasion when one of the girls, reaching a decision, remarked philosophically, "Come on, let's go! When they quit the business we'll leave the country!"

The students numbered perhaps one hundred, or less.¹⁶ Tuition was \$30 per year, with a laboratory fee of \$5, part of which was refunded if there was no breakage. Furnished rooms were a dollar per week and boarding in a club as low as \$1.25, in some cases even lower. The members of a boarding club would set a weekly maximum and hire a woman, one who was already equipped with kitchen and dining room, to do the cooking, for which she was usually paid about 75 cents a week, receiving, of course, her own board as well. Sometimes the cook also purchased the food, but usually the club members elected a purchasing agent, or steward, to plan the menus and do the shopping, he receiving his own board in return for his services. The steward was in a ticklish position. If, in his desire to set a good table, he spent too much, he was likely to be removed from office, and if, in zeal for economy, he underfed his fellow members, he was likely to suffer a similar fate. If more labor than that of the cook was required for the

15. Fred L. Weede (letter of December 10, 1957), however, says that there was a "cubby hole" for the boys, "just north of the west or back entrance to Cooper Hall." In the editor's day it was a cloak-room, adjoining which—under the stairs—was a one-person "convenience" the line-up for the use of which, between classes, sometimes extended around the cloak-room and out into the hallway.

16. Almost certainly less, if students of college rank are meant. When President Spencer took over in 1889, six years earlier, there was only *one* student of college rank, five preparatory students, 28 grade pupils, 24 music pupils, and 27 art pupils. During the 20 years, 1889-1909, there were only 107 graduates. During the author's three years in Cooper Memorial there were only 21 graduates, ten of them in her own class—the largest till then and also the largest until 1902.—See Spencer, *op. cit.*

effective operation of a club, the members had the opportunity to work for part of their board. Board was often kept down to less than \$1.25 a week per person, but prices then and now vary widely. In those days liver was given away, and a large soup bone, with three or four pounds of meat on it, cost about 25 cents. The butcher never weighed them—just measured the size with his eye.

There were seven members of the faculty proper, and two student teachers. The salaries were ridiculously low and even at that were scarcely ever paid in full. The president's salary was nominally \$1,500 and that of the full professor was \$800, but there was no such thing as a monthly check. Each took his share of whatever funds were available and made it do somehow. The faculty, whatever their qualities as teachers—some were good and some not so good—were indeed a consecrated group, loyal both to the college and to the church which it represented.

There was no such thing as a teacher of mathematics, a teacher of history, etc., for the subjects taught by each teacher were many and varied. Dr. Spencer, in addition to being president of the college, was my teacher in English literature, astronomy, political economy, composition and rhetoric, psychology, physics, and botany; possibly he taught other subjects which I didn't take. He wasn't a very interesting teacher, but how could he be with all those subjects? He had absolutely no equipment for the teaching of physics. He occasionally drew diagrams on the blackboard to illustrate some principle, which we were also required to do when called on. He demonstrated the principle of the weight, fulcrum, and bar by means of an ink bottle, eraser, and ruler respectively. He rigged up a system of pulleys to show the decrease in power needed to lift a weight. He illustrated the inclined plane by means of a ruler, one end of which rested on the table and the other on a pile of books. He constructed other simple apparati of a similar nature, with which to perform, perhaps, half a dozen "experiments" in all, but these will suffice to show that he did the best he could with the material at hand, as otherwise I should not be able to remember even this much after more than 45 years.

In botany I prepared quite an exhibit of plants and flowers found in the locality. In other subjects he taught there wasn't much to illustrate, and there was no chance for research since neither the college nor the town had a library. In English literature we had our text book, and that alone, from which to prepare our lessons, so that we could take care of Shelley and Keats in one recitation, give Bacon an hour, and so on. We did read two of Shakespeare's

plays, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*, the classwork on them consisting of a number of questions, a few comments, and the memorizing of a passage for each recitation. In the classroom Dr. Spencer was distinguished for two characteristics, a habit of batting his eyes and a fondness for words of one syllable. He was probably not aware of the former peculiarity, but confessed to a great liking for short words and short sentences.¹⁷

Professor Thompson,¹⁸ my teacher in algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and chemistry, was a rather large, smiling man, with dark eyes, hair, and mustache. He knew his subjects much better—I hope—than he could teach them. As far as I was concerned he took too much for granted. I had never looked inside an algebra or geometry and I needed fundamental training as badly as a child on his first day of school. I didn't even know what was meant by "first term," "second term," and I understood even less of his rapid and glib explanation that "the square of a plus b was the square of the first, plus two times the first by the second, plus the square of the second," followed by a broad smile and the interjection "See?" When I did not see, and said so, he rattled off the formula again, concluding with the smile and the "See?" and when I again admitted that I didn't, he sighed and said, "We will pass on to the next problem." In about a week I saw that I was soon going to be hopelessly lost if I didn't do something about it for myself, so I began at the first of the book and succeeded in becoming a self-taught student in that particular subject.

Professor Thompson's characteristic attitude and gesture was to stand staring meditatively at the board, chewing the corner of his mustache—which was rather sparse and did not require to be thus trimmed—and then, with saliva-moistened fingers, make a sudden dart at some offending figure, exclaiming, "Ah, there must have

17. The editor, although his term at Sterling (formerly Cooper Memorial and Cooper) College was 1922-1926—over a quarter century after the period dealt with in these reminiscences—was a resident of Sterling community, 1905-1926, and a regular visitor for a score of years thereafter. He consequently was more or less intimately acquainted with several of the faculty members mentioned in these reminiscences and has drawn on his memories of them in the following notes.

Dr. Francis Marion Spencer (1843-1930), as I remember him from his public position as president emeritus of the college and also from having been for some time one of his pupils in Sabbath School, may best be described, in appearance and manner, as a "Southern gentleman" in the best sense of the words. A tall, erect figure, a neatly-trimmed white beard, and an address courteous and almost courtly were the most obvious features contributing to that impression. Actually, he was born in Ohio, but his Christian and middle names bore testimony to his South Carolina family origins, his ancestors having, he once told me, left the state because of opposition to slavery. Although strongly conservative in his religious views, Dr. Spencer believed in, and exemplified in his own conduct, courtesy toward the person and respect for the opinions even of those who disagreed with him—an attitude which was unfortunately rare during the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversies of the mid-1920's.

18. J. G. Thompson eventually left the Cooper faculty to prepare for the ministry at Allegheny Seminary. In those days teaching at Cooper seems to have been widely regarded as merely a stop-gap between completing a college course and beginning study for the ministry. Both Professor Thompson's predecessors had similarly left to go to the seminary.

been an error here!" Though I received a passing grade in geometry the first semester I took it, I felt that I didn't really know much about it, so enrolled for it again the next year. "Miss Wiggins, didn't you get a passing grade in this subject last year?" he enquired, to which I replied, "Yes, but I didn't feel at the end of the semester that I knew much about it." No objections being raised, I remained, and profited by the extra year. Professor Thompson's course in chemistry was an exception in requiring a considerable number of experiments.

Professor Bell, distinguished for his firm, square jaw and his absolute honesty in passing out grades, was my instructor in advanced arithmetic, general history, penmanship, and all the special subjects required for a state teachers' certificate—school management, school law, methods of teaching, philosophy of education, and history of education. I considered him the best of the faculty, because of his thoroughness and his refusal to take anything for granted. Arithmetic had always been difficult for me and it was consequently in that class that I liked him especially well. He explained the problems slowly and carefully, ever and anon stopping with his finger on the board, to mark the spot to which he had advanced, and saying, "Does everyone understand up to this point?—because if you don't there is no use going further," and pausing to see if all understood it fully—if so, going on, if not, repeating his explanation until the point was clear.¹⁹ But the lack of maps, charts, and outside reading prevented history from ever being more to me than a huge crazy quilt.

Professor Wilson, for many years called "Bonus," was a member of the Cooper Memorial faculty during its first year, beginning November 1, 1887, the only other member at that time being the president, A. N. Porter. Professor Wilson's major job was teaching ancient languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He was my instructor in beginning Latin, Caesar, zoology, and geology. I had studied Latin a bit during the previous summer, but I had to continue it through the entire first year. It took me from three to five hours daily to prepare that one subject. To me it was a *very* dead language indeed. Professor Wilson was a little too easy, but he was a good language teacher. The boys who had studied under him and later attended the theological seminary were all found to have had unusually fine basic training. I went through zoology without ever seeing a drop of blood, but did, however, dissect a grass-

19. Professor Bell was still the same fair, clear, and thorough instructor when the editor in 1922-1924 studied trigonometry, advanced algebra, and astronomy under him—the last, by the way, without benefit of telescope.

hopper and glue the various parts of his anatomy in their proper positions on a piece of card board, with their names indicated. After debating was introduced into the college, Professor Wilson was often the coach, and always a consultant as long as he remained in college. He retired after 50 years of service, greatly beloved. The athletic building is named Wilson Hall in his honor, rather inaptly, perhaps, since he was somewhat crippled and always walked with a limp, having also partially lost the use of one of his hands, probably as a result of infantile paralysis.²⁰

Dr. C. H. Strong, pastor of the Second United Presbyterian Church which met in the college chapel, taught Bible, which he did free of charge. When the first and second churches re-united he continued as pastor, but dared to advance some new theological ideas which brought down the wrath of his elders upon his head.²¹ That, however, was after my college days.

Miss Kern, whose main job was the teaching of modern languages, or rather language, since I believe that French was the only one,²² was my instructor in some required normal school work in child study. She was a very dignified and at the same time pleasant person and was quite a favorite among all the students. She was the only woman on the faculty, with the exception of two or three music teachers and "physical culture" teachers who were never in the college but briefly. Another possible exception was Miss Alice Brown, art teacher for many years, who did not, however, hold any of her classes at the college but in her private studio, to which I, with three or four others, repaired once a week, art being a required subject in the teacher's course. Thus, in "twelve easy lessons," I became a graduate in art, only the simplest drawings being required, such as a block, a book, a vase, and—a real accomplishment—the outlines of a house across the street from the studio. Miss Brown had taught art from the first year of the col-

20. The president of the college at the time of the dedication of Wilson Gymnasium seems to have felt the inappropriateness of its designation with particular keenness, since on that occasion he remarked, with characteristic wit and grace, that it would be more fitting to dedicate to Prof. Wilson a dormitory or some other building in which one might "sleep and drowse."

21. Dr. Charles H. Strong was a tall, broad-shouldered, dark-mustached man, very handsome. His principal theological aberration, I believe, was his denial that Satan tempted Eve in the form of a serpent; the designation "the serpent," as applied to the Tempter, was, in his opinion, merely an epithet. But too many of his congregation had illustrated Bibles, with pictures of an obvious boa constrictor, coiled about a tree, orally offering an unquestionable apple to an as yet unfig-leaved Eve, for the pastoral theory to be convincing. Dr. Strong's denunciation of "bucket-shops" is also said to have offended at least one of his wealthier and more prominent parishioners. Dr. Strong did not live long after being forced to give up his pulpit.

22. The writer of these reminiscences used to tell a story which suggests that German may also have been taught. A group of students, emerging into the open air from a language class, found the air full of flying white flakes, whereupon one of them, anxious to display his newly-acquired knowledge, remarked: "It sure is *schneitin*!" But this episode may have occurred after a private German class somewhere in northwest Kansas, perhaps in Hoxie.

lege and continued until two or three years before her death, which occurred about five years ago. She had a goodly number of private pupils in china painting and everyone spoke highly of her, both for her work and for her pleasing personality. She made a home for several of her brother's children, although she could ill afford to do so.

Prof. D. Calvin Matthews taught in the summer school, which I always attended, his subjects being physiology and physical geography.²³ Physiology, like zoology, required no shedding of blood. Professor Matthews was a good teacher, but too cynical, too ready to catch the slightest error and make more than the most of it. He was an exceptionally bright person himself and I presume that we common folk irked him greatly.

I wanted to continue to teach after graduation and took what was called the normal course, which, when completed, entitled one to a state certificate for three years, permitting one to teach in any school in Kansas and in teachers' county institutes. After three years of successful teaching and the reading of certain educational books, one was entitled to a life certificate for any of the foregoing positions. I took the four years' normal course in three and received my certificate, in due course earning one for life. Aside from the fact that my studies changed each semester, there was little change in my routine from year to year. The choice of subjects was very elastic, since the number was limited only by the hours available for reciting.

At one time I was "carrying" thirteen subjects, not all of them in a single day, of course, but reciting in each during the course of a week; they were the five subjects required for a teacher's certificate plus penmanship, physical culture, expression, Bible, trigonometry, geology, botany, and chemistry. To all intents and purposes I had been in school only three years since the age of 12, when we had left Iowa,²⁴ and I was now 22, so studying was not my "stock in trade." Nevertheless, at the end of three years I had "passing" grades in Ray's Higher Arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry,

23. David Calvin Mathews (B. A., Cooper, 1899; D. D., Geneva, December 1940), although a teacher in the Cooper summer school in this period, was not himself a college graduate. He married one of Dr. Spencer's six daughters. Like so many instructors at Cooper, he became a clergyman.

24. The writer may have somewhat underestimated her school attendance. She had apparently gone to school for four years of eight or nine months each—two at Lenora, one at Hill City, and one at Hoxie—as well as for a couple of three-months' terms while living on the homestead and a short term, or part of one, at Fremont—a total of some 40 months between the ages of 12 and 22. This does not include the teachers' institute sessions of a month each which she seems to have regularly attended, 1889-1895. However, the two terms on the claim and the first year at Lenora she considered almost or entirely worthless, and she probably did not take into consideration the short time she spent at school in Fremont. This would leave one year each in Hill City, Lenora, and Hoxie.

astronomy, physics, chemistry, physiology, zoology, botany, political economy, general history, physical geography, psychology, orthography, composition and rhetoric, English literature, expression, Bible, elementary Latin, Caesar, penmanship, art, and physical culture, as well as the educational subjects required for a state certificate, the examinations in which were given by someone not connected with the college.

During my last two years in college we had rather intermittent training in physical culture and in public speaking. In the physical training no special clothing was required. We girls wore our high necks, long, rather tight, sleeves, long, ample, interlined skirts, and close-fitting corsets. In this garb we marched to music, swung dumb-bells and Indian clubs, inhaled deeply a number of times, exhaled the same number, and that was all.

I find myself smiling as I recall our public-speaking class. It was taught, gratis, by a local physician, Dr. Todd, who was himself rather proficient, but his class—well, some of us had, at least, high aspirations. I wish I could picture our appearance as we made those prescribed gestures and duly inflected our voices. I can hear Floyd T., with his high almost falsetto voice, imploring, "Speak, speak, thou fearful guest,"²⁵ and the girl who, with a gesture indicating an area of about the size of a dishpan, declared, "It was the *sooner* Hesperus that sailed the wintry sea."²⁶ And there was the young man who in a stern and melancholy manner informed us that "The night wind with a desolate mo-o-oan swept by."²⁷ My own selection was "The Famine" from Longfellow's "Hiawatha" and I have no doubt that I cut about the same figure as the others.

The sort of "going to college" I did—with virtually no scientific equipment, no books except text books, "taking" a dozen and more courses simultaneously from teachers some of whom were *teaching* half a dozen or so *subjects*—not merely courses—was, in a way, a tragedy. Yet it *was* better than nothing. Perhaps, indeed, I was not equipped to take advantage of any broader opportunities. Although I was, I am sure, never asked to read anything except the textbook material, I was also too busy learning what was inside the covers of such books to take any interest in anything else. I cannot, for example, remember anything about the presidential campaign of 1896—which, perhaps, is not surprising *for we took no daily paper!* "Tis true, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true." Sometimes, however, I wonder—suppose I had gone to Kansas Wesleyan at

25. From "The Skeleton in Armor," by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

26. From "The Wreck of the Hesperus," also by Longfellow.

27. After diligent research, the authorship of this line is still unknown to me.

Salina or to Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia—both of which were possibilities—what then?

Athletics consisted of baseball, football, and, in the spring, such activities as the hammer throw, shot put, the various jumps, and so on. The football team was outstanding, considering the smallness of the college. There was no coach, and their suits consisted of old clothes which their mothers had padded where it would do the most good. They must have looked very countrified when they went to colleges which were better equipped, but despite their appearance they triumphed over the University of Kansas in a game played during one of the autumns I spent in college. Conference rules were unknown in those days and consequently if some good husky fellow wanted to play football he could enroll, attend a few classes, and then return to his plowing and cornhusking, not forgetting, however, to turn up at the football field for practice.²⁸ In one of the spring track meets the Cooper team also carried off the honors.²⁹ Although lacking a coach and uniforms, the Cooper athletes had a loyal band of "rooters" who made up for their small numbers by the enthusiasm with which they delivered such old familiar yells as:

Ikey, Ikey, Ikey!
Zip, Zap, Zay!
Rock Chalk, Jayhawk!
What do you say?—
Cooper!!

Another yell was:

Hip! Hip! Hip!
Rip! Rip! Rip!
Whooprah! Cooprah!
Rah! Rah! Rah!³⁰

28. According to Dr. Josiah C. McCracken (letter of March 19, 1958) it was the University of Kansas *second* team which Cooper Memorial defeated in a game at Topeka. Dr. McCracken writes: "I did play on the [Cooper] team five or six years even though I attended Cooper, some of those years, for only a few months each year and taught public school in three of the years. We had no coach at Cooper and played from the information we could get out of the rule book. However, in 1903 [*sic*, evidently an error for 1893] three of us from Kansas went to the World Fair in Chicago and there I saw New York play Chicago— . . . and then I returned to Cooper and almost became coach of the team because I was the only one who had ever seen two coached team[s] play!"

29. According to Dr. McCracken (letter of March 19, 1958) this was the "first inter-collegiate meet ever held in Kansas." Newspaper accounts of the event likewise stated that it was the first event of the kind held in the state. The meet was at Lawrence, May 20 and 30, 1893, with the University of Kansas, Baker University, and Cooper Memorial College participating. The Cooper representatives were Jay Foster Beaman (B.S., 1893; deceased 1951), McCracken, and Prof. George A. Gordon (!). Beaman was injured early in the meet and unable to participate fully.

Contrary to college legend, Cooper's three competitors were unable to overcome the greatly superior numbers of the opposing teams. Results of the meet as published in the *Cooper Courier*, the student newspaper, were: University of Kansas 63, Baker 56, and Cooper 34. Gordon was high-point man with 20 points.

30. Lines 1, 2, and 4 supplied from Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Another yell, composed by Fred L. Weede, was:

Cooper! Cooper!
Whoop'er! Whoop'er!
Hi! Hi! Cooper!
Rah! Rah! Rah!

My recollections of football and other yells are, I fear, not extensive as I never, or rarely, attended the games.

Joe McCracken, later well known as Dr. Josiah McCracken for his work as a medical missionary in China, was easily the best athlete in the college. His ability became known in the East and he was brought to the University of Pennsylvania to play football, also representing that institution in the hammer throw at the Olympics when they were held in Paris. He distinguished himself not only in that event, in which he won second place, but also by adherence to his moral principles in refusing to contest on the Sabbath and declining to drink toasts in wine at the concluding banquet.³¹

A good many pranks enlivened the college community. Inducing some greenhorn to go "snipe-hunting," with, of course, the high privilege and honor of "holding the bag," was a favorite extra-curricular amusement.³² Putting Jack, Dr. Spencer's horse, and, on another occasion, his buggy, into the chapel were favorite college sports; the girls' waiting room also served as a repository

31. Dr. Josiah C. McCracken (1874- ; M.D., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1901; dean, medical department, St. John's University, Shanghai, for many years) has kindly furnished me (letter of March 19, 1958) with information in regard to his athletic record. After playing on the Cooper football team for five or six years he went in 1896, at the age of 22, to the University of Pennsylvania where he played four full years, and for one year was chosen as half-back on Walter Camp's All-American team. At Pennsylvania, also, he competed in the hammer throw and the shot put and in the intercollegiate meets of 1898 and 1899 won in both events—a record which he does not believe any other athlete has ever achieved. He learned only recently that on May 30, 1898, he won the world's record in the 16-lb. hammer throw from John Flanagan, with a distance of 153 ft. 9 ins.—but Flanagan won the record back 12 days later with 158 ft. 4 ins.—D. A. Bachelor, R. H. Greenleaf, and Clifford E. Larrabee, "Hammer Throwing Statistics," *Track and Field News*, Los Altos, Calif., April, 1956, pp. 1, 16, 17, 18, 64, 68, 78, 127.

At the Paris Olympics McCracken competed in the hammer throw, the shot put, and he believes, the discus (an event in which he had not previously participated!), but qualified only in the hammer throw. His opposition to competition on the Sabbath at the Olympics was, it should be noted, not a one-man affair. "Princeton, Penn and Syracuse banded together against Sunday competition and any discrimination against athletes who refused to break the Sabbath" and the French at first agreed that marks or times made other days would count against those made on the Sabbath, but later abrogated this agreement and announced that ten finals would be completed on Sunday, July 15. Princeton and Syracuse stood firm for Sabbath observance but the Penn athletes were permitted to arrive at individual decisions and five out of 13 decided to compete. McCracken, of course, was with the majority of Sabbath observers but, fortunately, the finals in the hammer throw were on Monday, July 16, which enabled him to place—although only third. He was evidently very far from being in his best form as his throw was one of the poorest in his record—only 139 ft. 3.49 ins. John Flanagan, whom he had beaten and in turn been beaten by in 1898, won first place.—John Kieran and Arthur Daley, *The Story of the Olympic Games* . . . (Philadelphia and N. Y., 1957), pp. 36-45; Bachelor *et al.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 127; W. J. Maxwell, compiler, *General Alumni Catalogue of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 623.

McCracken's hostility to alcoholic beverages was such that when, serving as an advance agent for the Cooper quartet in the summer of 1895, he saw a large sign—SALOON—extending across the sidewalk, he crossed the street to avoid having to walk under it. Kansas had been legally "dry" since 1880, but it took Carry A. Nation and her brickbats—rather than the more traditional hatchet—to make it so in fact.—Letter from Dr. McCracken, November 25, 1957.

Dr. McCracken, after whom the Sterling athletic field is named, for obvious reasons is still a legendary figure about the college.

32. See Johana H. Smith, "In the Bag: A Study of Snipe Hunting," *Western Folklore*, Berkeley, Calif., v. 16 (April, 1957), pp. 107-110. And, of course, there were also "greenhorns"—or at least stories about greenhorns—who were not as verdant as they appeared. Such a greenhorn—depositing on the ground the lantern which was supposed to attract the snipes and the gunny sack into which they were to fly—would make his way quietly and rapidly to the horse and buggy which had been left beside a lonely road, reach it before the plotters could arrive, and drive back to town, leaving the biters bit and with a walk of several miles ahead of them.

for the vehicle. The pranksters had to go to a great deal of trouble to accomplish those designs in which the buggy figured, as it was necessary to take it apart and then re-assemble it at the place where it was intended to be found. On one occasion—before my time, however—three jokers, two students by the name of Weede and Folsom and a little Swede whose name I cannot recall, were painfully re-assembling the buggy on the chapel platform when Weede and Folsom heard a familiar step on the stairway and, without warning their companion, who was tightening a nut on one of the wheels, fled out of a window and down the fire-escape. The Swede, absorbed in his labors, continued until the newcomer was standing over him, when he looked up and recognized the president. "Oh," he commented placidly, "I t'ought dat vas Veede and Folsom!"³³

The story is told that on another occasion a couple of students with nothing better to do had taken the buggy out of the president's barn and had toilsomely hauled it over the familiar path to the college building. Arrived at the foot of the steps they had lowered the shafts for a rest preliminary to the really serious effort of getting it up that steep incline. "I've enjoyed the ride, boys," remarked the president's voice from the shadowy recesses of the seat, "but you can take me home now." This episode, however, I think occurred not at Cooper but at Muskingum, another U. P. college.³⁴

Another prank was hitching up Professor Thompson's cow to the same long-suffering buggy and driving her so furiously that it "strained her milk." Greasing the blackboards was also before my time but was called to my attention every time I *tried* to write on them.³⁵ Dr. Spencer was once hung in the hallway—in effigy—for some offense now unknown to me.

My recreational and social life was limited, if only because I had

33. The above is the story which was long current in Sterling and which I had always heard. According, however, to Fred L. Weede who, with Lucius Folsom, was a principal participant, the prank in which they and several other students were involved was conveying a "Chic Sales" to the college with the purpose of blocking the entrance of Cooper Hall, and the climactic words—"I tought it vos Veede and Folsom"—were uttered not by a Swede but by Rudolph Miller, "an Austrian who spoke six languages and was a mathematical genius," when someone addressed the two mentioned under the impression that they were members of the faculty. Thus are the raw materials of fact shaped into folklore. I trust that the above correction will not interfere with the narration of the story as given in these reminiscences.

34. At which Dr. Spencer had been president for seven years, 1879-1886, prior to coming to Cooper, and at which earlier (1870) he had had the privilege of teaching "Hebrew and Mechanical Philosophy" to William Rainey Harper, later the famous president of the University of Chicago, then a boy of 14.—Thomas W. Goodspeed, *William Rainey Harper* (Chicago, 1928), pp. 10, 11-14. Spencer, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 6; *Who's Who in America*, 1912-1913, p. 1968.

35. In this, as apparently in every other college prank during the period of his attendance, Fred L. Weede was a ringleader. His father, he says, painted the blackboards free of charge, since, without any definite information, he nevertheless knew that his son should have a guilty conscience.—Letter from Fred L. Weede, December 10, 1937. Evidently, however, the paint job was by no means fully effective in restoring a good writing surface to the blackboards.

little time for anything but my studies. Much of it was connected with the academic or extra-curricular activities of the college. An example was the visit of the geology class to the salt mine at Lyons, now said to be the largest in the world. We descended into the mine in what impressed me as pretty crude-looking crates, but without accident. We saw the men blasting the rock, breaking it up with their picks, loading it into cars pulled by donkeys to the lift, where it was carried to the surface in the same fashion as that in which we made our exits when the visit was over.

The college male quartet frequently appeared both in college and in community programs, and was a great favorite.³⁶ It was going strong when I first came to college and then consisted of Harry (later Dr. H. R.) Ross,³⁷ Will Philips,³⁸ Fred Weede,³⁹ and my classmate John Brush.⁴⁰ Philips graduated in June, '96, and was replaced by

36. The Cooper quartet seems to occupy much the same position in the traditions of early Cooper as the Pony Express in the lore of the trans-Mississippi West. Both lasted only a comparatively brief period—the quartet at the most from some time in 1894 until early in 1897—and yet it stands out in the memories of those who knew it or merely heard of it as if it had been an institution of long standing.

The quartet during its brief history included at various times six performers—all of varied talents—and an advance agent. Its repertoire consisted of vocal quartets ("Sailors' Chorus," "Annie Laurie," "Robin Adair," "The Bridge," "The Water Mill," "God Pity the Seamen To-night," "An Old Woman," "The Twenty Third Psalm" and other Psalm arrangements, "Soldiers' Farewell," "Lead, Kindly Light," "The Lost Chord," and, for encores, various glees, college songs, and Negro melodies, such as "Stars of the Summer Night," "Old Oaken Bucket," "Sneezing Catch," "Jackie Horner," "Calico Pie," "Wouldn't You Like to Know?," "Steal Away to Jesus," "Ring dem Bells," "Aunt Dinah's Quilting Party," "I've been Workin' on de Rail Road," "The Animal Fair," "Forty Eight Blue Bottles Hanging on the Wall," "Bullfrog on the Bank," and the songs mentioned in the text); bass solos ("Come Unto Me," "The Wonders of the Deep," "Man the Life Boat," "Calvary," "Not Ashamed of Christ," "Out on the Deep," "The Darkness Came," "The Mighty Deep," "Lord God of Abraham," "Last Night"); guitar—sometimes guitar and mandolin—quartets ("Overture Medley," "Blondinette Fantasia," "Valse Brillante," "Brightest Scenes," "Spanish Retreat," "Gettysburg March," "Bright Light Mazurka," "Midnight Stars," "Windsor Castle Waltz," "The Sinking Ship," "Daughter of Love," "Love's Dream after the Ball," and various waltzes and mazurkas); guitar solos ("Siege of Sebastopol," "Sunny Banks," "Sweet Home" with variations, "Harmonic Waltz"); readings ("The Prisoner's Soliloquy," "The Light From Over the Range," "The Volunteer Organist," "Little Joe's Flowers," "The Catholic Psalm," "A Legend of the True," "Demetrius," "The Black Cat," and selections from James Whitcomb Riley); and "impersonations" ("Mark Twain's Interviewer," "The Old Man at Church," "Pillar Fights," "Her'n Me," "Pa'ud Whup," "Jen's Feller," "Hanner, How's Yer Ma?", "Man With a Tune in His Head," "The Modern Malthusian," "Playin' in the Sod Corn Patch," "Saxby's Philosophy," "If I Didn't Forget How Old I Was," "Uncle Jim," "Essay on Man," selections from James Whitcomb Riley, and other pieces mentioned in the narrative or under the name of the impersonator).

The above list confirms the claim that the quartet could—and sometimes did—give as many as four performances in a single community, with programs suited to the day of the week, the sponsorship, etc., without repeating themselves. The quartet and soloists had all their material memorized and never performed with scores before them. They received highly enthusiastic press notices, with Ross as impersonator, Brush as basso, Weede as reader, and Philips as guitar soloist most frequently selected for individual mention in descending order. Their repertoire—as displayed in programs kindly furnished by Weede and Dunlap, supplemented by letters from them—gives an interesting idea of certain aspects of English-speaking, Protestant, popular culture on the Central Great Plains during the mid-1890's.

37. H. R. Ross. See Footnote 51.

38. William Anderson Philips (B. A., Cooper, 1896; D. D., Univ. of Atlanta; dec. 1932) was baritone or first bass, played the guitar, and delivered the "college commercials" for his group.

39. Fred Lewis Weede (Cooper, ex. 1898; B. S., Univ. of Pennsylvania; Doctor of Letters, Sterling; journalist and publicity man) was second tenor, played the guitar, and recited such "sad or heavy selections . . . tear jerker stuff" as "Little Joe's Flowers" and James Whitcomb Riley's "Goodbye, Jim, Take Keer of Yourself."

40. John Ulysses Brush (B. A., Cooper, 1898; D. D., Sterling, 1927; dec., 1934) is credited by Fred L. Weede with having organized the "original" Cooper quartet. The only member of the group who had enjoyed formal vocal training, he served as director, sang second bass and bass solos, and played the mandolin.

Will Hood,⁴¹ while the place of Fred Weede, who intended to teach school the next year, was taken by Owen Dunlap.⁴² The quartet was disbanded in 1897, the year in which Owen Dunlap withdrew from college in January and Will Hood in June.⁴³ Among the popular songs they sang I recall:

I found a horseshoe (twice)
I picked it up and nailed it on the door.
The name of the horse that wore it, (twice)
The name of the horse that wore it was Lenore.
Ring, chiming bells! (8 times).⁴⁴

Another was:

I'm going to sell rat-traps in Egypt, (3 times)
And I'm not coming back any more.
It's all on account of somebody, (3 times)
And I'm not coming back any more.⁴⁵
I'm going to sell peanuts in China. . . .

41. William T. Hood (B. S., Cooper, 1897; auditor; dec., 1942) was baritone and soloist, played the mandolin, and delivered the "commercials" for his group.

42. Owen R. Dunlap (Cooper, ex. 1897) was second tenor and accompanist and also played the guitar.

43. The author's original statements about the quartet, although accurate in general outline, were so incorrect in such matters of detail as who succeeded whom and when that I have revised her account, according to the best available information, without indicating specific changes and their sources. Letters, reminiscences, and printed programs from Fred L. Weede and Owen Dunlap, surviving members of the quartet, and a letter from Dr. J. C. McCracken, advance agent, are the basis of my revision.

44. Words and music of a similar song can be found in Carl Sandburg, *The American Songbag* (N. Y., 1927), pp. 382, 383: Sandburg sang it on the Milton Berle program, October 22, 1958, remarking in his introduction that he had heard it in Galesburg 80 years before and had never heard it since. The Sandburg version, however, differs from that of the Cooper glee club by being without a refrain and having as the last line of the stanza, "The horse that wore the shoe his name was Mike." According to Sandburg: "Railroad switchmen at Illinois and Iowa division points sang this . . . in the 1890's when their gloves froze to the coupling pins between coal cars, and it was fun to reach a shanty stove." In all probability the Sandburg version, with its reference to the unromantically named equine quadruped, is a parody on an earlier glee-club version. The Cooper quartet version, however, is a synthetic one, and Fred L. Weede, who had a principal hand in working it up, remembers it somewhat differently from the author of these reminiscences. The history of the quartet version is an interesting revelation of how popular songs have sometimes developed.

The "original" version, according to Weede, was a single stanza, which he had heard as a boy in Ness county, Kansas:

"I found a horseshoe, I found a horseshoe.
I picked it up and nailed it o'er the door.
It was rusty and full of nail holes,
Good luck it brought to me forevermore."

The quartet used it as an encore, but decided it was too brief, so added a second stanza:

"I love Susannah, Susannah she loves me.
She am the finest gal that ever you did see.
She am a daisy, she sets me crazy,
I'll love Susannah forevermore."

This "barbershop ditty," up to this point, was without a chorus, so Fred Weede was commissioned to work one up. He borrowed the two opening lines from some source now unknown, using as tune "a semblance of 'Sweet Adeline'" and for the other lines a repeat of the tune used for the same lines in the first stanza.

"Ring chiming bells,
Ring chiming bells.
Good luck it brought to me forevermore.
Ring chiming bells,
Your music tells
Good luck it brought to me forevermore."

When used as a chorus to the second stanza "she" was substituted for "it." Mr. Weede can not, however, remember the Cooper quartet using the name of a horse or mule in their version. The author of these reminiscences may have remembered "the horse . . . Lenore" from an earlier version of "I found a horseshoe"—or, perhaps, the Cooper quartet added such a stanza after Fred Weede dropped out in 1896.

45. Owen Dunlap remembers the rat-trap territory as Iceland and the prospective peanut salesman as intending to operate in Egypt. This song was used as an encore. I have been unable to locate either the words or music in any published work.

And still another began:

I saw Esau kissing Kate⁴⁶

Of course they emphasized the Cooper songs, which were also sung by the student body in general. The two college songs were:

There is a town called Sterling, Oh Yes! (twice)
There is a town called Sterling
And the college keeps it whirling
In that good old town of Sterling, Oh Yes, Oh Yes!

Chorus:

Then here's to good old Cooper,
Drink her down!
Then here's to good old Cooper,
Drink her down!
Then here's to good old Cooper
And let everybody whoop 'er,
For it's Hi Yi Cooper,
Drink her down, down, down!

Oh the Cooper girls are extra super-fine,
In fashions they are strictly up to time.
They have beauty, brains, and worth,
They're the dearest girls on earth,
Then here's to the girls of C. M. C.!

Chorus:

(Oh the Cooper boys are mighty hard to beat,
With their manners, mind, and muscles all complete.
In the world's mad race for fame
And for glory's honored name
They will get there just the same,
Don't you know?)

Chorus:

Oh the faculty is in it at the college,
Chuckfull of science, Greek and other knowledge.
In the 'ologies of college,
And that without apology,
The faculty is in it at the college.⁴⁷

Chorus:

The other, sung to the tune of "Solomon Levi":

If ever you want to join a crowd
That's jolly and full of fun,
Composed of the merriest boys and girls
That ever lived under the sun,

46. Used as an encore. Words and music in Sigmund Spaeth, *Weep Some More, My Lady* (Garden City, N. Y., 1927), pp. 201, 202.

47. Written by Fred L. Weede and sung to the tune of an old Yale drinking-song, "Drink Her Down, Drink Her Down"—See Francis B. Kellogg, comp. and ed., *Yale Songs* (New Haven, 1889), p. 11. The versions of the author, Fred L. Weede, and Owen R. Dunlap differ somewhat but, with one exception, so slightly that I have not altered the version as it stood originally in the text. Owen R. Dunlap, however, furnishes a stanza which does not appear in either of the other versions and which is inserted in parentheses.

Just add your name to Cooper's roll
 And shout with all your might
 For the college that's best in all the West,
 Our pride and our delight.

Chorus:

Yes, we're from Cooper,
 Colors red and blue.
 We stand for Cooper,
 And to her colors we'll ever be true.

We'll carry them up to the envious round
 At the top of the ladder of fame,
 And there we'll unfurl at the top of the world
 Our colors and Cooper's fair name.

The blue is for character, honor, and worth,
 The red is for vigor and vim.
 A new student here doesn't wait very long
 Before he begins to pitch in.
 But if you determine a neighboring school
 Is the best one for you to try,
 If you want to keep step with the pace that we set,
 You'll have to step up pretty high! ⁴⁸

Chorus:

During the early years of the quartet it used to tour the state (at least) in the interests of the college with the aim of attracting new students.⁴⁹ Joe McCracken was the advance agent⁵⁰ and Philips the original spokesman. After his graduation, Will Hood became the "spieler." I recall him saying, "When I meet St. Peter at the Gate, and he says, 'Well, Will, what about those lies you used to tell about Cooper Memorial College?,' what am I going to say?"

48. The music and original words of "Solomon Levi" can be found in many collections of college and other popular songs. One which comes to hand is Albert E. Wier, ed., *The Book of a Thousand Songs* (New York, 1918), p. 421.

49. The members of the quartet received their tuition for their work in publicizing the college, but they had to pay their own expenses, which they did by getting various organizations, particularly United Presbyterian congregations, to sponsor their concerts and splitting the proceeds with them, the quartet receiving the major share. Frequently sponsorship included board and lodging for the quartet in private homes. Beginning in central Kansas, particularly Rice county, with concerts over the Christmas holidays, and perhaps over weekends, the quartet finally went on two extended summer tours—in 1895 along the Santa Fe railroad as far east as Kansas City, Mo., and as far west as the Colorado line and in 1896 covering, according to Owen R. Dunlap, "all of Kansas (except about five counties), part of Colorado and Nebraska," getting as far west as Denver.

50. Joe McCracken, the famous athlete—see Footnotes 28, 29, and 31—was evidently highly successful as an advance agent, judging from the number of engagements he made. He had to keep about three weeks ahead of the quartet, finding in each place some organization willing to sponsor the quartet on the day following the last previous engagement. The original plan had been to sing only in communities where there was a United Presbyterian congregation, but, in order to fill out the schedule, McCracken frequently signed up the quartet for concerts in other communities and frequently the turn-out in such places was even greater. McCracken's work involved both difficulties and excitement. On one occasion he arrived in Denver with only 87 cents in his pocket, registered in a hotel, wired the quartet for money, and, while waiting for it, scheduled the quartet for two performances. The trains ran so infrequently that he took his bicycle along and frequently rode it between towns, on one occasion bicycling back through northeastern Colorado to the county seat of the most northwesterly Kansas county.

No male quartet in those days was considered complete unless it possessed, in addition to the standard number and variety of voices, a "reader," principally of humorous selections. In my day, Harry, later Dr. H. R. Ross, was the reader, and one of his most popular numbers, entitled "Uncle Zeke's Visit to the City," was of his own composition, though, from its character, it could hardly have been copyrighted since it involved imitations of a rooster, calf, goat, prairie chicken, prairie dog, wooden pump, a cork being pulled from a bottle and the liquid running out, a doctor sawing off a man's leg, a threshing machine, turkey chick, turkey gobbler, and a cat and dog fight in four parts.⁵¹

The "chalk talk" was then a favorite form of entertainment, but the only person in college who was skilled in giving chalk talks was my classmate Paul Stormont. He would begin to tell a story and as he talked would put on a sheet of paper, three feet by four in size, or larger, various lines or marks here and there, apparently at random. Then, as he concluded a part of the story, he would rapidly join these lines or marks and an illustration of the story would suddenly appear. A story might call for several such pictures. Sometimes he used only charcoal and sometimes colored chalks.

There were no plays in the college of those days, and no dramatic coach. "Dialogues" were occasionally put on in the literary societies, but nothing approaching a play.⁵² I do not, indeed, remember seeing a play anywhere in the community during the years 1895-1898.

51. Harry Reath Ross (1869-1944) was not a Cooper graduate, but alternated a couple of years in college with two or three years of school teaching at Raymond, a few miles west, in order to earn money for his expenses at a medical school in Kansas City, Mo., from which he was graduated in 1900. He was particularly noted for his "impersonations." In addition to his "headliner," they were usually of a "bashful, sometimes not too intelligent, boy," mostly by "a Kansas rhymester," D. A. Ellsworth. They included "Paw'd Whup," "What yuh goin' to do when the world busts through?" and "Piller Fights." Other favorite selections were "Hanner, How's Yer Maw" and "Bill's in Trouble," with the clinch lines, "Bill's in the legislature, but he doesn't say what fer." He also recited from James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field. Persons qualified from experience to judge declare that if he had chosen to go on the stage as a professional impersonator he could have achieved national fame.

D. A. Ellsworth, Dr. Ross's favorite author, is a remarkably obscure literary figure. The Kansas State Historical Society (letter of February 13, 1958) is able to state only that he was admitted to the practice of law in 1886, in 1887 became an editor of the *Chase County Republican* (first issue, October 15) and county superintendent of schools, from 1893 to 1914 taught history and geography at K. S. T. C., Emporia, and as late as 1935 was living in San Diego. There is no evidence that he ever published a collection of his poems; probably they appeared in obscure local publications. Dr. Ross's daughter (letter from Mrs. Ruth Ross Van Patten, April 3, 1958) writes: "Father had a scrapbook in which he kept poems and readings he clipped from newspapers or magazines. Many of his readings were from this scrapbook. However that scrapbook has been lost for many years." Doubtless these clippings included some of Ellsworth's poems. Granger's *Index to Poetry*, however, lists "Gwine to Marry Jim," "How We Waked Ike," "Pa's Soft Spot," and "Piller Fights" as included in various anthologies.

52. The ubiquitous Fred L. Weede, however, states that he wrote the script for and also stage-managed, "the very first attempt in the college" at a "drama or stage presentation"—a Greek symposium, put on under the auspices of the Crestomatheon literary society, June 8, 1896, in which the writer of these reminiscences, under the name of Orthea, was a member of the princess' retinue. A group photograph in my possession is evidently of the cast of this affair.

There was a college paper, *The Cooper Courier* [founded 1892], but it meant so little to me that I was unable to recall its name and had to call on a former college-mate, Pearl Ireton (Mrs. Talmon Bell), to refresh my memory.

There were a few college picnics at which we ate and talked and then went home, and occasional parties in the homes of local people at which we played charades, "Going to Jerusalem," "Fruit Basket Upset," "Clap In and Clap Out," and guessing-games of which the object was to identify persons, objects, etc., by asking questions which could only be answered by "Yes" or "No." There was none of the dancing or even of the "play-party" games which had been so popular in western Kansas, but I didn't miss them as I was in Sterling to "go through college" and was kept busy getting high enough grades to "pass."

Tuesday, Thursday, and, when I did not attend prayer-meeting, Wednesday, were my nights at home, and I had to study up to the last minute, even on my evenings out, except on Sabbath when no studying was ever done. Monday evening was reserved alternately for the speech class and for physical culture, Friday was literary society evening, and Saturday night was choir practise, for I began singing in the United Presbyterian choir not long after entering college. Sabbath was spent in attending Sabbath School and church in the morning and Young People's Christian Union and church in the evening. Even the Wednesday evening prayer-meetings were well attended by the students and it was popular for them to attend church both morning and evening. It was at the evening services that the "dates" showed up, either by coming to the church together or through the boys standing in line outside after the benediction, each stepping forth as the girls filed by to say to his "pick of the flock," "May I see you home?" I do not recall that it was ever even whispered that any of the boys smoked or played cards or drank—though probably I should not have heard of it if they did. I was nearly through college before I did any "dating" myself, and then not much.

Many laughable incidents took place, both in classroom and in chapel. Sometimes a mouse would be seen running across the floor⁵³ and one afternoon, while a class of boys was reciting and a group of girls studying in the corner, a little mouse sought refuge in the petticoats of one of the girls. She, being calm and quick-witted, instantly placed her hand upon the area of encroach-

53. According to Fred L. Weede, the mice did not always get into the college building under their own power, but—along with crickets, grasshoppers, tumble bugs, bumble bees, garter snakes—were introduced in old handkerchiefs or small boxes.

ment and the mouse shortly expired. But the boys had observed the whole affair, and in the next "Chresto World," a "newspaper" read at the weekly meetings of one of the literary societies, appeared a news item stating that "Pearl Ireton is writing a book, entitled 'Lost in the Outskirts.'"

On one occasion, those of us who happened to be seated near the windows of an upstairs recitation room in a class taught by Professor Bell were privileged to witness a remarkable sight. Dr. Spencer, president of the institution, was pursuing two or three male students around and around a clump of cedars in front of Cooper Hall. The boys were dodging in, out, and around the trees and the president was following them determinedly and with such speed that, as a student seated near me commented in a very discreet undertone, you could have "played checkers" on the skirts of the long-tailed clerical coat which he habitually wore. But the cause, purpose, and outcome of the chase were a mystery to me at the time and still remain so.

Marion Trueheart, now of some note as a cancer specialist,⁵⁴ contributed more than his share of amusement, somewhat assisted by his natural tendency toward lisping. One day in Bonus Wilson's class in Caesar he was engaged in translating the address of the Haeduan chief Dumnorix to the author of the *Commentaries*. "Dumnorikth . . . thed," he translated hesitatingly—long pause—then in a tone of sudden and excited revelation, "*Oh Great Thethar!*" The teacher in School Law one day called on a young man to recite on one of the practical problems connected with the management of a school. "Mr. _____, will you describe the essentials of a school water-system?" "There should be two," the young man replied brightly, "one for the boys and one for the girls." I uttered an only partially suppressed whoop of mirth, in which I was joined by most of the other members of the class. The instructor, Professor Bell, turned white as a sheet. "This class is dismissed," his usually stern voice now almost grim. We departed in considerable confusion.

In chapel each student some time during each semester was required to give either a recitation, that is, a selection learned "by heart," an essay, or an oration. Here again, Marion Trueheart was distinguished for the originality of his performance. On one occasion his oration—or possibly essay—consisted of nothing but columns of words, with no connection whatever; on another his oration was a single sentence, "We should always take advantage

54. Marion Trueheart (B.S., Cooper, 1900; B.A., Univ. of Kansas, 1901; M.D., Kansas City Medical College, 1904; dec., 1946), founder of the Trueheart Clinic in Sterling.

of all things—especially the door,” which he followed immediately by a high kick at the chandelier, a repetition of the original sentence, and a practical illustration of its meaning by promptly departing. An “original essay” by another student closed with a passage beginning, “And now, my dear readers . . .”

An old retired minister who was afflicted with an ailment of the feet which required that they be swathed in great quantities of bandages, and whose face and manner were almost as odd appearing as his pedal extremities, was frequently present at chapel. One day he was sitting with his feet elevated on a chair, waiting to lead the devotional period. One of my weaknesses has always been to laugh at the wrong time, and this was one of those occasions. Contemplation of his general appearance and posture became too much for me, and I began to laugh, gently, of course, until the tears came. Just when that point had been reached, Dr. Spencer, the president, rose and announced the Psalm, repeating in his announcement the words:

Great streams of water from my eyes
Ran down because I saw
How wicked men run on in sin
And do not keep Thy Law.⁵⁵

If I had thought I was in agony before, it was because I had not realized the depths of misery into which this new stimulus would throw me!

The greatest benefit which I derived from the college came not from any course or group of courses but from the Chrestomatheon literary society,⁵⁶ the first society of the kind to be organized in the college. The Chresto colors were brown and gold and its flower was the sunflower. The society song was:

Chresto, Oh Chresto,
For you our hearts are bold!
Hi-Hi-Ho! Yi-Yi-Yo!
For the dear old Brown and Gold!
O whatever we're doing
We're loyal still to you!
We're Chrestos forever
And to Chresto are true!

The yell was:

Hi! Hi! Ho!
Yi! Yi! Yo!
Chresto! Chresto!
Hi! Hi! Ho!

55. From a metrical version of Ps. 119: 136.

56. From the Greek, signifying “usefully knowing” or “useful knowledge.”

By the fall of 1895 the college had grown until it was thought advisable to organize another group, which assumed the name Theomoron.⁵⁷ The Theo colors were pink and green and the society's flower was the wild rose. The societies met on Friday night and the programs consisted of readings, essays, orations, music, both instrumental and vocal, the society paper, and debates, which were followed by a period during which anyone could express his opinion on the subject, if backed up by evidence. Then, too, we always had a session of parliamentary law, selecting a chairman and doing our best to entangle him.

The best I can say as to my participation in the society programs is that I never failed to take any part assigned to me by the program committee.⁵⁸ It is hard to realize how frightened I was on my first appearance on a program. The timidity developed during my years of isolation on the northwest Kansas prairie had never been overcome. I remember thinking how fine it would be if I could somehow sink through the floor and out of sight. But I managed, nevertheless, to deliver unto the end John Godfrey Saxe's poem:

There's a game much in fashion—I think it's called euchre
Though I never have played it for pleasure or lucre—
In which when the cards are in certain positions
The players appear to have changed their conditions,
And one of them cries in a confident tone,
"I think I may venture to go it alone!"

In battle or business, whatever the game,
In law or in love it is ever the same.
In the struggle for power or the scramble for pelf,
Let this be your motto, "Rely on yourself,"
For whether the prize be a ribbon or throne,
The victor is he who can go it alone.⁵⁹

I am still rather fond of this poem.

57. Presumably from two Greek words signifying "God" and "silly" or "foolish." Two Greek scholars, my former colleague Prof. Deno Geanakoplos and his assistant Christos Patrinelis, are uncertain what meaning was intended to be conveyed by this rather curious combination. The most likely interpretation is that the intended meaning is something like "God's fools" or "the foolishness of God," in reference to the texts: "Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men. . . . But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty. . . ."—I Cor., 1: 25, 27. See, also, I Cor. 1: 18-23; 2: 1, 2; 3: 19, 20. Also, "If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise."—I Cor., 3: 18. Probably this name was intended as a fling at the emphasis on "useful knowledge" in the name of the rival Chrestomatheon society. Had "moron," however, been generally in use at the time as a synonym for feeble-minded, as it was a quarter century later, it is somewhat doubtful that this name would have been adopted.

58. However, according to her fellow Chresto, Fred L. Weede, the author did serve as secretary in 1896.

59. John Godfrey Saxe (1816-1887). The poem, of which the writer remembered five out of the seven stanzas, was entitled "The Game of Life." Only the first and last stanzas, however, are given here, as an example of the poem's character.

One of the questions discussed in the Chresto literary society was the independence of Cuba. It was debated on two different occasions and I took part in both debates, once on the negative and once on the affirmative, winning each time. On one of these occasions my opponent was John Kirkwood,⁶⁰ who was really a very brilliant young man and who, I was told, was quite chagrined at the decision. I understand, however, that he had made no particular preparation, not thinking it necessary, I presume.

In the fall of 1897 took place the first intersociety contest. There were four events: debate, oration, essay, and recitation, each assigned such a number of points that the winner of the debate and of *one* other event would win the contest, or so that, on the other hand, the winner of *all* events *but* the debate would win the meet. The contest was supposed to be carried on in a friendly spirit, but instead the rivalry became bitter. Friendships were interrupted, couples broken up, and feelings in general were tense. The debate question was: "Resolved, that United States Senators should be elected by popular vote," with the Chrestos taking the affirmative. I was offered a place on the debate team, but didn't have enough confidence in myself to accept; in addition I didn't feel that I had enough time, as I was planning to graduate in the spring and was doing four years' work in three. Standing room was at a premium the night of this contest, as all college programs open to the public were well patronized by the community. The Chrestos won all the events but the essay and were indeed jubilant, the Theos being correspondingly depressed.

Commencement week finally arrived. Our class⁶¹ was the first to give a Junior-Senior banquet, held at the home of Mr. W. J. Squire. The program consisted of music, readings, and toasts. I was to toast the faculty under the title of "The Row Behind the Table"—my first attempt at this sort of thing. In fact, I had never even heard a toast, much less give one. Few toasts I have heard since, I think, would conform to the definition found in the dictionary, and mine was no exception. My little "speech," rather than toast, started off with an apparent misunderstanding of what was

60. John M. Kirkwood, B. S., 1897; L. L. B., Kent College of Law.

61. Class spirit in those days ran high, and each class had colors, a yell, and a sense of rivalry for other classes. The colors of the class of 1898 were cream and scarlet, and were the first to be flown from the lightning rod at the peak of the Cooper Hall cupola. The perpetrators were John U. Brush, Orin A. Keach, Paul Stormont, and—needless to say—Fred L. Weede, who got up to the roof through two trap doors and, on descending, blocked the one to the third floor so that they could not be used by members of rival classes. Attempts to get the flag down, by methods which included trying to snag it with hooks attached to a kite string, all failed for two days, until "a little nervy fellow," named Burns, somehow managed, at the risk of his life, to climb along the edge of the roof, get into the third floor from an unlocked window, and unblock the trap door, after which it was easy to bring up a ladder and pull down the colors.

intended by the r-o-w behind the table, which I interpreted as meaning a quarrel among the faculty rather than the faculty themselves, who were accustomed to sit behind a long table, facing the student body, at chapel. At one point I represented the seniors as repeating, from a metrical version of one of the Psalms, the words: "More understanding now I have/ Than all my teachers far."⁶² I was considerably embarrassed by the preparation for the ordeal, carrying it out, and gracefully accepting the inevitable complimentary remarks which followed. This was one of the many times in my life when I have promised something which I knew was impossible, but which I managed to do in some sort of a way.

Commencement was the evening of June 17, 1898, closing with the presentation of those diplomas for which we had labored so many weary hours. Each of us, ten in number—the largest class in the history of the college up to that time—delivered an oration. Mine, modestly entitled "The Problem of Life," began with the assertion, "Philosophers of all ages have grappled with grand and most stupendous questions, and among these is the problem of life," quoted Sir Isaac Newton's remark that he felt he had spent his life playing with the pebbles on the seashore "whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me,"⁶³ and concluded with a quotation from Revelation 22:5, which I managed to work in somehow: "And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light and they shall reign forever and ever." One afternoon, while rehearsing this speech in the chapel, an old gentleman who was doing some painting in the room at the time, turned to me and, with apparent earnestness, gravely enquired, "Who *is* the author of that—or did *you* write it? It is wonderful." In a way he was probably right.

In addition to the ten orations there was a solo by John Brush, a piano solo by Vera Strong, a trio by Belle Smith, Mabel Grandy, and myself, and a chalk-talk by Paul Stormont. The other members of the class were Orin Keach, Stella Stormont, William Finley, and Otto Newby. Two of our number became ministers in the United Presbyterian church,⁶⁴ one, a college professor,⁶⁵ three, public

62. Ps. 119:90. This passage was naturally a favorite with pious but prankish undergraduates.

63. Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727). See John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations* (Boston, 1948), p. 184.

64. John U. Brush and Orin A. Keach.

65. Otto W. Newby, professor of Logic and Literature, C. M. C.; dec. 1906.

school teachers,⁶⁶ one, an accountant,⁶⁷ one, a horticulturist.⁶⁸ One of the girls married shortly after graduation⁶⁹ and another's health failed so that she was unable to enter any occupation.⁷⁰ Only five are now living,⁷¹ and we are widely separated. We kept a class letter going for 29 years, but it eventually disappeared.

We had had a good time together. Even though there were only ten of us, we could, whenever the occasion presented itself, give our class yell noisily enough to satisfy any reasonable person:

Hip hip rah zoo,
Alla fa alla boo—
Ad frontem straight.
Cooper, class of '98! 72

66. Sophia Belle Smith, Emma Vera Strong, and Cassie (Catharine) Emma Wiggins, the writer.

67. William Paul Stormont.

68. William L. Finley, landscape gardener.

69. Mabel Latham Grandy (Mrs. T. J. English).

70. Estella Myrtle Stormont, dec. 1909. She is, however, listed as "Teacher (retired)."

71. By February, 1957, the number had been reduced to two: Mrs. T. J. English and Paul Stormont.

72. According to the writer, this yell was supposed to be in three languages: English, Latin, and Greek. "Alla fa alla boo" is a phonetic version of the line intended to be Greek. Fred L. Weede, author of the yell, tells me that the idea arose in a Greek class of which he was one of three members, which went into the language so far that they read "Prometheus Bound," by Aeschylus. They became interested in certain irregular verbs, such as LAMBANO (receive), to such an extent that they would greet one another on the campus with parts of such verbs. "Alla fa alla boo" is an attempt at a phonetic rendering of EILAPHA (I have received) ELABON (I received). Information on the Greek by courtesy of Dr. Geanakoplos.

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Continued*

NYLE H. MILLER AND JOSEPH W. SNELL

HICKOK, JAMES BUTLER

(1837-1876)

WILD Bill Hickok began his career as a Kansas peace officer in 1858. On March 22, though only 20 years of age, he was elected constable of Monticello township, Johnson county. On April 21, 1858, Gov. James W. Denver issued Hickok's commission and the act was recorded in the "Executive Minutes, Kansas Territory," now a part of the archives of the State Historical Society.

Records of the United States War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General, show that on October 30, 1861, J. B. Hickok was hired as wagon master at Sedalia, Mo. His pay was \$100 a month.

Similar records from the Office of the Provost Marshal General show that a William Hickok (Wild Bill?) served as a special policeman in the corps during March, 1864. In the section on "Scouts, Guides and Spies, 1861-1866" this item was found:

The United States, to William Hickok Dr.

March 10" 1864 For

Services rendered as Special Police under the
direction of Lt. N. H. Burns A Pro Mar Dist S. W.
Mo at Springfield Mo from March 1" to March 10"
1864 inclusion being 10 days at \$60.00 per month.

\$20.00

I certify that the above account is correct and just; that the services were rendered as stated, and that they were necessary for the Public Service, as per my Report of "Persons and Articles," Abstract of Expenditures for March 1864.

N. H. Burns

1 Lieut 1 Ark Inf. Actg. Pro. Mar.

Approved

John B. Sanborn

Brig. Genl. Comd.

On the reverse this terse sentence was written:

Disapproved and ordered filed by Col Sanderson, for the reason that no authority was issued by the Pro Mar Genl of Dept of the Mo, for the employment of this man.

Wm K Patrick

July 20 '64

Auditor

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL are members of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

NOTE: Appearance of the first installment of this series in the Spring, 1960, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, has resulted in numerous requests for additional copies. If interest continues the entire series will be reprinted and offered for sale under one cover, with additional information and perhaps an index.

A like reference to service from March 11 to March 31 was also recorded:

The United States, to Wm Hickok Dr.

March 31" 1864 For

Services rendered as Special Police under the
direction of Lt W. H. McAdams Pro Mar Dist S. W.
Mo. at Springfield Mo from March 11" to March
31" 1864, inclusion being 20 days at \$60.00 per
month

\$40.00

I certify that the above account is correct and just; that the services were rendered as stated, and that they were necessary for the Public Service, as per my Report of "Persons and Articles," Abstract of Expenditures for March 1864.

W. H. McADAMS

Lt. 24" Mo. Vol. Pro. Mar. Dist. S. W. Mo.

Approved

John B. Sanborn

Brig. Genl. Comd

And on the reverse the same terse sentence:

Disapproved and ordered filed by Col Sanderson, for the reason that no authority was issued by the Pro Mar Genl of Dept of the Mo, for the employment of this man.

Wm K Patrick

July 20 '64

Auditor

Near the end of the Civil War, Hickok wrote this letter:

CASSVILLE, Mo., *February 10, 1865.*

Brigadier-General SANBORN:

I have been at Camp Walker and Spavinaw. There are not more than ten or twelve rebels in any squad in the southwest that I can hear of. If you want me to go to Neosho and west of there, notify me here. It was cold; I returned back.

J. B. HICKOCK.

General Sanborn replied:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF SOUTHWEST MISSOURI,
Springfield, Mo., February 11, 1865.

J. B. HICKOCK,

Cassville, Mo.:

You may go to Yellville or the White River in the vicinity of Yellville and learn what Dobbin intends to do with his command now on Crowley's Ridge, and from there come to this place.

JOHN B. SANBORN,
Brigadier-General, Commanding.¹

It was in Springfield that Hickok shot and killed Dave Tutt. The *Springfield Missouri Weekly Patriot*, July 27, 1865, gave the killing only scant notice in its "locals" column:

David Tutt, of Yellville, Ark., was shot on the public square, at 6 o'clock P. M., on Friday last, by James B. Hickok, better known in Southwest Missouri

as "Wild Bill." The difficulty occurred from a game of cards. Hicock is a native of Homer, Lasalle county, Ills., and is about twenty-six years of age. He has been engaged since his sixteenth year, with the exception of about two years, with Russell, Majors & Waddill, in Government service, as scout, guide, or with exploring parties, and has rendered most efficient and signal service to the Union cause, as numerous acknowledgements from the different commanding officers with whom he has served will testify.

Wild Bill was tried and on August 5, 1865, was acquitted. The *Patriot* reported on August 10:

The trial of Wm. Haycock for the killing of Davis Tutt, in the streets in this city week before last, was concluded on Saturday last, by a verdict of *not guilty*, rendered by the jury in about ten minutes after they retired to the jury room.

The general dissatisfaction felt by the citizens of this place with the verdict in no way attaches to our able and efficient Circuit Attorney, nor to the Court. It is universally conceded that the prosecution was conducted in an able, efficient and vigorous manner, and that Col. Fyan [*sic*] is entitled to much credit for the ability, earnestness and candor exhibited by him during the whole trial. He appeared to be a full match for the very able Counsel who conducted the defense.—Neither can any fault be found with the Judge, who conducted himself impartially throughout the trial, and whose rulings, we believe, gave general satisfaction. As an evidence of the impartiality of his Honor, we copy the instructions given to the jury, as follows:

1st. If they believe from the evidence that the defendant intentionally shot at the deceased, Davis Tutt, and the death of said Tutt was caused thereby, they will find defendant guilty, unless they are satisfied from the evidence that he acted in self-defense.

2d. That defendant is presumed to have intended the natural and probable consequences of his own acts.

3d. The defendant cannot set up in justification that he acted in self-defense if he was willing to engage in a fight with deceased.

4th. To be entitled to acquittal on the ground of self-defense, he must have been anxious to avoid a conflict, and must have used all reasonable means to avoid it.

5th. If the deceased and defendant engaged in a fight or conflict willingly on the part of each, and the defendant killed the deceased, he is guilty of the offense charged, although the deceased may have fired the first shot.

6th. If it appear[s] that the conflict was in any way premeditated by the defendant, he is not justifiable.

7th. The crime charged in the indictment is complete, whether there was malice or not.

8th. If the jury have any reasonable doubt as to the defendant's guilt, they will give him the benefit of such doubt, and acquit him.

9th. But such doubt must be a reasonable doubt, not a mere possibility. It must be such a doubt as leaves the mind dissatisfied with a conclusion of guilt.

10th. This rule, as to a reasonable doubt, does not apply as to matters set up in justification.

11th. If the defendant claims to have acted in self-defense it is his duty

to satisfy you that he so acted, and it is not sufficient to create a doubt in your minds whether he so acted or not.

12th. The jury will disregard evidence as to the moral character of deceased, and as to his character for loyalty, as the character of the deceased could afford no excuse for killing him.

13th. Every murder includes in it the crime of man-slaughter, and if the jury believe that the defendant has committed the crime of murder in the first or second degree, they will find him guilty under this indictment of man-slaughter, the crime charged in this indictment.

14th. The Court instructs the jury that they may disregard all that part of the evidence of Tutt's declaration to Lieut. Warner.

15th. The Court instructs to disregard all Werner's testimony.

16th. That the jury will disregard any threats made by Tutt against Haycock prior to the meeting at the Lyon House in Haycock's room.

Those who so severely censure the jury for what they regard as a disregard of their obligations to the public interest, and a proper respect for their oaths, should remember that they are partly to blame themselves. The citizens of this city were shocked and terrified at the idea that a man could arm himself and take a position at a corner of the public square, in the centre of the city, and await the approach of his victim for an hour or two, and then willingly engage in a conflict with him which resulted in his instant death; and this, too, with the knowledge of several persons who seem to have posted themselves in safe places where they could see the tragedy enacted. But they failed to express the horror and disgust they felt, not from indifference, but from fear and timidity.

Public opinion has much to do with the administration of justice, and when those whose sense of justice and respect for law should prompt them to speak out and control public sentiment, fail to do so, whether from fear or from indifference, we think they should not complain of others. That the defendant engaged in the fight willingly it seems is not disputed, and lawyers say—and the Court instructed the jury to the same effect—that he was not entitled to an acquittal on the ground of self-defense unless he was anxious to avoid the fight, and used all reasonable means to do so; but the jury seems to have thought differently.

About the end of January, 1867, the February issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* arrived in Kansas. The lead article, authored by Col. George Ward Nichols, was destined to make James Butler Hickok nationally famous. Then, as now, printed versions of Hickok's career became the subject of controversy. The Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, January 30, 1867, said:

QUEER.—The story of "Wild Bill," as told in Harper's for February is not easily credited hereabouts. To those of us who were engaged in the campaign it sounds mythical; and whether Harry York, Buckskin Joe or Ben Nugget is meant in the *life* sketches of Harper we are not prepared to say. The scout services were so mixed that we are unable to give precedence to any. "Wild Bill's" exploits at Springfield have not as yet been heard of here, and if under that cognomen such brave deeds occurred we have not been given the relation.

There are many of the rough riders of the rebellion now in this city whose record would compare very favorably with that of "Wild Bill," and if another account is wanted we might refer to Walt Sinclair and also to the Park Stables.

One of the most spirited criticisms appeared in the *Springfield Patriot* on January 31, 1867. The editor of that paper, having known Hickok during the war years, apparently felt especially qualified to criticize the article. He wrote:

"WILD BILL," HARPER'S MONTHLY AND "COLONEL" G. W. NICHOLS.

Springfield is excited. It has been so ever since the mail of the 25th brought *Harper's Monthly* to its numerous subscribers here.—The excitement, curiously enough, manifests itself in very opposite effects upon our citizens. Some are excessively indignant, but the great majority are in convulsions of laughter, which seem interminable as yet. The cause of both abnormal moods, in our usually placid and quiet city, is the first article in *Harper* for February, which all agree, if published at all, should have had its place in the "Editor's Drawer," with the other fabricated more or less funnyisms; and not where it is, in the leading "illustrated" place. But, upon reflection, as Harper has given the same prominence to "Heroic Deeds of Heroic Men," by Rev. J. T. Headley, which, generally, are of about the same character as its article "Wild Bill," we will not question the good taste of its "make up."

We are importuned by the angry ones to review it. "For," say they, "it slanders our city and citizens so outrageously by its caricatures, that it will deter some from immigrating here, who believe its representations of our people."

"Are there any so ignorant?" we asked.

"Plenty of them in New England; and especially about the Hub, just as ready to swallow it all as Gospel truth, as a Johnny Chinaman or Japanese would be to believe that England, France and America are inhabited by cannibals."

"Don't touch it," cries the hilarious party, "don't spoil a richer *morceaux* than ever was printed in Gulliver's Travels, or Baron Munchausen! If it prevents any consummate fools from coming to Southwest Missouri, that's no loss."

So we compromise between the two demands, and give the article but brief and inadequate criticism. Indeed, we do not imagine that we could do it justice, if we made ever so serious and studied an attempt to do so.

A good many of our people—those especially who frequent the bar rooms and lager-beer saloons, will remember the author of the article, when we mention one "Colonel" G. W. NICHOLS, who was here for a few days in the summer of 1865, splurging around among our "strange, half-civilized people," seriously endangering the supply of lager and corn whisky, and putting on more airs than a spotted stud-horse in the ring of a county fair. *He's the author!* And if the illustrious holder of one of the "Brevet" commissions which Fremont issued to his wagon-masters, will come back to Springfield, two-thirds of all the people he meets will invite him "to pis'n hisself with suth'n" for the fun he unwittingly furnished them in his article—the remaining one-third will kick him wherever met, for lying like a dog upon the city and people of Springfield.

JAMES B. HICKOK, (not "William Hitchcock," as the "Colonel" mis-names his hero,) is a remarkable man, and is as well known here as Horace Greely in

New York, or Henry Wilson in "the Hub." The portrait of him on the first page of *Harper* for February, is a most faithful and striking likeness—features, shape, posture and dress—in all it is a faithful reproduction of one of Charley SCHOLTEN's photographs of "Wild Bill," as he is generally called. No finer *physique*, no greater strength, no more personal courage, no steadier nerves, no superior skill with the pistol, no better horsemanship than his, could any man of the million Federal soldiers of the war, boast of; and few did better or more loyal service as a soldier throughout the war. But Nichols "cuts it very fat" when he describes Bill's feats in arms. We think his hero only claims to have sent a few dozen rebs to the farther side of Jordan; and we never, before reading the "Colonel's" article, suspected he had dispatched "*several hundreds* with his own hands." But it must be so, for the "Colonel" asserts it with a parenthesis of genuine flavoured Bostonian piety, to assure us of his incapacity to utter an untruth.

We dare say that Captain Kelso, our present member of Congress, did double the execution "with his own hands," on the Johnnies, during the war, that Bill did. This is no disparagement to Bill. Except his "mate" TOM MARTIN, (who swore yesterday that Nichols' pathetic description of his untimely murder in 1863, in that article, was not true,) Bill was the best scout, by far, in the Southwest.

The equestrian scenes given are purely imaginary. The extraordinary black mare, Nell, (which was in fact a black stallion, blind in the right eye, and "a goer,") wouldn't "fall as if struck by a cannon ball" when Hickok "slowly waved his hand over her head with a circular motion," worth a cent. And none of our citizens ever saw her (or him) "wink affirmatively" to Bill's mention of her (or his) great sagacity. Nor did she (or he) ever jump upon the billiard table of the Lyon House at "William's low whistle;" and if Bill had, (as the "Colonel" describes it on his own veracity,) mounted her in Ike Hoff's saloon and "with one bound, lit in the middle of the street," he would have got a severe fall in the doorway of the bar room, *sure*, to make no mention of clearing at "one bound" a porch twelve feet wide, and five feet high, a pavement twelve feet, and half the width of the roadway, (twenty-five feet by actual measurement) making a total of forty-nine feet, without computing any margin inside the room from which she (or he) "bounded."

We are sorry to say also that the graphic account of the terrible fight at Mrs. Waltman's, in which Bill killed, solitary and alone, "the guerrilla McKandlas and ten of his men"—the whole bilen of 'em—is not reliable. The fact upon which this account is *founded*, being, that before the war, and while yet out in the mountains, Wild Bill did fight and kill one McKandlas and two other men, who attacked him simultaneously. These little rivulets in the monthlies, weeklies and dailies, all run into and make up the great river of *history* afterwards; and if many of them are as salty as this one, the main stream will be very brackish at least. We must, therefore tell the truth to "vindicate history."

Bill never was in the tight place narrated, and exhibited in the illustrating wood cut, where half down on the edge of Mrs. Waltman's bed, with his bowie-knife up to the hilt in one bushwhacker's heart, with half a dozen dead men upon the floor in picturesque attitudes; two of the three remaining desperadoes have their knives puncturing his westcoat, and the final one of the ten is leveling terrific blows at his head with a clubbed musket. We con-

gratulate Bill on the fact that that picture and narrative was rather *not* true. It would have been too risky even for Bill, the "Scout of the Plains."²

We have not time or space to follow the article further. We protest, however, that our people *do not* dress in "greasy skins," and bask in the sunshine prone upon our pavements. We will die in the belief that we have people here as smart, and even as well dressed as "Colonel" G. W. NICHOLS. Mrs. E. M. BOWEN advertises in our columns the latest styles of "postage stamp" bonnets, and Mde. Demorest's fashions, for our ladies; and we know that SHIPLEY has not been in fault, if our gentlemen are not presentable in costume, even in the "salons" of the Hub.

We must add the remark that so far as we are capable of judging, "Captain Honesty" (who can forget more than Nichols ever knew, and scarcely miss it,) speaks very intelligible, good English. He was at least considered so capable and reliable an A. Q. M. as to be retained by the War Department for more than a year after the war had closed, and his regiment mustered out, to administer and settle the government affairs in one of the most important posts in the country.

In reading the romantic and pathetic parts of the article, "the undercurrent about a woman" in his quarrel and fatal fight with Dave Tutts; and his remarks with "quivering lips and tearful eyes" about his old mother in Illinois, we tried to fancy Bill's familiar face while listening to the passage being read. We could almost hear his certain remark, "O! hell! what a d--n fool that Nichols is." We agree with "Wild Bill" on that point.

The editor of the Leavenworth *Conservative* remembered that he had known Wild Bill in 1864, and on February 1, 1867, told of his acquaintance:

"WILD BILL."—Since the publication of the paper in Harper's, setting forth the exploits of "Wild Bill," there has been a determined research in memory by those who participated in the closing scenes of the war in Northern Arkansas. Since the subject of the sketch in Harper has been prominently given to the country we have furbished our recollection, and the result is that we knew Bill Hitchcock in 1864 and recognize his portrait in the magazine for February. It is a fair representation for a wood cut. "Wild Bill," as he is called, rode in company with the writer, and with Adjutant Mackle and Lt. Col. Hoyt from Newtonia, subsequent to the battle in October, to the Arkansas river, we think, but perhaps he remained at Fayetteville. The general description of the man, as given by Harper, is tolerably correct, but in the language used the narrator is much at fault. In appearance throughout Bill Hitchcock is gentlemanly, and grammatically accurate in conversation, and in all belies the character given him as a desperado. He came into Gen. Blunt's camp on the morning after the battle of Newtonia, having previously been with Price, and having spent several months in the camps in Arkansas, as stated in the article in question. As to his pet mare we are skeptical, and the river adventure would hardly be credited among those on the staff in the fall of 1864. "Wild Bill" is a fit subject for romance, but not more so than a dozen now in this town, who throughout the war, were in the fore front of danger. A special to the Democrat says he is now a gambler at Junction City, which statement we have no reason to doubt. "Wild Bill" has made a mark in the war for the Union, and we accord him full credit for his risks and reward for results attained.

The Atchison *Daily Champion*, February 5, 1867, also felt that some criticism and correction was due. The *Champion's* article was reprinted by the Leavenworth *Conservative* on February 7:

"WILD BILL."—Since the publication in Harper concerning "Wild Bill" the origin, existence and actions of that personage have been very thoroughly canvassed. Elsewhere, we give the Springfield, Mo., version, which is not at all creditable to Geo. Ward Nichols. Speaking of Bill the Atchison *Champion* says:

"The real name of 'Wild Bill,' the scout described in Harper's Magazine for this month, is William Haycock, and not Hitchcock, as given in the last paragraph of the article referred to. He kept, up to the time of the McKandles difficulty, the Overland Stage Co.'s ranche at Rock Creek, beyond Marysville. The McKandles gang consisted of only the leader and three others, and not of fourteen as stated in the magazine. Of these 'Wild Bill,' in the fight referred to, shot McKandles through the heart with a rifle, and then stepping out of doors, revolver in hand, shot another of the gang dead; severely wounded a third, who ran off to a ravine near by, and was found there dead, and slightly wounded the fourth, who ran away and was not heard of afterwards. There was no grudge existing between the McKandles gang and 'Wild Bill,' but the former had a quarrel with the Stage Company, and had come to burn the station 'Bill' was in charge of. The other men, hearing of their coming, ran off, leaving 'Bill' to defend the property alone. He did it with the greatest coolness and courage, and the Company rewarded him very handsomely for his action afterwards.

"'Wild Bill' is, as stated in the Magazine, a splendid specimen of physical manhood, and is a dead shot with a pistol. He is a very quiet man, rarely talking to any one, and not of a quarrelsome disposition, although reckless and desperate when once involved in a fight. There are a number of citizens of this city who know him well.

"Nichols' sketch of 'Wild Bill' is a very readable paper, but the fine descriptive powers of the writer have been drawn upon as largely as facts, in producing it. There are dozens of men on the Overland Line who are probably more desperate characters than Haycock, and are the heroes of quite as many and as desperate adventures. The wild West is fertile in 'Wild Bills.' Charley Slade, formerly one of the division Superintendents on the O. S. Line, was probably a more desperate, as well as a cooler man than the hero of Harper's, and his fight at his own ranche was a much more terrible encounter than that of 'Wild Bill' with the McKandles gang. Slade, however, unlike Haycock, was naturally quarrelsome, and could hardly feel comfortable unless he had shot a man within two or three days."

The identity of the scout will probably be settled within the next three months. However, the remarks of the *Champion* as to other scouts may be taken as correct. There are many in Kansas whose adventures, illustrated, would read as well as those of Wild Bill.

By February 19, 1867, when this item appeared in the *Conservative*, Hickok was something of a celebrity in Leavenworth:

"WILD BILL."—This somewhat noted individual was in the city yesterday, having recently arrived from Riley with a lot of furs and skins. He was the observed of a good many observers.

Wild Bill had been in government service, as a scout, since the first of the year. In April he was ordered to accompany the Indian expedition of Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock west of Fort Larned. Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer, as executive officer and acting commander of the Seventh U. S. cavalry, was along as was Henry M. Stanley, then a newspaper reporter but later famous as the discoverer of Dr. David Livingstone in Africa. The *Topeka Weekly Leader*, April 25, 1867, reported:

GENERAL HANCOCK'S INDIAN EXPEDITION.

Phillip D. Fisher, of Topeka, now engaged in surveying the route for the Union Pacific Railway, eastern division, west of Salina, writes, as follows to *Harper's Weekly*. Mr. Fisher also sketched Fort Harker, which appears in "*Harpers*" for April 27th:

"The Government, aroused at last to the necessity of doing something to prevent a repetition of the massacre at Fort Phillip Kearney, has sent an expedition to the Plains under Major-General Winfield S. Hancock. The command reached Fort Harker on the first of April, and went into camp on the "Smoky Bottom," just west of the post; from which camp it moved on the third of April, going to Fort Larned on the Arkansas River, distant from Harker about eighty miles.—The troops are under command of Gen. A. J. Smith [colonel of the Seventh U. S. cavalry]. They number about two thousand men.

"Wild Bill," who, since the publication of his exploits in the February number of *Harper's Magazine*, has had greatness thrust upon him, is attached as a scout, and quite a number of Delaware Indians accompany the command in the capacity of scouts, guides, hunters, and interpreters. . . .

Before the expedition left Fort Harker, Stanley, reporting for the *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, had written this description and almost unbelievable interview with Hickok under dateline of April 4:

James Butler Hickok, commonly called "Wild Bill," is one of the finest examples of that peculiar class known as frontiersman, ranger, hunter, and Indian scout. He is now thirty-eight [29] years old, and since he was thirteen the prairie has been his home. He stands six feet one inch in his moccasins, and is as handsome a specimen of a man as could be found. We were prepared, on hearing of "Wild Bill's" presence in the camp, to see a person who might prove to be a coarse and illiterate bully. We were agreeably disappointed however. He was dressed in fancy shirt and leathern leggings. He held himself straight, and had broad, compact shoulders, was large chested, with small waist, and well-formed muscular limbs. A fine, handsome face, free from blemish, a light moustache, a thin pointed nose, bluish-grey eyes, with a calm look, a magnificent forehead, hair parted from the centre of the forehead, and hanging down behind the ears in wavy, silken curls, made up the most picturesque figure. He is more inclined to be sociable than otherwise; is enthusiastic in his love for his country and Illinois, his native State; and is endowed with extraordinary power and agility, whose match in these respects it would be difficult to find. Having left his home and native State when young, he is a thorough child of the prairie, and inured to fatigue. He has none of the swaggering gait, or the barbaric jargon ascribed to the pioneer by the *Beadle*

penny-liners. On the contrary, his language is as good as many a one that boasts "college larning." He seems naturally fitted to perform daring actions. He regards with the greatest contempt a man that could stoop low enough to perform "a mean action." He is generous, even to extravagance. He formerly belonged to the 8th Missouri Cavalry.

The following dialogue took place between us: "I say, Mr. Hickok, how many white men have you killed to your certain knowledge?" After a little deliberation, he replied, "I suppose I have killed considerably over a hundred." "What made you kill all those men? Did you kill them without cause or provocation?" "No, by heaven! I never killed one man without good cause." "How old were you when you killed the first white man, and for what cause?" "I was twenty-eight years old when I killed the first white man, and if ever a man deserved killing he did. He was a gambler and counterfeiter, and I was then in an hotel in Leavenworth City, and seeing some loose characters around, I ordered a room, and as I had some money about me, I thought I would retire to it. I had lain some thirty minutes on the bed when I heard men at my door. I pulled out my revolver and bowie knife, and held them ready, but half concealed, and pretended to be asleep. The door was opened, and five men entered the room. They whispered together, and one said, 'Let us kill the son of a ———; I'll bet he has got money.' Gentlemen," said he, "that was a time—an awful time. I kept perfectly still until just as the knife touched my breast; I sprang aside and buried mine in his heart, and then used my revolver on the others right and left. One was killed, and another was wounded; and then, gentlemen, I dashed through the room and rushed to the fort, where I procured a lot of soldiers, and returning to the hotel, captured the whole gang of them, fifteen in all. We searched the cellar, and found eleven bodies buried in it—the remains of those who had been murdered by those villains." Turning to us, he asked: "Would you not have done the same? That was the first man I killed, and I never was sorry for that yet." ³

Perhaps Wild Bill's fanciful account was merely an attempt to live up to the reputation *Harper's* had built for him. If so, he deserves an "E" for effort.

The records of the Quartermaster General, "Reports of Persons and Articles Hired, 1861-1868," show that Hickok had entered government service on January 1, 1867. Engaged as a scout, he was paid \$100 per month. By July 31, 1867, the last month of his recorded employment, the government owed him \$300 in back pay. In May and June he was listed as "scouting with 7th Cavly in the field."

Hickok and Jack Harvey, another of Hancock's scouts, visited Junction City in May. The *Junction City Weekly Union*, May 11, 1867, reported: "Wild Bill came in from the west the other day. He reports all qui[e]t at the front. Jack Harvey has also returned. Hancock will be in in a day or so. Custar will be the only notable left behind."

Henry Stanley was in Junction City, too, and that same day, May

11, sent another of his dispatches. Hickok still had him captivated, for he wrote:

"Wild Bill," who is an inveterate hater of the Indians, was . . . chased by six Indians lately, and had quite a little adventure with them. It is his custom to be always armed with a brace of ivory-handled revolvers, with which weapons he is remarkably dexterous; but when bound on a long and lonely ride across the plains, he goes armed to the teeth. He was on one of these lonely missions, due to his profession as scout, when he was seen by a group of the red men, who immediately gave chase. They soon discovered that they were pursuing one of the most famous men of the prairie, and commenced to retrace their steps, but two of them were shot, after which Wild Bill was left to ride on his way. The little adventure is verified by a scout named [Thomas] Kincaid, who, while bearing despatches for General Custer, was also obliged to use his weapons freely. The lives of these Indian scouts are made up of these little experiences." ⁴

Since Hancock's expedition had failed in its primary mission, which was to persuade the Indians by show of force not to follow the war path that year, military operations against the red man were active throughout the summer. The Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 10, 1867, reported on a rumored skirmish with the Indians:

FROM THE PLAINS. . . .

[From Our Special Correspondent.]

FORT HARKER, July 8, 1867.

. . . I noticed in the Commercial of Saturday morning the following interesting paragraphs relative to Fort Harker and Indian matters:

"A gentleman, just from Fort Harker, says the town is full of vague and indefinite rumors of Indian depredations, outrages, etc.

On the 2d inst. it was reported that four men had been killed and scalped some eight miles west of Fort Harker. Troops were immediately put in readiness, and, under the direction or guidance of Wild Bill, started in pursuit of the bloody depredators. The next day Wild Bill and his party returned, bringing five red skins with them, and having killed some eight or ten Indians on the trip.

As the train left Fort Harker on the morning of the Fourth, picket firing was heard in various directions around the Fort, indicating the presence of skulking Indians."

If there is such a town as Fort Harker "your own" has failed to discover it. If it has an existence, it is in the imagination of the author of the paragraphs above quoted.

As to the second paragraph it is true in part. Four men were reported killed on the 2d inst., and a scouting party was sent out to investigate. The party returned on Friday, but with nary a dead Indian; neither had they seen a live one.

On October 26, 1867, the editor of the Manhattan *Independent* described Hickok as follows:

On Monday we took the cars of the U. P. R. W. E. D. for Leavenworth. We make no mention of this because there is any peculiar significance in our visiting the metropolis of Kansas. Like almost everybody in Kansas we do so occasionally. But upon this occasion it was our fortune to fall in with quite a number of persons of whom it might interest our readers to learn something.

WILD BILL

the celebrated scout, with Jack Harvey and some dozen of their companions were upon the train, having just come in from a scouting expedition under Gen. Sherman. All the party were more or less affected by frequent potations from their bottles, and Wild Bill himself was tipsy enough to be quite beligerent.

He is naturally a fine looking fellow, not much over 30 years of age, over 6 feet in height, muscular & athletic, possessing a fine figure, as lithe and agile as the Borneo Boys. His complexion is very clear, cheek bones high, and his fine auburn hair, which he parts in the middle hangs in ringlets down upon his shoulders, giving him a girlish look in spite of his great stature. He wore a richly embroydered sash with a pair of ivory hilted and silver mounted pistol stuck in it. Doubtless this man and his companions have killed more men than any other persons who took part in the late war. What a pity that young men so brave and daring should lack the discretion to sheath their daggers forever when the war terminated! But such is the demoralizing effect of war upon those who engage in it and certainly upon all who love the vocation.

We learn from a gentleman who has frequently met these wild and reckless young men, that they live in a constant state of excitement, one continual round of gambling drinking and swearing, interspersed at brief intervals with pistol practice upon each other.

At a word any of the gang draws his pistol and blazes away as freely as if all mankind were Arkansas Rebels, and had a bounty offered for their scalpes.

How long these Athletes will be able to stand such a mode of life; eating, drinking, sleeping (if they can be said to sleep) and playing cards with their pistols at half cock, remains to be seen. For ourself, we are willing to risk them in an Indian campaign for which their cruelty and utter recklessness of life particularly fit them.

In December Wild Bill was mentioned as being in Hays. The *Conservative*, December 14, 1867, gave this article taken from the *Hays City Advance*: "U. S. Marshal Whiting, Wild Bill, Jack Harvey, Surcey and others called in at our quarters Tuesday. They were all welcome. William is still around, probably engaged in preparing his LIFE for DeWitt."

Frank A. Root, editor of the *Atchison Daily Free Press*, wrote in that paper on January 6, 1868:

In Hays I formed the acquaintance of Wm. Haycock, better known as "Wild Bill." He is a man about thirty years of age, over six feet high, straight as an arrow, with long black hair hanging over his shoulders. He is in the

employ of Government as a detective and is probably better acquainted with the plains than any other man living, of his age.

Hickok was a deputy United States marshal when he wrote this letter which the Hays *Daily News* reprinted on March 17, 1957:

HAYS CITY, KANSAS
March 28, 1868

CAPT. SAM OVENSCHINE

Comdr Post of Fort Hays, Kans.

Capt:

I have the honor to request that a guard of a Corpl and five men be detailed to assist me in conveying the prisoners of the U. S. Marshal now in the Post Guard House to Topeka, Kans. I should respectfully call your attention to the number and character of these prisoners and the feeling in their behalf in this community which renders a guard of U. S. soldiers absolutely necessary.

I am, Captain, very respectfully

Your obd't servant
J. B. HICKOK
Dept. U. S. Marshal.

The prisoners were, with the help of W. F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, taken safely to Topeka. The Topeka *Weekly Leader*, April 2, 1868, reported:

BAND OF ROAD MEN CAPTURED—

W. F. Cody, government detective, and Wm. Haycock—Wild Bill—deputy U. S. Marshal, brought eleven prisoners and lodged them in our calaboose on Monday last. These prisoners belonged to a band of robbers having their headquarters on the Solomon and near Trinidad, and were headed by one Major Smith, once connected with the Kansas 7th. They are charged with stealing and secreting government property, and desertion from the army.

Seventeen men, belonging to this same band, were captured eleven miles from Trinidad, on the 13th of March, and sent to Denver, Colorado Territory, for trial.

Hickok was still in Hays, or again in Hays, in August, 1868. Reporting the adventures of a western excursion, a writer in the *Leader*, August 13, 1868, related:

EXCURSION TO MONUMENT.

. . . Hays city, three hundred miles west of State line, is the present live town of the plains. The first man we saw was "Wild Bill." He was ready, waiting to give welcome to the excursionists. Gentle William said he had brought two hundred of the nastiest, meanest, Cheyennes to Hays that we might get a sight at the red men who did most of the murdering and scalping during the troubles of the past two years.

Hickok was again hired by the army on September 1, 1868. This time he was carried on the rolls as a guide and was paid \$100 per month. He was hired by the 10th U. S. cavalry "near Skimmerhorne Rancho [probably on Elkhorn creek in present Elkhorn township,

Lincoln county], Kansas." Available records reported Hickok employed thusly through the remainder of 1868.⁵

In July, 1869, the *St. Joseph Union* reported that Hickok had been shot. The *Leavenworth Times and Conservative* reprinted the article on July 17. Unfortunately no details of the shooting were given:

The *St. Joseph Union* is responsible for the following:

WILD BILL, of Harper notoriety, was shot three times in Colorado the other day. Wounds not mortal. If the enthusiastic admirers of this old plainsman could see him on one of his periodical drunks, they would have considerable romance knocked out of them.

Within a couple of weeks Hickok was seen in Hays. The *Junction City Weekly Union*, July 31, 1869, in an article reporting an excursion to "end of track," mentioned him:

EXCURSION TO SHERIDAN.

On Monday last, a party, consisting of Richard Bowne, Esq., a prominent member of the New York bar; Mrs. Bowne; Misses Eliza and Annie Bowne; Mr. T. C. Bowne; Mr. E. W. Parsons, of New York city; Mr. Charles E. Alioth of Lausaune, Switzerland; and Mr. and Mrs. Boller of this place, started on a trip to Sheridan, the present terminus of the Kansas Pacific railway. . . .

At Hays City, the excursionists had the pleasure of meeting "Wild Bill," of Harper's Magazine notoriety; and were besides greatly impressed with the air of respectability which characterized all the inhabitants of that wealthy and flourishing metropolis. . . .

Toward the end of August, 1869, Wild Bill was elected sheriff of Ellis county. Although the county was organized in 1867, it had difficulty from the first, in retaining its peace officers. It is known that Tom Gannon was elected sheriff on December 5, 1867,⁶ but it is possible that at least two other persons held the office within the next 18 months. By the summer of 1869, Ellis county was in need of still another sheriff. On July 7, 1869, several citizens of Hays petitioned Gov. James M. Harvey to appoint R. A. Eccles to the post.⁷ Though no record of the governor's reply has been preserved, he apparently did not appoint Eccles since a special election was called and Hickok was chosen. The *Leavenworth Times and Conservative*, September 2, 1869, reported:

HAYS CITY ITEMS.

HAYS CITY, Aug. 31, 1869.

EDITOR TIMES AND CONSERVATIVE:

At the election held here a few days ago . . . J. B. Hickok, familiarly known as "Wild Bill," [was] elected Sheriff of the county.

On September 27, 1869, Sheriff Hickok shot and killed Sam Strawhim, a Hays city ruffian. Previously the *Junction City*

Union, July 31, 1869, had reported a shooting involving Strawhim, Joe Weiss, and A. B. Webster:

A special from Hays City to the Leavenworth Commercial states that Joe Weiss, formerly of the Leavenworth penitentiary, and lately of the plains, was shot through the bowels Friday afternoon, by A. D. [B.] Webster. The affair occurred in the post office, in which Webster was a clerk, and was a most justifiable act.—Weiss, together with another ruffian named Strawhan, threatened Webster's life because he served upon them a notice to leave town, by order of the vigilance committee. They entered the post office about 3 p. m., abused, slapped, and finally drew a revolver upon Webster, who was too quick for them, with the above result. Webster has been acquitted.

Weiss, whom the Leavenworth *Times and Conservative*, May 4, 1869, had called a deputy U. S. marshal, apparently died from this wound or else within a year received another wound which proved fatal. (See the U. S. census extract below.) Now, in September, it was Strawhim's turn to die. The *Times and Conservative*, September 28, 1869, carried this telegraphic report:

FROM HAYS CITY

[Special to THE TIMES AND CONSERVATIVE]

HAYS CITY, Sept. 27.

A man named Sam'l Stranghan was shot and instantly killed by "Wild Bill," (J. B. Hickok) Sheriff, at one o'clock this morning. It appears that Stranghan and a number of his companions being "wolfing" all night, wished to conclude by cleaning out a beer saloon and breaking things generally. "Wild Bill" was called upon to quiet them. In the melee that followed Stranghan was killed. The Coroner's verdict this morning was justifiable homicide. Stranghan was buried this afternoon.

The Lawrence *Kansas Daily Tribune*, September 30, 1869, reprinted the news from the Leavenworth *Commercial*:

WILD BILL PRESERVES ORDER.—

The Leavenworth *Commercial* of Tuesday has a special dispatch from Hays City, dated September 27th, which says:

"About twelve o'clock last night a difficulty occurred in this place at the house of John Bittles, between a party of roughs and the proprietor. Policemen Hickok and Ranahan [probably Peter Lanihan, deputy sheriff] interfered to keep order, when remarks were made against Hickok—Wild Bill. In his efforts to preserve order, Samuel Stringham was shot through the head by him, and instantly killed. Justice Joyce held an inquest on the body to-day, six well-known citizens being selected for the jurymen. The evidence in one or two instances was very contradictory. The jury returned a verdict to the effect that Samuel Stringham came to his death from a pistol wound at the hands of J. B. Hickok, and that the shooting of said Stringham was justifiable.⁸

Sometime shortly before Wild Bill killed Strawhim in Hays, a murder, which eventually involved Hickok, had been committed near Fort Wallace. The *Times and Conservative*, September 16, 1869, reported:



James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok bringing in the reticent Abilene city councilman (see p. 429). This is the picture for which Mayor Joseph G. McCoy was censured by the Abilene Chronicle, May 18, 1871.



Wild Bill Hickok as depicted by Harper's New Monthly Magazine, February, 1867. Several who knew him said the sketch was a good likeness, but they voted the accompanying story "not easily credited hereabouts."

Right, a portion of the Lake circus advertisement in the Junction City Union, July 29, 1871. The circus also played Abilene, where Mrs. Lake met Wild Bill. They later were married.

LAKE'S HIPPO-OLYMPIAD AND Mammoth Circus!

The most thoroughly organised and complete in
the world, under the management of



MADAME AGNES LAKE.



John H. "Doc" Holliday (left), who practiced dentistry in Dodge City in the summer of 1878. His fame as a gunslinger developed from his participation with the Earp brothers in the OK corral fight in Tombstone, Ariz., October, 1881.

Wyatt Earp, policeman at Wichita, 1875-1876, and assistant marshal at Dodge City, 1876-1877, and 1878-1879. Wyatt was a good police officer as cowtown officers went, but it can be said that he was also merely one of the boys. Earp photo courtesy Frontier Book Company, Ruidoso, N. M.

THE "WICKED CITY."

Newspaper correspondents are apt to give the worst phase of social life in Dodge City, but Bona in the Pueblo Chieftain, does not make an overdrawn picture. We make a few extracts on things generally: Dodge City contains about one thousand regular inhabitants, but during the cattle season it swells to several times that number of people, which of course makes it good for hotels, restaurants, saloons and other caterers to the wants of the cow boys and cow owners.

The average Texas cow man gambles, and to supply this want almost, if not even gambling tables. Faro, monte, and the other usual games are dealt openly, and most of the saloons have a private room for the votaries of draw poker.

Three dance houses are in full blast and appear to be making money. The cow boy is apt to spend his money liberally when he gets paid off after his long drive from Texas, and the pumps, gamblers and prostitutes who spend the winter in Kansas City and other large towns, generally manage to get to the point where the boys are paid off so as to give them a good chance to invest their money in fun. The people who own Dodge City and live there do not look with favor on the advent of these classes, and only tolerate them because they cannot well help themselves. They follow the annual cattle drive like vultures of the cattle driving and shipping season. It is this feature of the business that makes people averse to the Texas cattle business coming to their town, and Dodge has already a strong element opposed to cattle coming there to be shipped.

Dodge City is the county seat of Ford county, and has an excellent two story brick court house, a first rate graded school, a Union church, two newspapers, and all the appliances of religion and civilization found in other towns of its size in Kansas. Extremes meet here, and Dodge can show some of the best as well as some of the worst elements of frontier life. There are but few eastern cattle buyers here as yet but several of the owners of

Portion of a page from the Dodge City Times, June 8, 1878. Note the "Dentistry" advertisement of Doc Holliday, and the salary item for Assistant Marshal Wyatt Earp.

LUMBER AND BUILDING MATERIAL, DRESSED OR UNDRESSED.

Framing Timbers, Sash, Doors, Blinds, Moldings, etc.
YARDS SOUTH OF RAILROAD TRACK.
DODGE CITY, KANSAS.

DENTISTRY.

J. H. Holliday, Dentist, very respectfully offers his professional services to the citizens of Dodge City and surrounding country during the summer. Office at room No. 24, Dodge House. Where satisfaction is not given money will be refunded.

Mr. R. P. Edwards, boss herder for Henry Steyens, came up from the Canadian this week, where he has been holding cattle during the winter. He started for Paduchuro on Wednesday to bring up about 800 calves that have been sold by Mr. Stevens.

Bona, in his Dodge City account to the Pueblo Chieftain pays us this compliment: The Dodge City Times is one of the oldest stand by institutions that has helped build up the town, and its proprietors Messrs. Shinn & Klaine deserve well of the people of Kansas. They have a good job office and their paper is a credit to the town and Ford county.

Last Saturday the Pueblo Chieftain celebrated its tin wedding. It says: Ten years ago to-day the first number of the Chieftain, the pioneer newspaper of Southern Colorado, made its appearance. At that time no newspaper existed in Colorado south of Denver, and the whole of the rich grazing, mining and agricultural region lying south of the divide was an unknown country uninhabited, according to

COMMODORE FURLING.

In common with other great "Stiffs," Commodore Furling is sensitive of his proper title. Last week we styled him "Colonel" Furlong. It should have read Commodore Furlong. He served in the navy and was with Farragut's flotilla at New Orleans, and was general reoster during the siege. The Commodore is not in love with Kansas. Life is hard to sustain here. There are too many hard knocks required to meet whisky and brand bills. He proposes to go to the Sandwich Islands and invest himself with King "Call-cos" authority, that potentate being a particular friend of Furlong's. If not furnished transportation he will beat his way to the Cannibals. In that sunny, lazy atmosphere, under a broad tree, and in the lascivious embraces of the voluptuous Cannibal maiden, Furlong can revel in the delight of his passion.

CITY COUNCIL.

Regular meeting of the Council of the city of Dodge City, held Tuesday, June 4th, 1878.

Present—James H. Kelley, Mayor; D. Coley, James Anderson, Walter Strasser, John Newton, Councilmen.

Absent—C. M. Beeson.
Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

The following bills were allowed.

Chas. E. Bassett salary as Marshal.....	100 00
Wyatt Earp, salary as assis't Marshal.....	75 00
John Thrown salary as Policeman.....	75 00
Chas Trask salary as Policeman.....	52 50

Wichita, Kansas, May 10th 1876

To the Police Com. Respectfully
submit the following report
that Police man L. Reaching be
be relieved from further duty
& that the marshal enforce the
Vagrant act in the case of the
2 Erps. The long haired man, the man whose
trial has been postponed. Sol Woodman
& "Red" That the Sheriff of N. Erp &
John Be hons be with held from pay ment
until all money collected by them
for the city be turned over to the city
Treasury.

Wm. H. Hargis
Atty. General

Game. com does not
sign the Vagrant act.

C. M. Garrison

The report of a Wichita police committee in 1876 (see p. 322) which voted two to one that the marshal should "enforce the vagrant act in the case of the 2 Erps." One of the Earps so designated presumably was Wyatt. The original report is in the city clerk's archives at Wichita.

FROM SHERIDAN.

SHOOTING AFFRAY.

[Special to THE TIMES AND CONSERVATIVE.]

SHERIDAN, Sept. 15.

A telegram was received here this morning from Fort Wallace to arrest a man named Bob Connors for the murder of a drover named Hammy. Before there had been time to deliver the telegram Connors passed through town, and Marshal Ferguson, accompanied by California Bill, half an hour later gave chase and came in sight of him at Gopher Switch, talking with section men. As soon as Connors saw he was pursued he put spurs to his horse, and soon left Mr. Ferguson, who was too poorly mounted to pursue him further.

Connors had been in the employ of Mr. Hammy. Last night Hammy was awakened and caught Connors with his hand under his pillow. This morning Hammy discharged Connors, and when paying him, Connors said "I will show you how to accuse me of stealing!" at the same time shooting him and killing him instantly.

There were several in the employ of Mr. Hammy, and it is believed it was their intention to kill him and take his stock. He had 1,300 head of sheep and some horses.

Connors is following the track east. His description has been sent to all the telegraph stations along the road, and he will probably be taken before he gets off the plains.

On September 18, Jack Bridges captured Connors in Hays. The *Times and Conservative*, September 21, 1869, reported:

FROM HAYS CITY.

CAPTURE OF ROBT. CONNORS. . . .

[Special to THE TIMES AND CONSERVATIVE.]

HAYS CITY, Sept. 20

Robert Connors, the man who shot the sheep drover at Fort Wallace a few days ago, was captured here Saturday, on an extra train, on his way east. He got on the train at Buffalo Station, eighty miles west of here. He attempted to get on an A. Anderson extra train, which came down same day, but they would not let him on. He was delivered over to the commanding officer at the Fort for safe keeping, and it is thought that he will be sent to-morrow to Sheridan or Topeka for trial. He took a horse belonging to the murdered man, which he sold at Buffalo for eighty dollars.

Within a few days the commandant telegraphed the governor of Kansas for instructions regarding the prisoner and on October 3 reported his actions in accordance with those instructions:

FT HAYS, KAS

October 3rd—69

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

The Governor of Kansas

JAS. M. HARVEY

DEAR SIR:

If you will be pleased to recollect I telegraphed you on the 24th day of Sept last asking you whether I should deliver a certain Bob Connors to any one but the parties who had placed him in my Guard House for safe keeping.

Bob Connors is charged with being the murderer of a Drover near Pond

City several weeks since, and was arrested by Deputy U S Marshal Bridges & Asst of Hays City. They claiming the use of my Guard House in order to protect him as they alledged from threatened violence at the hands of some of the citizens of Hays.

It having been represented to me that in all probability Connors would be Lynched, were he taken back to Sheridan I deemed it to be my duty to urge upon his Captors (by letter, a copy of which I have carefully preserved on file) that justice demanded that they should take him to Topeka and confer with your Excellency in regard to the proper disposition to be made of him under the circumstances.

Up to the present moment they have made no formal demand for him.

In reply to my telegram you directed that Connors should only be given up to the proper legal authorities.

This morning about 10 o'clock Mr. J. B. Hickok (commonly known as Wild Bill) presented himself at my office accompanied by an Asst whom he called Pete [Deputy Sheriff Peter Lanihan?], and made a formal demand for Connors, handing me what he claimed to be a Warrant for the arrest of said Connors signed by John Whitteford claiming to be a Justice of the Peace for the County of Wallace, Kansas. The document in question did not bear upon its face any seal.

Inasmuch as the Warrant directed Mr. Hickok as *Sheriff* of Ellis County to make the arrest I demanded to see his Commission which was not produced, he acknowledging that he had never been Commissioned by you. Under the circumstances I deemed it to be my duty to decline turning him over. Further I had no evidence that there was any regularly constituted Justice of the Peace for Wallace County.

Acting then purely agreeable to your instructions I have the honor to request that should any State Official endeavor to interfere with me in regard to my non Compliance in this case that you will at once interpose your strong arms in my behalf.

With Sincere respect
Yr Excellency's Obedt Servant
GEO GIBSON
Major 5th Inf
Bt Lt Col USA
Comdg Post⁹

The contemporary records fail to show what disposition was finally made of Robert Connors.

At the regular election for county officers, held November 2, 1869, Hickok was defeated for re-election by his deputy Lanihan. A correspondent of the *Times and Conservative* reported the result of the balloting in the issue of November 5, 1869:

ELLIS COUNTY.

HAYS CITY, Nov. 3, 1869.

EDITOR TIMES AND CONSERVATIVE:

The vote in Ellis county stands as follows:

Sheriff, J. B. Hickok, independent 89; Peter Lannihan, Democratic, 114.

. . .

In the *Leavenworth Times and Conservative* of November 21, another correspondent described the young town and mentioned that "Wild Bill is sheriff and makes a good officer." The correspondence was dated November 16.

Wild Bill visited Topeka on November 17. The *Kansas Daily Commonwealth* mentioned him twice in its November 18, 1869, issue:

"Wild Bill," whom they have attempted to kill, but who has the inexorable will to perambulate the earth still, and who is always ready for a "mill," save when he may chance to be ill, yesterday came up the Topeka hill to get a stomach fill.

Sheriff Hickok, of Ellis county—yclept, in many a well-known story of border-life, "Wild Bill," is in town, registered at the Topeka House. Long may he at Hays,

"Shake his ambrosial locks and give the nod,
The stamp of fate, the sanction of a god!"

At the same election in which Hickok was defeated, the chosen candidate for Ellis county representative was accused by his defeated opponent of irregularities of conduct. Acting in his capacity as sheriff of the county, Hickok served certain legal papers on J. V. Macintosh, the accused. Hickok certified, through his deputy, the deliverance of the papers with this statement which was included in the evidence gathered by the house of representatives and published in the *House Journal* for 1870:

Served the within notice at Hays City, Kansas, on the 9th day of December, A. D. 1869, by delivering a certified copy of the same, at the usual place of residence of the within named J. V. Macintosh.

J. B. HICKOK,
Sheriff.

By PETER LANIHAN,
Deputy Sheriff.¹⁰

The same day the papers were served, December 9, 1869, the *Topeka Commonwealth* mentioned that "Hays city under the guardian care of 'Wild Bill' is quiet and doing well."

On December 20 Hickok sent a buffalo to the proprietor of the Topeka House. The *Commonwealth*, December 21, 1869, reported: "Jas. B. Hickok, *alias* Wild Bill sent a whole buffalo to McMeekin yesterday, from Hays city. Mac serves up buffalo roasts and steak to-day with the usual etcetras."

This was the last record found which located Wild Bill in Hays. Sometime during his stay in that place he wrote this letter or bill for services rendered:

ELLIS COUNTY—

To J B Hickok Dr

To Services as policeman 1 month & 19 days at \$75.00 per Month \$122.50

I certify that the above account is correct and remains due and unpaid.

J. B. HICKOK.¹¹

In concluding Hickok's record at Hays, the following from the 1870 United States census, is of interest because it fails to list Bill Mulvey and the "several" troopers of the Seventh cavalry whom Wild Bill has oft been reported to have killed there during the time covered by the report.

SCHEDULE 2.—Persons who Died during the Year ending 1st June, 1870, in Hays City, in the County of Ellis, State of Kansas, enumerated by me, M. E. Joyce, Ass't Marshal.

Name of every person who died during the year ending June 1, 1870. . . .	Age	Sex	Color	Place of Birth	The Month in which the person died	Occupation	Cause of Death
Ryan, Michael	48	M	W	Ireland	January	Laborer	Whiskey
Weis, Joseph	32	M	W	Ill.	March [July?]	Teamster	Shot
Straughn, Samuel	28	M	W	Ill.	April	Teamster	Shot
[Strawhim?]					[September?]		
Murphy, John	25	M	W	N. Y.	August	Soldier	Shot

I certify that the above return was taken according to law and instruction.

M. E. JOYCE

Asst. Marshal

Total number of deaths, 4. . . .

REMARKS: The above embrace all the names of persons who died in my district during the year ending June 1st 1870. The three persons reported shot were killed in fights on the street. The one reported "from Whiskey" died while drunk and supposed to died from the Effects of liquor.

By February, 1870, Wild Bill was in Topeka. The *Commonwealth*, February 8, reported: "Wild Bill was up before Judge Holmes yesterday, and fined five dollars for striking straight out from the shoulder and consequently hitting a man." On April 29, 1870, the paper mentioned that "Wild Bill" is in the city again."

No other contemporary records were found locating Hickok until the spring of 1871 when he was hired as city marshal of Abilene.

Since the November 2, 1870, death of Chief of Police Tom Smith, Abilene had been without a chief law enforcement officer. In April, 1871, the newly elected city government, spurred by the approaching cattle season and its attendant increase in lawlessness, appointed a city marshal within days of its election. The man chosen was Wild Bill Hickok, and on April 15 he was sworn into office.¹² Hickok's

pay in this capacity was to be \$150 a month plus one-fourth of all fines assessed as a result of arrests made by him.¹³

The first recorded excitement of Hickok's Abilene career occurred on May 8, 1871. The city clerk noted the episode in his minute book:

At an adjourned meeting of the Mayor & Councilmen of the City of Abilene all members were present. On motion of G. L. Brinkman the order of business was suspended and the resignations of members considered. Moved by G. L. Brinkman that both resignations of councilmen be considered at once motion unanimously carried. Moved by G. L. Brinkman that the resignations of Messrs. L. Boudinot and [Samuel] Carpenter be accepted, carried. S. A. Burroughs voting against. S. A. Burroughs left the Council without permission and on motion of Mr. Brinkman the Marshal was instructed to compel his attendance. Mr. Burroughs brought in by the marshal and immediately left the council. On motion of G. L. Brinkman the marshal was instructed to again bring Mr. Burroughs back which order was executed.¹⁴

V. P. Wilson, editor of Abilene's only newspaper, the *Chronicle*, was a leading critic of Mayor Joseph G. McCoy. The council episode made McCoy an apt target for Wilson's editorial cannon. On May 18, 1871, Wilson ran this article in the *Chronicle*:

THE PICTURE MAN.—A short time since our Mayor, J. G. McCoy, ordered the Marshal to arrest and bring into the meeting of the council, only two members being present, one of the members who did not wish to be present. The councilman was arrested and carried into the room by the Marshal. There was not the least shadow of law for such a proceeding, there being no ordinance to compel the attendance of councilmen. Of course the Marshal simply obeyed orders—whether legal or not—and is not to blame. But our silly mayor goes down to Topeka, publishes his exploit in the papers, gets up a picture which pretends to represent the transaction, carves upon it in big letters, "Who's Mayor now," and sends them all over the country to be hawked about and laughed at as a standing disgrace to his own town. If boyish silliness can beat such a small trick we'll acknowledge that Abilene is blessed with a mayor of prudent sense. If you wish to see such nonsense continued vote McCoy's ticket for councilmen on next Tuesday; but if you prefer a council that will oppose the eccentricities and extravagances of our picture mayor, be sure to vote for Boudinot and Carpenter. They are men of good sense, and will do what they think is right.

In June Wild Bill posted notices that the carrying of weapons in the city would be forbidden. The *Chronicle*, June 8, 1871, said:

FIRE ARMS.—The Chief of Police has posted up printed notices, informing all persons that the ordinance against carrying fire arms or other weapons in Abilene, will be enforced. That's right. There's no bravery in carrying revolvers in a civilized community. Such a practice is well enough and perhaps necessary when among Indians or other barbarians, but among white people it ought to be discountenanced.

But the ordinance was disregarded by some and on June 22, 1871, the *Chronicle* reported a shooting:

A shooting affray occurred this morning on First Street, between two men. It seems that hard words passed between them, when one drew his revolver, and No. 2 remarked "you know you have got the advantage of me." No. 1 then put back his weapon, whereupon No. 2 drew a Derringer and fired at No. 1 who also managed to draw his six-shooter. Each fired two shots; one was hit in the wrist and the other in the shoulder. The police were promptly on hand and arrested the parties in time to prevent one or both from being killed. The men are, at this writing, having a hearing before Judge Barber. Each party violated the law by carrying weapons while in town. As to which one is to blame for the shooting we are not advised—but the slight value that some men place upon human life is a sad commentary upon the custom of carrying firearms among people who claim to be civilized. And the cowardly custom of shooting at a man when he is not prepared to defend himself is far from being in accordance with the "code of honor" observed by all men who lay claim to bravery or chivalry. To stand up and shoot at a man, who has an equal chance with you, indicates that you are not a coward, but to fire at a man when you know that he is defenceless and can't return the compliment, is next to the lowest species of cowardice known among men.

If a man is doing any good in the world, his life is worth preserving—but if he is of no use to himself or anybody else, then it don't make much difference how soon his body is put under the ground. And yet, life is sweet to all—and ought to be held sacred by people who are not completely buried in moral darkness.

By now Hickok's staff included Tom Carson, a nephew of Kit Carson; James Gainsford; and J. H. McDonald.

On June 28, 1871, another source of income was added to Wild Bill's salary when the city council authorized the city treasurer to pay him 50 cents for each unlicensed dog that he killed.

"A committee was appointed," on July 8, 1871, "to confer with the City Marshall defining him certain duties to be performed;" on July 15 he was "instructed to stop dance houses and the vending of Whiskeys Brandies & in McCoys addition to the town of Abilene;" and on July 22 he was "instructed to close up all dead & Brace Gambling Games and to arrest all Cappers for the aforesaid Games."¹⁵

Mrs. Agnes Lake's "Hippo-Olympiad and Mammoth Circus" showed in Abilene on July 31, 1871, and it was probably on this occasion that Wild Bill met the widow who was to become his wife five years later. "The attendance was large at each performance," said the *Chronicle*, August 3.

Further instructions were issued the marshal by the city council in late summer. On September 2 Hickok was "to suppress all Dance Houses and to arrest the Proprietors if they persist after the notification," on September 6 he was "instructed to inform the proprietor of the Abilene House to expell the prostitutes from his premises

under the pain and penalties of prosecution," and on September 23 he was told to "notify all prostitutes and gamblers to come forward and pay fines." ¹⁶

The only recorded Abilene shooting scrape in which Hickok was involved occurred on October 5, 1871. One of the victims was Phil Coe, who up until August had been part owner of an Abilene saloon. It has been said that his partner in that business was Ben Thompson. At the time of the shooting Coe was a gambler. On October 12, 1871, the Abilene *Chronicle* reported the incident:

SHOOTING AFFRAY.

TWO MEN KILLED.

On last Thursday evening a number of men got on a "spree," and compelled several citizens and others to "stand treat," catching them on the street and carrying them upon their shoulders into the saloons. The crowd served the Marshal, commonly called "Wild Bill," in this manner. He treated, but told them that they must keep within the bounds of order or he would stop them. They kept on, until finally one of the crowd, named Phil. Coe, fired a revolver. The Marshal heard the report and knew at once the leading spirits in the crowd, numbering probably fifty men, intended to get up a "fight." He immediately started to quell the affair and when he reached the Alamo saloon, in front of which the crowd had gathered, he was confronted by Coe, who said that he had fired the shot at a dog. Coe had his revolver in his hand, as had also other parties in the crowd. As quick as thought the Marshal drew two revolvers and both men fired almost simultaneously. Several shots were fired, during which Mike Williams, a policeman, came around the corner for the purpose of assisting the Marshal, and rushing between him and Coe received two of the shots intended for Coe. The whole affair was the work of an instant. The Marshal, surrounded by the crowd, and standing in the light, did not recognize Williams whose death he deeply regrets. Coe was shot through the stomach, the ball coming out through his back; he lived in great agony until Sunday evening; he was a gambler, but a man of natural good impulses in his better moments. It is said that he had a spite at Wild Bill and had threatened to kill him—which Bill believed he would do if he gave him the opportunity. One of Coe's shots went through Bill's coat and another passed between his legs striking the floor behind him. The fact is Wild Bill's escape was truly marvelous. The two men were not over eight feet apart, and both of them large, stout men. One or two others in the crowd were hit, but none seriously.

We had hoped that the season would pass without any row. The Marshal has, with his assistants, maintained quietness and good order—and this in face of the fact that at one time during the season there was a larger number of cut-throats and desperadoes in Abilene than in any other town of its size on the continent. Most of them were from Kansas City, St. Louis, New Orleans, Chicago, and from the Mountains.

We hope no further disturbances will take place. There is no use in trying to override Wild Bill, the Marshal. His arrangements for policeing the city are complete, and attempts to kill police officers or in any way create disturbance, must result in loss of life on the part of violators of the law. We hope that all,

strangers as well as citizens, will aid by word and deed in maintaining peace and quietness.

The Junction City *Union* reported on October 7, 1871:

Two men were shot at Abilene, Thursday evening. The circumstances were about as follows, so our informant says: Early in the evening a party of men began a spree, going from one bar to another, forcing their acquaintances to treat, and making things howl generally. About 8 o'clock, shots were heard in the "Alamo," a gambling hell; whereupon the City Marshal, Haycock, better known as "Wild Bill," made his appearance. It is said that the leader of the party had threatened to kill Bill, "before frost." As a reply to the Marshal's demand that order should be preserved, some of the party fired upon him, when, drawing his pistols "he fired with marvelous rapidity and characteristic accuracy," as our informant expressed it, shooting a Texan, named Coe, the keeper of the saloon, we believe, through the abdomen, and grazing one or two more. In the midst of the firing, a policeman rushed in to assist Bill, but unfortunately got in the line of his fire. It being dark, Bill did not recognize him, and supposed him to be one of the party. He was instantly killed. Bill greatly regrets the shooting of his friend. Coe will die. The verdict of the citizens seemed to be unanimously in support of the Marshal, who bravely did his duty.

The Saline County Journal, Salina, October 12, 1871, concluded its report of the shooting with the statement that Coe had "resided in Salina a short time during the past summer, and was regarded by those who knew him as a quiet and inoffensive man."

On October 28, 1871, the *Union* reported that "one of Wild Bill's recent victims gets a handsome eulogy in a Texas paper; Wild Bill never hurts any one who behaves himself."

Another attempt to kill Marshal Hickok was reported in the *Chronicle*, November 30:

ATTEMPT TO KILL MARSHAL HICKOK

HE CIRCUMVENTS THE PARTIES.

Previous to the inauguration of the present municipal authorities of Abilene, every principle of right and justice was at a discount. No man's life or property was safe from the murderous intent and lawless invasions of Texans. The state of affairs was very similar to that of Newton during the last season. The law-abiding citizens decided upon a change, and it was thought best to fight the devil with his own weapons. Accordingly Marshal Hickok, popularly known as "Wild Bill," was elected marshal. He appointed his men, tried and true, as his assistants. Without tracing the history of the great cattle market, it will suffice to say that during the past season there has been order in Abilene. The Texans have kept remarkably quiet, and, as we learn from several citizens of the place, simply for fear of Marshal Hickok and his *posse*. The Texans, however, viewed him with a jealous eye. Several attempts have been made to kill him, but all in vain. He has from time to time during the last summer received letters from Austin, Texas, warning him of a combination of rangers who had sworn to kill him. Lately, a letter came saying that a purse of \$11,000

had been made up and five men were on their way to Abilene to take his life. They arrived in Abilene, but for five days they kept hid, and the marshal, although knowing their presence, was unable to find them. At last wearied with watching and sleepless nights and having some business in Topeka, he concluded to come here and take a rest. As he stood on the platform of the depot at Abilene he noticed four desperate looking fellows headed by a desperado about six feet four inches high. They made no special demonstrations, but when the marshal was about to get on the train, a friend who was with him overheard the big Texan say, "Wild Bill is going on the train." He was informed of this remark and kept a watch upon the party. They got on the same train and took seats immediately behind the marshal. In a short time, he got up and took his seat behind them. One of the party glanced around and saw the situation, whereupon they left the car and went into the forward car. The marshal and his friend, then, to be sure that they were after him, went to the rear end of the rear car. The marshal being very tired, sought rest in sleep, while his friend kept watch. Soon the Texans came into the car, and while four of them stood in the aisle, the leader took a position behind the marshal, and a lady who was sitting near, and knew the marshal, saw the Texan grasping a revolver between his overcoat and dress coat. The marshal's friend, who had been a close observer of the party, went to him and told him not to go to sleep. This occurred about ten miles west of Topeka. When the train arrived at Topeka, the marshal saw his friend safely on the bus and re-entered the car. The party of Texans were just coming out of the door, when the marshal asked them where they were going. They replied, "We propose to stop in Topeka." The marshal then said, "I am satisfied that you are hounding me, and as I intend to stop in Topeka, you can't stop here." They began to object to his restrictions, but a pair of 'em convinced the murderous Texans that they had better go on, which they did. While we cannot justify lawlessness or recklessness of any kind, yet we think the marshal wholly justifiable in his conduct toward such a party. Furthermore, we think he is entitled to the thanks of law-abiding citizens throughout the State for the safety of life and property at Abilene, which has been secured, more through his daring, than any other agency.

With the end of the cattle season, Abilene no longer needed the expensive services of Wild Bill Hickok. In December the city clerk noted the council's action in the minute book:

Be it resolved by Mayor & Council of City of Abilene That J. B. Hickok be discharged from his official position as City Marshall for the reason that the City is no longer in need of his services and that the date of his discharge take place from and after this 13th day of December A D 1871. Also that all of his Deputies be stopped from doing duty. On motion . . . that Jas. A. Gauthie be appointed City Marshall of the City of Abilene, for the period of one month commencing this 13th day of December A D 1871, at a salary of \$50.00.¹⁷

Thus ended the Abilene career of James Butler Hickok.

In 1876, Hickok, married now to Mrs. Lake, was in Cheyenne. A correspondent of the *Ellis County Star*, Hays, reported seeing him there in June:

THE BLACK HILLS EXPEDITION.

FT. LARAMIE, June 18th, 1876.

ED. STAR:

We loaded up and left Denver for Cheyenne about 6 p. m., of the 7th, and after considerable tugging and pulling arrived at the latter place, on the morning of the 8th about 7 o'clock. I took a good look at the town and was indeed astonished to see the substantial improvements made in it since I was there last. The town is at least four times as large as in 1870. The notorious Wild Bill is stopping here, and I have been told from a pretty reliable source that he was arrested on several occasions as a vagrant, having no visible means of support. . . .¹⁸

A few weeks later Wild Bill was dead—shot from behind by Jack McCall. The report of his death in the *Star*, August 17, 1876, erroneously named his assassin Bill Sutherland:

"WILD BILL"

We learn from recent dispatches that Mr. J. B. Hickok, (Wild Bill), well known to the older citizens of Hays City, was shot in the head and instantly killed, by a man named Bill Sutherland, while playing cards in a saloon in Deadwood Gulch, Wyoming [Dakota territory]. From the report it seems that Bill had killed a brother of Sutherland's in this city, several years ago, and in revenge the latter shot Bill, taking him unawares.

This is the long-looked for ending of the career of one who deserved a better fate. For nearly his whole life time Bill was on the frontier, a portion of the time acting as scout, and then as an officer of the law in some frontier town. He was elected Sheriff of this county in 1868 [1869], and did good service in keeping order. While here he killed several men; but all their acquaintances agreed that he was justified in so doing. He never provoked a quarrel, and was a generous, gentlemanly fellow. In person he was over six feet tall, broad-shouldered, and a specimen of perfect manhood throughout. He was a dead shot, wonderfully quick in drawing and shooting, the latter faculty filling his enemies with a very wholesome respect, when in his presence. Living as he did in constant fear of his life, he always kept his revolvers with him, and had the fellow that shot him given him a fair fight, and not taken the cowardly advantage that he did, Wild Bill would not have been killed.

1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, v. 48, pt. 1, pp. 810, 819. 2. Some contemporary information concerning the Hickok-McCanles fight has been reprinted in *Nebraska History Magazine*, Lincoln, April-June, 1927 (v. 10, No. 2). The original "Wild Bill" article by G. W. Nichols has also been reprinted in this volume. 3. Henry M. Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia* (London, 1895), pp. 5-8. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 97. 5. "Records of the War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General; Reports of Persons and Articles Hired, 1861-1868," National Archives. 6. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, December 11, 1867. 7. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. The petition was signed by many persons including Jack L. Bridges; A. J. Peacock, later a prominent Dodge City resident; A. B. Webster, several times mayor of Dodge City in the cowtown days; and Samuel Strawhim, a victim of Wild Bill's marksmanship. It was from the petition signature that the compilers of this sketch determined the correct spelling of Strawhim's name. 8. *See, also*, the Junction City *Weekly Union*, October 2, 1869, and the preceding footnote. The *Union* spelled the name "Strangham." 9. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 10. Pages 256, 257. 11. Manuscripts division, Kansas State His-

torical Society. 12. "City Council Minute Book," Records of the City of Abilene, p. 55; Junction City *Weekly Union*, April 22, 1871. 13. Abilene *Chronicle*, May 18, 1871. 14. Page 64. 15. "City Council Minute Book," Records of the City of Abilene, pp. 73, 77, 79, 81. 16. *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 88, 94. 17. Pages 107, 108. 18. June 29, 1876.

HINKLE, GEORGE T.

(1845?-____)

George T. Hinkle was the third man to serve as sheriff of Ford county, Kansas. In 1877 he had been a candidate for the office against Bat Masterson and L. E. Deger, but shortly before the election he withdrew and threw his support to Deger. Despite this, Masterson won and became Ford county's second sheriff.

In 1879 Hinkle again ran for sheriff. He received early mention in the *Ford County Globe*, September 16, 1879:

CANDIDATES FOR SHERIFF.

SPEAREVILLE, KAN., Sept. 14.

EDITOR GLOBE:—Will you be kind enough to let the farmers of the east end of Ford county know through the columns of your paper who the candidates are that are seeking the office of Sheriff this fall, besides Masterson? We have enough of the Masterson rule.

SUBSCRIBER.

For the information of our subscriber we will say that as yet we have heard the name of but one man mentioned, aside from the present sheriff, and that is George T. Hinkel, of this city, who would make an excellent officer. He is not seeking the office, but would certainly make a strong candidate.

Apparently Hinkle did not campaign actively. The *Globe*, October 28, 1879, said:

Geo. T. Hinkel hasn't made much of a boom during his canvass; but in his quiet way he has made many a strong vote.

No person will regret casting a vote for Hinkel for Sheriff. Let all his friends come out on election day and give him their united support. He is worthy and competent.

At the election on November 4, 1879, Hinkle defeated Bat Masterson in all of the Ford county precincts and racked up a majority of 136 votes, beating the incumbent 404 to 268.¹

Sheriff Hinkle assumed the duties of his office on January 12, 1880. The *Dodge City Times*, January 17, 1880, reported the new sheriff's appointments:

THE NEW OFFICERS.

The county officers elected in November last, assumed their duties on Monday last. George T. Hinkle as Sheriff, G. W. Potter as County Clerk, and W. F. Petillon as Register of Deeds. F. C. Zimmerman does not take hold of the office of Treasurer until October next. Chas. Van Tromp was re-elected to the office of Surveyor, and John W. Straughn was re-elected to the office of Coronor.

Sheriff Hinkle has appointed Fred Singer under Sheriff, and John W. Straughn Deputy Sheriff, and Jailor. Mr. Hinkle is to be congratulated upon these appointments. Both gentlemen make excellent officers.

One of Hinkle's first official acts was to deliver Arista H. Webb to the state penitentiary. The *Ford County Globe*, January 27, 1880, reported:

Sheriff Hinkle and Chas. E. Bassett on last Friday evening departed for the State Penitentiary with A. W. [H.] Webb, who received his death sentence at the last term of court in this county. Mr. Webb was charged with the murder of Barney Martin, and found guilty on said charge.

The newspaper article which described Webb's crime was reprinted in the section on Charles E. Bassett.

On January 31, 1880, the *Times* reported that "Sheriff Geo. T. Hinkle, and Chas. E. Bassett returned from Leavenworth Tuesday morning, where they safely lodged A. H. Webb, convicted of murder."

In June, 1880, Hinkle was enumerated in the 10th United States census, his occupation being listed as "saloon liquor dealer" and his age as 35 years. He had been married to Miss A. C. Robinson, of Chillicothe, Mo., on May 7, 1879.²

More prisoners were taken to the penitentiary in July. The *Globe*, July 6, 1880, reported:

Sheriff George T. Hinkel and under-sheriff Fred Singer returned yesterday from their trip to Leavenworth, to which place they took Pat York and Frank Wilcox, who were sentenced to the penitentiary at the last term of court.

The same type of activity was recorded by the *Globe* again on January 25, 1881:

THE PUNISHMENT OF THE UNGODLY.

Sheriff Hinkel and Under-Sheriff Fred Singer started for the State Penitentiary last Saturday evening with two prisoners in their charge, to-wit: John Gill, alias "Concho," convicted of the murder of Henry Heck, and sentenced to 15 years; William Chapman, convicted of Grand Larceny, sentenced to 15 months. We trust the boys will have ample time for serious reflection during their stay in the penitentiary.

On March 3 the Dodge City *Times* reported:

Sheriff Hinkle is slowly recovering. Under Sheriff Singer has been on the sick list also. We trust they will be all right soon. A. B. Webster has been acting sheriff for some weeks past, during the sickness of the above named officers.

Whatever the nature of his illness, Hinkle was still not fully recovered in May. The *Times*, May 12, 1881, said that "Sheriff Hinkle and wife have gone to the Arkansas Hot Springs for the benefit of Mr. Hinkle's health."

The *Ford County Globe*, September 27, 1881, reported a Hinkle arrest:

A MIDNIGHT ROBBER.

Last Sunday night a party gained admittance to the Grand Central Hotel and interviewed the various sleeping apartments, relieving the occupants of sundry articles of clothing, pocket change, watches, etc., and escaped as quietly as he had gained admittance, without detection or hindrance. J. Bambridge, an occupant of one of the rooms, was interviewed by the petty thief and relieved of a \$97 check and \$15 in cash. Frank Smith was the next victim, being relieved of his coat and vest. The proprietor, T. J. Draper, was hunted up and had his pants pockets turned inside out and the contents taken charge of, which consisted of articles of no particular value, and relieving him of his vest and suspenders. From the proprietor's room, he took in nearly every room in the house, and it is reported that in the grand round-up the party had secured about \$300 in money and checks, several good watches, pocket knives, and numerous articles of clothing. Sheriff Hinkel was at once informed of the robbery and was soon on the track of a party by the name of J. H. Gould, who was arrested on suspicion.

In November, 1881, Sheriff Hinkle, running on the "Peoples'" ticket against independent Michael Sughrue and three other minor party candidates, was re-elected by a majority of 35 votes.³

On December 19 the sheriff received a telegram which stated that Edward F. Hardesty, formerly a prominent Dodge City attorney, had killed a man. The *Globe*, December 20, 1881, reported:

FATAL AFFRAY AT COOLIDGE.

The following dispatch, fully explanatory of itself, came over the wire:

COOLIDGE, Dec. 19.

GEORGE HINKEL, sheriff of Ford county,
Dodge City, Kansas:

Edward Hardesty killed a man named Barney Elliott at six o'clock this morning. Bring the coroner and come on the first train.

Sheriff Hinkel and Attorney Gryden started on the afternoon train for Coolidge, in response to the above telegram.

The Dodge City *Times*, December 22, described the crime in more detail:

THE KILLING AT COOLIDGE.—A man by the name of Barney Elliott, who was in the employ of Ed. F. Hardesty, at Coolidge, on the State Line, 125 miles west, was killed by the latter early on Tuesday morning last. Hardesty was absent from home Monday night, and returned at daylight. About four o'clock in the morning Elliott, who in physical appearance resembles Hardesty, entered Mrs. Hardesty's room and crept into her bed, leaving the room before daylight. Upon the arrival of the husband the outraged wife realized the terrible mistake that had been made and was thrown into hysterics. The husband smarting under this outrage, procured two revolvers and sought the man who inflicted this shame and disgrace upon him. When charged with the outrage, Elliott neither denied nor affirmed it, making no reply. Hardesty avenged the honor

of his wife by firing eleven shots at Elliott, killing him almost instantly. Mrs. Hardesty is within a few weeks of confinement, and is now in poor condition. Sheriff Hinkle and Attorney Gryden were summoned to Coolidge. An inquest was held. From them we gathered the above narrative of circumstances. Hardesty was brought to this city. Owing to the feeble condition of Mrs. Hardesty the trial has been postponed. E. F. Hardesty and wife formerly resided in this city. This sad affair is much regretted.

Elliott was a temperate man and was highly regarded by his acquaintances. He had been in Hardesty's employ about five or six days. There was some indignation in Coolidge over the killing, and mob violence was reported threatened, but Sheriff Hinkel experienced no trouble in bringing the prisoner here. H. E. Gryden is employed as attorney for Hardesty.

Hardesty was acquitted at the June, 1882, term of the Ford county district court.⁴

Giving no names, the *Ford County Globe* came out with this article on January 3, 1882:

TENDERFOOT VS. OLD TIMER.

Although of common occurrence with the verdant tenderfoot, it is seldom that an old timer—that glorious relic of the halcyon days of yore—is unwary enough to be caught betting on what he considers a sure thing, as was the case during the late political contest in this county. Unlike the t. f., who, when he drops his bullion on the above idea, seeks some sequestered nook on the boundless prairie in which to weep unseen at his innocence and folly, the o. t. proceeds to replevin the ingots of gold thus placed in jeopardy and tries to compel the stakeholder to fork over the rhino under due process of law. Like a cat with its fur stroked contrarywise, it goes against the old timer's grain to part with his ducats even when gambling on chance; but when a sure thing is played open and comes up coppered, the true character of the man floats to the surface, and he comes to the front with a remarkable display of adamantine cheek seeking to recover by a process advocated by none and despised by all. Pass him the cookie.

To which Sheriff Hinkle replied through the columns of the *Dodge City Times*, January 5:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Nearly every one supposed that any unpleasant feelings engendered by the late election were past, and that the "kicking" had been done. It seems, however, that the editor of the *Globe* has a tender spot yet, and gives vent to his pent up feelings in an article entitled "Tenderfoot vs. Old Timer." As I am one of the parties alluded to in said article, I will say in reply, that a bet was made between W. J. Howard and myself, and the stakes were placed in the hands of Dr. S. Galland, who was to hold the amount until the result of the contest was known; and an agreement was made by the parties betting, both of whom were to be present when the stakes were to be delivered. Dr. Galland gave up the stakes on Howard's representing to him that I had declared myself satisfied and was willing to give up the bet. I never made any such agreement, and I shall collect the amount staked by me, by due process of law, unless Dr. Galland or Mr. Howard returns the amount to me. I can bring good witnesses who

will swear, that by the terms of the bet, I was the winner; and while the law does not recognize betting, I have good grounds for recovery from the stakeholder, as I shall demonstrate very soon.

In regard to the allusion to my character, I have no hesitancy in asserting that my record will compare favorably with that of the editor of the *Globe*. While I may not be, strictly speaking, a white dove, what little property I possess has not been whitened with contraband paint, nor were the window sashes procured from the Government. In conclusion I will add, that if the gentleman wants any more of this, I shall be ready and willing to go into further details.

GEO. T. HINKEL.

The poke taken by Hinkle at the editor of the *Globe*, D. M. Frost, had reference to Frost's arrest in 1879 for having received stolen military paint, window sashes, etc. At the time of Hinkle's letter, the case had not been settled. The section on Bat Masterson will contain more information on Frost's arrest.

In January Hinkle arrested a jewel thief. The *Globe*, January 17, 1882, reported:

A JEWELRY DEALER NABBED.

Sheriff Hinkel took in a passenger on the east bound train from Pueblo yesterday morning who answered the description of a party that was wanted by the Pueblo authorities, charged with robbing a jewelry establishment in that city. The party was taken in by our sheriff and a large amount of jewelry found in his possession. He will be held here until the proper papers arrive, when he will be taken back to the city which he so eagerly left.

The *Times*, March 9, 1882, said: "Geo. T. Hinkle, Sheriff, having retired from business will devote his entire attention to the duties of the office of Sheriff. Sheriff Hinkel is an excellent officer."

Sheriff Hinkle took more prisoners to the penitentiary in June.

The *Times*, June 15, 1882, reported:

Three men sentenced at the term of the District Court last week, were taken to the penitentiary at Leavenworth, on Sunday evening, by Sheriff Hinkel, Under Sheriff Singer and H. P. Myton, County Clerk. These men were charged with robbery at Pierceville last fall.

In July some of Sheriff Hinkle's prisoners escaped from the county jail. The *Ford County Globe*, July 18, 1882, recorded their flight:

PRISONERS BREAK JAIL.

On last Friday afternoon seven out of the eight prisoners incarcerated in the county jail, made good their escape at a moment when the jail was left unguarded. The manner in which they made their exit was by digging a trench underneath the walls of the jail, which was done with a case knife and cold chisel, making a hole large enough for them to squeeze through and thus gain their freedom. To accomplish this they were obliged to dig down on the inside of the prison to get to the level of the foundation from which they took two good sized rock which gave them sufficient room to pop through and dig up on the other side of the wall which required the removal of from four and one-half

to five feet of earth over them before they could expect to get a glimpse of the rays of a July sun. The remaining prisoner who at the time of the break was down in the city in charge of a deputy to purchase some clothing, informs us that the work of excavation had been going on for nearly three weeks, that the earth taken out was carried to different parts of the jail and packed down so as not to leave any loose dirt exposed about the premises, taking the precaution to smoothly cover up the entrance of their cave whenever an officer made his appearance. In this manner they kept their work concealed until the final break-out was made and their freedom gained.

Under Sheriff Keith, who had charge of the county jail, as a matter of fact will have to bear the blame and responsibility in the escape of the seven prisoners from the county jail last Friday, and that too when he was performing the major portion of the duties of the office of sheriff. At the time the prisoners escaped, he was absent from the city on official business, leaving the jail and prisoners in charge of a deputy, of course. When he returned he found that his birds had flown, as they had prepared for this break for weeks before hand and were only waiting for an opportunity when they could find the principal officer absent, to make the break. Of course Keith will have to bear all the blame and mortification for trying to do too much, and possibly loose his commission for his over zealousness in performing all the duties of the office of the sheriff of the county.

Sheriff Hinkle's spiritual advisor, incarcerated in the county jail for stealing a cow, left with the balance of the boys.

The county officers made a minor arrest in October which the *Times* recorded on October 26, 1882:

Three men, supposed to be sneak thieves were arrested Tuesday by Sheriff Hinkel and Under Sheriff Singer. In their possession were found some skeleton keys, a lady's gold watch, big brass watch, one American silver watch, open face, and a British bull-dog pistol. The men were put in jail to await identification.

On December 5, 1882, the *Ford County Globe* mentioned that "Sheriff Hinkle is contemplating resigning his office as sheriff of the county," but he stayed on and apparently served out his term which had only a little more than a year to go. A few days later, December 14, the *Times* reported that another jail break had been tried:

An attempt was made Sunday by the prisoners to break out of the county jail. There are eleven prisoners confined there and they nearly succeeded in making an escape thro' a hole in the wall near the northeast corner of the jail, having punched the stone out of the wall with a broom handle. The prisoners were placed in the cells and the desperate cases shackled. The jail officers and sheriff's officers promptly secured the prisoners as soon as the attempted break was discovered. A massive stone doorway has lately been put up at the main jail entrance, and the present defect will necessitate additional strength to the jail walls.

The most exciting event during Hinkle's two terms as sheriff of Ford county was the "Dodge City War" of 1883. Hinkle was a chief correspondent and agent of Gov. G. W. Glick during this matter and was at times on the verge of despair over the see-saw motion of public and official opinion. The story will be told fully in the section on Luke Short.

On July 24, 1883, the *Globe* reported Hinkle's impending removal from Dodge: "Sheriff Hinkel on last Friday sold his city residence together with all the household furniture to Charley Heing, for 1,800 cash. Mr. Hinkel will engage in the Saloon business at Garden City, Kansas." Hinkle, however, remained sheriff of Ford county until January, 1884, when Patrick F. Sughrue was sworn into office.

1. *Dodge City Times*, November 8, 1879. 2. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1879. 3. *Ibid.*, September 15, November 10, 1881. 4. *Ford County Globe*, June 13, 1882.

HOGUE, EDWARD O.

(1847?-____)

The *Ellsworth Reporter*, in its directory of city officers through issues of September 19 to October 24, 1872 (the front page of September 12 and all of October 31 are missing from the files of the State Historical Society), listed Edward O. Hogue as city marshal. No news stories were found which threw any light on Hogue's effectiveness in that position.

On July 10, 1873, the *Reporter* noted: "We never shall forget the display of bravery in the discharge of his duty, that Ed. Hogue performed last Saturday in making an arrest." This arrest was probably made as an Ellsworth county deputy sheriff for later in the summer the *Reporter* stated that Hogue had "served two years as Deputy Sheriff of our county."¹

It was as a deputy sheriff that Hogue took Ben Thompson's weapons after Bill Thompson had shot and killed Ellsworth county Sheriff Chauncey B. Whitney. The *Reporter*, August 21, 1873, said that after Mayor James Miller had summarily dismissed the Ellsworth police force "the city was left without a police, with no one but Deputy Sheriff Hogue to make arrests. He received the arms of Ben Thompson on the agreement of Happy Jack [Morco] to give up his arms!" The complete story of the murder of Sheriff Whitney will be included in the section on Whitney.

Apparently Hogue was appointed city marshal after this episode, for the *Reporter*, in telling of the August 20, 1873, murder of Cad

Pierce, so referred to Hogue. The *Reporter's* story has been included in the section on Ed Crawford.

Hogue could not have remained as city marshal very long, however, for on August 28, 1873, the *Reporter* stated that "the entire police force was changed at a special meeting of the City Council yesterday. . . ."

In September, 1873, Hogue announced as a candidate for sheriff but no record was found of the number of votes he received.² He was not elected.

The *Reporter*, November 27, 1873, mentioned that "Ed. Hogue is employed by the business men of town as a night watchman. He is just the man to catch any incendiary or thief who wants to get into the penitentiary." That was the last mention of Ed Hogue in the Ellsworth newspaper.

One other contemporary item on Hogue was found in the 1875 Kansas state census for Dodge City. In that record Edward Hogue was listed as a deputy sheriff, 28 years old and born in France. Nothing more has been found on the Kansas career of Edward O. Hogue.

1. Ellsworth *Reporter*, September 25, 1873. 2. *Ibid.*

HOLLIDAY, JOHN HENRY

(1852?-1887)

John H. "Doc" Holliday had this advertisement placed in the Dodge City *Times*, June 8, 1878:

DENTISTRY.

J. H. Holliday, Dentist, very respectfully offers his professional services to the citizens of Dodge City and surrounding country during the summer. Office at room No. 24, Dodge House. Where satisfaction is not given money will be refunded.

If Holliday remained in Dodge "during the summer" he was not involved in any sort of trouble that would have made the pages of either of the local newspapers for his name did not appear there again until October, 1881.

When the Earp-Clanton difficulties broke out in late 1881 and early 1882 at Tombstone, Ariz., Holliday's name was mentioned by the Dodge City papers as a participant in that now famous feud. These articles have been included in the section on Wyatt Earp.

In the spring of 1883, when the "Dodge City War" erupted, Doc was among those mentioned by Eastern newspapers as coming to the aid of Luke Short. No proof has been established that he really did come to Dodge at that time but the articles will be included in the section on Short.

HOLLISTER, CHARLES M.

(———)

C. M. Hollister was a deputy United States marshal at Caldwell in 1883 when he, with City Marshal Henry N. Brown and Assistant City Marshal Ben Wheeler, made this arrest described in the *Caldwell Commercial*, April 12:

A FIGHT WITH HORSE THIEVES.

ONE KILLED AND ONE DANGEROUSLY WOUNDED.

Last Sunday J. H. Herron, of Clay county, Texas, came into town and hunted up Deputy U. S. Marshal Hollister, to whom he stated that he wanted some assistance in capturing a band of horse thieves he had followed from Texas. The thieves had stolen two mules and two horses from Mr. Herron, besides a lot of other stock from other parties.

Hollister started out with Herron, and run foul of the party a few miles southeast of Hunnewell. The party consisted of a man named Ross, his wife, daughter, two sons, daughter-in-law and her child. There was another party camped close by. The latter, while not apparently connected with the Ross outfit, had been their traveling companions.

Hollister, finding he could do nothing alone, returned on Tuesday, and securing the services of Henry Brown and his assistant, Ben. Wheeler, the party left about 11 o'clock p.m. At Hunnewell the party picked up Jackson, the marshal of that place, and Wes. Thralls [deputy sheriff of Sumner county].

From Hunnewell the party struck out for the camp of the thieves, and just at the gray dawn surrounded the outfit.

The Ross party, in reply to a demand to surrender, opened fire with their Winchesters. The shooting lasted for about half an hour, when it was found that the oldest Ross boy was killed and the younger one dangerously wounded in two or three places. The latter, after the capture, made a statement regarding the stealing of the stock they had with them, and also stated that two of the original party had left for Wichita on Sunday with some of the stock. From the wounded boy's statement, it is supposed that the party left Texas with about forty head of horses and mules, among the number a fine stallion, for which a reward of \$500 is offered.

The dead Ross was taken to Hunnewell, and the other members of the party to Wellington.

Messrs. Brown and Wheeler returned to Caldwell about 11 o'clock yesterday morning, and from them we gathered the above particulars. They also gave us some minute details of the fight, which time and space will not permit publishing at this time.

In May the three peace officers again teamed up and arrested John Caypless, a thief. The *Caldwell Journal* article reporting this has been reprinted in the section on H. N. Brown.

Hollister arrested a mule thief in August. The *Journal*, August 9, 1883, reported:

Deputy U. S. Marshal Hollister, on Sunday night arrested John A. Moore on the charge of stealing a span of mules from the Cheyenne and Arapaho agency

last spring. Moore has been hanging around among the Indians for the past three years, and if all reports are true, has been up to all kinds of tricks. The agency ordered him out of the Territory over a year ago, but he managed to keep out of the way, in the mean time appropriating the mules charged to his account. Word had been sent to Mr. Hollister to keep a lookout for him, and Moore, coming up with the Indian train last week, dropped into Hollister's hands like a ripe apple. Moore was taken to Wichita, where he will have an examination before the U. S. Commissioner.

At various times, from October 1, 1883, to August 6, 1884, Hollister's name showed up on the Caldwell police docket as the arresting officer. Sometimes he was noted as "ast. marshal," "special policeman," "city marshal," or just "C. M. Hollister." On occasion his name had appeared on the other side of the docket, having been arrested for minor infractions of city ordinances.¹

In November, 1883, Hollister and Ben Wheeler killed Chet Van Meter. The Caldwell *Journal*, November 22, 1883, reported:

A MAN FOR SUPPER.

KILLED BECAUSE HE WOULD NOT SURRENDER.

On Wednesday [November 21], about supper time, C. M. Hollister and Ben. Wheeler drove up to the Leland Hotel in a spring wagon and lifting out the body of a man deposited it on one of the tables in the front basement of that house. When the body was laid out, we found it to be that of a young man apparently about 23 or 24 years of age, about five feet seven inches in height; dark complexion, smooth face, except a brown mustache, black hair, high forehead, narrow between the temples, a long straight nose, something after the Grecian style, with large nostrils; mouth fair size, with thin compressed lips. It was the body of Chet. Van Meter, son of S. H. Van Meter living near Fall Creek, in this township, about seven miles northwest of this city.

T. H. B. Ross, Justice of the Peace, immediately telegraphed for Coroner Stevenson and County Attorney Herrick. The former was out of town, but the latter came down on the night train, and this morning a coroner's jury was summoned, consisting of D. Leahy, Wm. Morris, S. Swayer, Wm. Corzine, John Phillips, E. H. Beals, and an inquest was held before Squire Ross.

We cannot give the testimony in detail, but the substance of it was to the effect that Chet. Van Meter had married the daughter of Gerard Banks, a widow living on a farm in Chikaskia township, about nine miles from town; that he was living with his father-in-law, and that on the night of the 20th he beat his wife. That he also, on that same night, fired at J. W. Loverton and Miss Doty, threatening to kill them, and on the following morning had beaten his brother-in-law, Albert Banks, a boy about fifteen or sixteen years of age, and made threats that he would kill half a dozen of them in that neighborhood before he got through. Young Banks and Loverton came in on Wednesday and swore out a warrant for the arrest of Van Meter, before Squire Ross, stating the above facts, and the Justice deputized C. M. Hollister to serve it, at the same time telling him to get some one to go with him, and to go well armed, as, from the statement of the complainants, Van Meter was a dangerous man, and would likely resist a peaceable arrest.

With this understanding, Mr. Hollister requested Ben Wheeler to accompany him, and about four o'clock in the afternoon the party started for the home of Mr. Banks. Arriving there it was ascertained that Chet had gone to his father's, about five miles south. Driving over to Van Meter's, they found Chet standing near the southeast corner of the house, with a Winchester in his hands. Wheeler and Hollister jumped out of the wagon, and the former ordered Chet to throw up his hands, and he did so, but he brought up his gun at the same time, and fired, apparently at Hollister, as near as the evidence went to show. Wheeler and Hollister fired almost simultaneously, but as Chet did not fall and attempted to fire again, they both shot the second time, and he fell, dead. They then, with the assistance of Loverton and young Banks, loaded the body into the wagon, and brought it to town."

An examination of the body this morning by Dr. Noble disclosed the fact that it had seven bullet holes in it, one evidently made by a large ball, entering the right side between the second and third ribs, passing through the lungs and liver and coming out between the ninth and tenth ribs. The other shots entered his chest, and one penetrated the abdomen just above the navel. There were also two gun shot wounds on each hand. The Winchester he held also showed marks where the buckshot from Hollister's gun had struck it.

The examination of witnesses closed at 3 o'clock, when the jury retired, and after a short absence returned a verdict to the effect that the deceased came to his death from gunshot wounds at the hands of C. M. Hollister and Ben. Wheeler, while in the discharge of their duties as officers of the law, and that the killing was not felonious.

After the verdict was rendered the body was turned over to S. M. Van Meter, father of the deceased, who had it encased in a coffin and took it home for burial.

And thus the latest, and we trust the last, sensation incident to border life in Southern Kansas has ended.

1. Hollister was arrested November 22, 1879, for assaulting Frank Hunt. His fine, one dollar. On May 12, 1882, he was arrested and fined \$1 for "fighting in the city."

HORSEMAN, WILLIAM N.

(1857?-____)

William Horseman was appointed city marshal of Caldwell on April 12, 1880, the second man to serve in that office. D. W. Jones was made assistant marshal and James Johnson, policeman. The *Caldwell Post*, April 15, 1880, commented facetiously: "Boys you had better behave yourselves now, or the 'police' will catch you. With Horseman as marshal, Dan Jones as assistant and James Johnson as policeman, there will be no fooling. The weather is getting too hot, for a sojourn in the cooler."

Apparently it was a good police force. The *Post*, May 6, 1880, said of it: "Our city police are as vigilant as hawks, and we cannot enough praise them for their efficiency."

A few days later the marshal and his assistant had a row with some soldiers. The *Post* told the story on May 13, 1880:

A row took place in the Keno room last Tuesday evening [May 11], caused by a drunken soldier and a gambler getting into a dispute about the game. The lie was passed and the matinee commenced. All the soldiers took a hand, and then the police waltzed in to add the finishing touches to the performance.

The Chief of Police got a whack along the side of the head. Dan Jones had his off foot stepped on, judging from the way he tripped around. For a while it was lively, as the number of cut heads and bloody noses bear witness. The cooler received its portion of the spoils of the row. There is a rumor to the effect, that several of the soldiers intended to go in and have a row, and during the jubilee some of them should cabbage all the money. Anyway, it was a disgraceful affair. The officers in command, ought to learn the tendencies of their men, when they have money in their pockets and whiskey is handy, and if necessary, put every mother's son of them on guard.

In June Horseman and two companions captured a pair of horse thieves. The *Post*, June 10, 1880, reported:

On last Sunday morning Wm. Horseman, city marshal; Frank Hunt, deputy policeman, and John Meagher [Mayor Mike Meagher's brother], receiving information that a couple of suspicious characters were hiding in the brush on Fall creek, went down to the creek as if on a fishing excursion, and on finding their men, succeeded in arresting them. They were incarcerated in the cooler, and confessed to stealing the two horses they had with them, at Wichita. On Monday, Sheriff [Joseph] Thrall came down to the city on business and finding the prisoners here took them to Wellington where they are now in jail.

The same issue of the *Post* mentioned that Marshal Horseman had developed a new method of collecting fines:

Our city marshal has an original method to compel delinquents to work out their fines on the streets. He proposes, if they refuse to work, to put a ball and chain on them, get a good heavy anvil, chain them to it, and leave them in the middle of the street while he goes and takes a—seat in the shade.

George W. Flatt, who had been Caldwell's first city marshal, was killed on June 19, 1880, by unknown assassins. Marshal Horseman and Mayor Mike Meagher were among the first to arrive at the scene.¹ Within a few days, not only Mayor Meagher but also the entire police force and three other citizens were arrested for suspected complicity in the crime. The Caldwell newspapers seemed vague as to why the men were charged, neither of them sure that the coroner's inquest had pointed the finger of guilt at the officers.² One, the *Caldwell Commercial*, felt that the whole business was a put up job on the part of Wellington (the county seat) authorities.

On June 30, while the hassle was in progress, the city council of Caldwell relieved Horseman and his deputies.³ By July 3 the preliminary examinations were concluded and Horseman, Frank Hunt, Dan Jones, and James Johnson were bound over for the approaching term of the district court. Bail was set at \$500 each.

Again the *Commercial* claimed ineptness and downright graft as the reasons for accusing the Caldwellites.⁴

On July 8, 1880, the whole police force was reinstated,⁵ but Marshal Horseman was again relieved on August 10 though the remainder of the force was retained. The *Caldwell Commercial*, August 12, 1880, reported:

The City Council had one of its interesting seances on Tuesday night. It labored and wrestled with the police question, throwing the light of its gigantic intellect upon the subject with all the force and nerve at its command, and finally wound up by removing Horseman from the position of City Marshal and appointing Jas. Johnson in his place. Frank Hunt was reappointed policeman, and Newt Miller added to the force. Newt is an old hand at the business, having had considerable experience at Wichita.

The *Caldwell Post*, however, reported on the same date that "William N. Horseman has resigned the office of city marshal."

A continuance was granted the ex-officers in November. The *Caldwell Commercial*, November 11, 1880, was still of the opinion that no case really existed against the men:

The trial of "our boys" who are under bonds to appear at court for the killing of George Flatt, has been put off till the spring term. It would probably have been as well if the Judge had dismissed the case entirely as in our opinion nothing but additional expense to the county will come of it.⁶

Horseman's case was finally tried in April, 1881. The *Commercial*, April 28, reported his acquittal:

The jury in the case of Wm. Horseman, charged with the killing of Geo. Flatt, last summer, returned a verdict of "not guilty" last Friday morning [April 22], and Horseman was discharged. The verdict gives general satisfaction.

1. *Caldwell Post*, June 24, 1880. 2. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1880; *Caldwell Commercial*, July 1, 1880. 3. *Caldwell Post*, July 1, 1880. 4. *Caldwell Commercial*, July 8, 1880. 5. *Caldwell Post*, July 8, 1880. 6. *See, also*, *Caldwell Post*, November 11, 1880.

HUNT, J. FRANK

(1853?-1880)

Frank Hunt was appointed a Caldwell deputy policeman during the first week of May, 1880.¹ On May 4 the police court docket first carried his name as an arresting officer.

Hunt's first press notice appeared in the *Caldwell Post*, May 27, 1880: "A number of the cavalry boys couldn't forego the pleasure of indulging too much last Monday night. Result, three of the noisiest troopers were trotted off to the calaboose, under the kind guidance of Johnson and Hunt, our vigilant peelers."

In June Hunt assisted City Marshal William Horseman in arresting two horse thieves. This *Post* article was reprinted in the section on Horseman.

When Former City Marshal George Flatt was killed, June 19, and the city authorities subsequently arrested for suspected complicity, Hunt was included among that number. This has been more fully covered in the sections on Horseman and Flatt.

Toward the end of summer Policeman Frank Hunt inadvertently killed a cowboy's horse when he fired at the herder in self defense. The *Caldwell Post*, September 9, 1880, reported:

Last Thursday afternoon the city had a light shooting scrape. It seems that one W. F. Smith, a herder—had liquored up pretty freely, so that the ordinances of the quiet city of Caldwell became a myth—and the police even entirely forgotten. He rode around the town now and then flourishing his revolver, believing no doubt he was lord of all he surveyed. Of course he struck the "red-light"—they all do it. Then he commenced firing a salute; but that was sufficient signal for the police to appear on the stage and take a hand in the matinee. When they came, our valiant cow-boy went off, but his arrest being determined upon, the police scattered out to effect the same. They were told that Smith was a "bad" one and quite on the shoot. He was the same who made things lively over in Hunnewell some weeks ago. Policeman Hunt met him about George's stable, and ordered him to halt. In reply he drew his revolver, when Frank elevated his shot gun and lodged a buck shot in Mr. Smith's knee, and killing his horse. A great deal of sympathy was expressed for the horse. Smith was taken to the police court, where he pleaded guilty to disorderly conduct, and paid his fine, after which he was taken in hand by Dr. Noble. We are very sorry that some of the cow-boys who come in here allow whisky to get the better of them; because when sober, they are as are the majority of them, as nice fellows as ever lived. We expect them to have all the fun they can get, but they must acknowledge that the citizens of our town have a right to insist upon a strict compliance with the city's laws. Visitors had better bear that in mind, and also the fact that we have a police force determined to do their duty. This state of affairs is as profitable for people visiting our city as for ourselves.

Hunt was himself killed a month later, just a few days after he had been relieved from the police force. The *Caldwell Commercial*, October 14, 1880, said:

ASSASSINATION OF FRANK HUNT.

Last Friday night [October 8], between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock, Frank Hunt was shot while sitting by a window in the Red Light dance hall, on the corner of Fifth and Chisholm streets. The particulars, so far as developed, are about as follows: During the evening Hunt had some difficulty with one of the cyprians belonging to the house, and considerable bad blood was engendered between Hunt, the woman and her "man." Shortly before the shooting Hunt had taken part in a dance, and after it was over sat down by a window on the north side of the room. A few moments after a shot was fired, and Hunt jumped from his seat exclaiming, "I'm killed! He did it out there!" at the same time pointing to the window.

City Marshal J. W. Johnson and D. W. Jones, who was assisting Johnson that night as special policeman, being present, immediately ran to the east door of

the hall, but finding it fastened Jones made his way out in front. Meantime Johnson forced open the east door, got out and ran around to the north side of the house. As he did so he heard some one running near the stage barn, and followed after, but it being dark he could see no one, and whoever the fleeing party was he escaped.

Hunt was taken care of as soon as possible, placed on a table in the center of the room and Dr. MacMillan sent for. On his arrival an examination was made, and it was found that Hunt was shot in the left side, near the back, the ball entering between the ninth and tenth rib. Hunt was removed to a building on Main street, and on Saturday morning a dispatch was sent for his brother, D. M. Hunt, who lives in Ray county, Missouri. Subsequently Hunt was removed to the Leland Hotel, where he died about noon on Monday. His brother reached Caldwell sometime during Sunday night, and was with him up to the time of his death.

Immediately upon the death of Hunt a coroner's jury was summoned, by Squire Kelly, and an inquest began. A post mortem examination of the body was made by Drs. Noble & MacMillan, when it was found that the ball had passed through the upper portion of the tenth rib, through the liver and the lower part of the stomach, and lodged to the right of the stomach.

On Tuesday D. M. Hunt returned to Missouri, taking the body of his brother with him, and it will be buried at Lathrop, Clinton county, where his parents reside.

J. Frank Hunt was a young man, aged 29 years [the 1880 U. S. census listed Hunt as 27 years old]; was born in Ray county, Missouri, where he was raised. His parents afterward removed to Lathrop, Clinton county, where they now reside.

Frank came to Caldwell about a year ago. Last year he was appointed on the police force, which position he occupied until the last meeting of the Council, when the force was reduced and Hunt was discharged. During all the time he was on the force Hunt was strictly temperate, quiet and unobtrusive, prompt and strict in the discharge of his duties. While he made some enemies, as such a man always will, he made more friends, and was generally regarded as one of the best men on the police force.

As to who fired the fatal shot there are many conjectures, but pending the investigation of the coroner's jury it is not worth while to give them. Every effort is being made to ferret out the assassin, and if found it will go hard with him.

The jury is composed of the following citizens: B. M. Odom, L. G. Bailey, S. Donaldson, R. Bates, E. C. Henning and W. B. Hutchison. When it shall have finished its work and made a report we will endeavor to give the main points of the evidence brought out in the examination.

The *Caldwell Post*, October, 14, 1880, reported that 17-year-old Dave Spear was the suspected murderer:

ANOTHER MURDER.

Last Friday evening this city was again thrown into an excitement over another murder. About ten o'clock some cowardly assassin shot Frank Hunt and inflicted, what afterwards proved a fatal wound. Hunt was down at that den of iniquity, the Red Light dance house, and while sitting at the north window in the dance hall, some one shot him, the ball entering his body on the

left side, passing over and fracturing the tenth rib and lodging in the ninth costal cartilage on the right side. The shot was fired through the open window, by some person standing outside. Who that person was is only a matter of rumor and suspicion. Doctors Noble & MacMillan attended to the wounded man until his death, which happened last Monday. A jury was at once summoned by Judge Kelly, who, in the absence of a Coroner, acted in his place. The jury consisted of W. B. Hutchison, B. M. Odom, S. Donaldson, R. Bates, L. G. Baily, and C. H. Henning. The State is represented by L. M. Lange, Esq. The session of the Coroner's jury being held in secret the testimony is not accessible; but enough is known of their proceedings to assert that a thorough examination is being made to feret out the guilty party.

Shortly after the death of Frank Hunt, David Spear, of this town, was arrested under a warrant from Justice Kelly, and is still held in custody.

Hon. Thomas George, of Wellington, is engaged to represent Spear, and is admitted to the coroner's jury.

We understand that Hunt made statements before his death; but of course they are as yet denied us for publication.

We cannot refrain from saying that it is our opinion that if the Council had listened to our protestations against the running of the "dance house," this murder would not have happened in our place. The *Post* again and again lifted up its voice against it, and calling to mind what like dens have done for other cities. Our words have proved true, and we charge the Council with being blameable for these shameful, horrid happenings in our midst. Both the murder of Flatt and of Hunt goes straight back to the Red Light dance house.

The *post mortem* examination of the remains was performed Monday afternoon, by Drs. Noble & MacMillan, and revealed a wound which must have been of itself necessarily fatal. After passing through the abdominal wall the bullet pierced both the pyloric end of the stomach and left lobe of the liver, and was found embedded in the 9th costal cartilage. The arteries were then injected with a preserving liquid and the body turned over to the brother of the disease [*sic*] who took it back to Missouri for interment.

The city loses in the death of Frank Hunt an able and efficient officer and valuable citizen, and his friends have our sincerest sympathy, both on our own account and from the fact that one so promising should have come to his death under such painful circumstances.

LATER.—The Coroner's inquest concluded its work this noon, and found the following verdict: "That said J. Frank Hunt came to his death from a pistol ball fired from a pistol held in the hand of David Spear, on the night of October 8th, between the hours of 10 and eleven o'clock, and that this was done feloniously and with malice aforethought, and they further find that one Lumis or Loomis, at that time engaged as night-watch at the Red Light saloon in said city of Caldwell, was an accessory before the fact.

Spear is under arrest and closely guarded, and we understand that Loomis was caught at Wellington by Sheriff Thralls.

Spear was tried on October 22, 1880, but was released.² No further mention was found of Loomis.

1. Caldwell *Post*, May 6, 1880. 2. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1880.

JOHNSON, JAMES W.

(—-—)

James Johnson was appointed policeman on the Caldwell force, April 12, 1880. The marshal and assistant, appointed the same day, were William Horseman and D. W. Jones.¹

The first record of an arrest by Johnson appeared in the *Caldwell Post*, April 29, 1880:

On Saturday evening [April 24], one of Uncle Sam's boys, was indulging in the, to him, pleasing enterprise of breaking window panes. He carried a six-shooter, and hinted that no officer could take him, but as soon as Dan Jones and James Johnson heard of the matter "they gathered him in" and gave him quarters in the cooler. Afterwards a sergeant came and paid his fine and took him to camp where he was drilled in the old fashioned, but very disagreeable, manual of "right shoulder and left shoulder log."

In May Frank Hunt arrested Lum O'Connell for "fast riding on the streets."² The *Post*, May 6, 1880, reported that Johnson had made the arrest:

A young man from the country, came to town last Monday, riding on a mule. He got loaded up with "tanglefoot" and on starting for home was very joyful. He manifested his happiness by running his mule up Main street and informing the public that "by G— he was going home." Policeman Johnson interfered with his arrangements, and informed him that he couldn't "go home till morning," and that for that night he had to remain in the cooler. The morning found a more sober, sadder and we hope a wiser young man. The Caldwell police court docket recorded O'Connell's fine as \$3 and cost.

Johnson and Frank Hunt, who by then was also a Caldwell policeman, arrested three drunken soldiers on May 24, 1880. The *Post*, May 27, recorded the act: "A number of the cavalry boys couldn't forego the pleasure of indulging too much last Monday night. Result, three of the noisiest troopers were trotted off to the calaboose, under the kind guidance of Johnson and Hunt, our vigilant peelers."

The three, James E. Whipple, Dan Sullivan, and John Kelly, were found guilty of drunkenness and disorderly conduct and were fined \$1 and cost each, according to the police court docket.

On May 15, 1880, Thomas J. Ingram had charged Policeman Johnson with assault. After a trial before the Caldwell police judge, James D. Kelly, Sr., the case was dismissed and Johnson released.³ On June 3 Ingram tried to kill Johnson. The *Caldwell Post*, June 10, 1880, reported:

On last Thursday night about twelve o'clock, Mr. J. W. Johnson, our efficient policeman, was informed that one T. J. Ingraham had a pistol contrary to the ordinances of the city. Mr. Johnson stepped up to Ingraham and asked

him if he had a revolver, to which he replied, "Yes, you son-of-a-b___h," and, pulling the revolver from his coat pocket snapped it three times in Johnson's face. Fortunately the cartridges did not explode, and Johnson, grasping the revolver, after a severe tussle succeeded in arresting the cuss. He was fined the next morning by the police Judge for carrying concealed weapons, ten dollars and costs, and he is now working out his fine on the streets. We believe he should be arrested under a state warrant for assault with intent to kill.

The police court docket, June 3, 1880, merely carried this terse statement of Ingram's sentence: "Sent to Prison."

James Johnson was among those of the Caldwell city government arrested for suspected complicity in the murder of George Flatt, June 19, 1880. This has been more fully covered in the sections on Flatt and William Horseman.

About a month after the Caldwell police force had been reinstated, Johnson was promoted city marshal in place of Horseman. The Caldwell *Commercial* article, August 12, 1880, reporting this, was reprinted in the section on Horseman.

The majority of arrests made by the Caldwell police force in the summer of 1880 were of minor importance. Drunkenness, fighting, carrying weapons, gambling, and prostitution constituted the general run of arrests recorded in the police court docket.

A typical week was that of August 17 to 23, 1880. The Caldwell *Post*, August 26, stated that "police court fines for the week ending August 23d, 1880, amounted to \$52.75, of which \$29.00 was paid and \$23.75 was worked out on the streets." The docket, however, recorded fines totaling \$44 plus costs. Three arrests for drunkenness were made—a man named Cole was fined \$1 and cost on August 18, L. C. Porter was fined \$3 and cost on August 21, and the case of "John" was dismissed on August 22.

Charles Reinhart and A. C. Jones were arrested on August 18 for "loud and boisterous and profane language." Reinhart was fined \$5 and cost of \$18.75. Jones' case was granted a continuance. On August 20, 1880, H. Kinney was fined \$5 and cost for "running a gaming table."

All the other arrests that week, five in number, were for being inmates of "houses of ill fame" or for operating such places. Lucy Breno, August 17; Ida Wickham, August 19; and Maggie Deming and Jennie Burk, both August 23, were all fined \$5 and cost each for being "inmates." L. E. Brown was fined \$10 and cost on August 19 for operating a house.

Caldwell, like all cowtowns, relied on sinners to support its city government. Liquor (dramshop) licenses, and gambling and pros-

titution fines were the primary sources of city revenue. Since Caldwell police court records were available, a study of the various fines has been made. This concentration on Caldwell, however, does not imply that the town was any more or less immoral than any of the other cowtowns.

During the cattle season of 1880, which ran from about April 15 to October 15, 207 arrests were recorded in the Caldwell police court docket. Fines assessed on the 188 convictions resulting from these arrests totaled \$833. If court costs could be accurately computed and added to this figure it would then total at least three times that amount.

The leading cause for arrest that summer was prostitution and the keeping of a house of prostitution. Sixty-two such arrests were made netting the city \$390 exclusive of costs. In addition prostitutes were arrested 15 times for drunkenness and creating a disturbance, which added \$44, again exclusive of costs, to the treasury. Besides this, five arrests, though not explicitly stated, were probably of prostitutes and an operator and added another \$30 to the till. Thus prostitutes accounted for 82, or 40% of all the arrests made in Caldwell those six months, and for \$464, or 56%, of the total amount of fines assessed.

The second leading cause for arrest was drunkenness and creating a disturbance. Fifty-three such arrests were made (including the 15 mentioned above) which accounted for \$101 in fines. This constituted 26% of the total arrests made and 12% of the total assessed fines.

Gambling was third in number of arrests with 31 or 15% of the total, but second in amount of fines assessed with \$149 or about 18% of the total.

Twenty-six arrests and \$82 in fines were assessed for carrying or shooting weapons in the city. Swearing, fighting, reckless riding, assault, resisting arrest, keeping a dog, lack of a saloon license, stealing, and causes not stated made up the remainder of reasons for arrests.

The tinkling of tainted coins as they dropped in the police court coffer undoubtedly inspired this purchase, mentioned in the *Caldwell Commercial*, August 26, 1880: "The police force of our city now sport neat silver badges—a donation from the city council."

Seven times during the season arrests were made for the unlawful discharge of firearms within the city limits. Fines ran from one to five dollars and costs, the costs generally being several times higher

than the smaller fines. The *Caldwell Post*, September 9, 1880, mentioned the low number of such arrests:

This city has been comparatively free from the infernally reckless firing off of revolvers inside the limits—and offenders have generally been “gobbled.” Only once or twice the guilty parties have escaped. Last Monday night there was quite a brisk firing around town, presumably by some chaps so full of fire within that it made their revolvers go off accidentally (?). The accident plea is too thin, and ought to be very strongly corroborated if it should be taken for “good fish” in the future. The Police Justice has determined to give every person who shoots within the city limits, without authority to do so, the full benefit of the law. He is determined, so far as in him lies, to put a stop to that nuisance, which endangers the life of our citizens.

The whole town must have been law abiding, according to this statement made in the *Post* on September 16, 1880: “The police court is terribly quiet. No arrests, no drunks, no nothing. If the police keeps up this kind of racket, the calaboose will lose all its interest and only be fit for a chicken coop.”

To the *Caldwell Commercial* the quiet did not justify the discharging of all but Marshal Johnson from the police force, an act which was accomplished on October 4. On October 7, the *Commercial* said:

Some of these odd days—or nights—the City Council will awake to the realizing sense that one policeman is too small a force for the preservation of order in a town the size of Caldwell. Economy is a good thing for communities, as well as individuals, but it don't lie in the direction of an inadequate police force.

The *Commercial* was right. The next day, on October 8, Frank Hunt, the recently discharged assistant marshal, was shot and killed. Though Marshal Johnson and a special policeman were in the same building in which Hunt was killed, they failed to catch his murderer. The article reporting Hunt's death was included in the section on Hunt.

The admonitions of the *Commercial* and the murder of Hunt apparently did not immediately impress the city council with the need for a larger force. When these items appeared in the *Post*, October 21, 1880, Johnson was still the only policeman in Caldwell:

Several violators of the city ordinances have been arrested within the last week. Experience, it seems, should convince the disorderly element that they cannot, with impunity, violate the laws. Our policeman is watchful, and stickles for the right. Those who feel that they can not exist without indulging in a spree or making hurrah plays are recommended to betake themselves to the quiet woods or boundless prairies, where the mule-eared rabbits and viscious mosquitoes roam, and where Jim Johnson goeth not.

Manipulators of six-shooters in the dark hours of night should feel satisfied by this time that they are too much for a police force of one. In a city the size of Caldwell, with a police force of one man, they can easily fire their pistols and escape without detection. It is believed that the prime object is to tantalize the force, who, we know, has did his utmost to discover the perpetrators. As their sport is an annoyance to good citizens they will accept a discontinuance of the same as an individual favor.

On November 1, 1880, a second man was placed on the force and the owner of the Red Light dance hall and saloon, George Wood, hired his own policeman and placed him under the direction of City Marshal Johnson. The *Post*, November 4, 1880, said:

Joe Dolan was appointed Assistant Marshal, at the late meeting of the Council, and one Reed was appointed special Policeman at the Red-Light. Mr. Reed is under full control of the city and Marshal, but is paid by Mr. Wood, at whose request he was appointed. Reed also furnished a good and sufficient bond for the faithful execution of his duties.

Maggie Wood, wife of the Red Light's owner, was, by the way, one of the chief contributors to the Caldwell city treasury through the intermediate office of the police judge. The United States census of 1880 listed four girls (three of them under 21) living under Mag's roof whose occupations were given as "dancing." The names of all, including Mag's, appeared regularly on the pages of the Caldwell police court docket as inmates and owner of a house of ill fame—the Red Light.

In November the case of Johnson, Horseman, and Jones, regarding the Flatt murder was continued. In April, 1881, Horseman was acquitted. Dan Jones, his name having been omitted from the information, was released. The county attorney entered a *nolle prosequi* in Johnson's case, thus freeing him.⁴

City Marshal James W. Johnson's last mention in the Caldwell press occurred on December 30, 1880, when the *Commercial* reported: "The boys say our police behaved themselves remarkably well on Christmas day, because they did not make a single arrest. Jim Johnson says 'they didn't have to.'"

The last arrest credited to Johnson in the police court docket was made on February 6, 1881. No dockets for March exist.

1. Caldwell *Post*, April 15, 1880. 2. "Police Court Docket," Records of the City of Caldwell, May 4, 1880. 3. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1880. 4. Caldwell *Post*, November 11, 1880; Caldwell *Commercial*, November 11, 1880; *Sumner County Press*, Wellington, April 28, 1881.

(To Be Continued in the Spring, 1961, Issue.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

AN AGILE WOMAN

From the Fort Scott *Democrat*, August 11, 1860.

A few days since a female domestic employed in the family of one of our citizens, lost a tin bucket in the well, whereupon she immediately "jumped the curb," took hold of the rope and slid down fifty feet. On reaching the water she discovered that the bucket had sunk, and not being expert at diving she concluded to give it up and get back on terra-firma, which she did after a great deal of trouble, and at no small damage to her drapery. She deserves a pension from Government—it's *well* earned.—[Junction City] *Kansas Statesman*.

KUDOS TO THE SANTA FE

From *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, July 2, 1874.

We are ready to attach our signature and seal to the following, which we find in the Winfield *Courier* of last week:

"Railroad travel has to us a peculiar charm. We love to hear the fierce snort of the iron horse, the clatter of the wheels over the rails, and imagine ourselves annihilating space at the rate of 30 miles an hour. But never have we had a pleasanter trip than we took last week over the A. T. & S. F. railroad, to Topeka and back. The road is in the most perfect order, connections are faithfully made. The employees, clever and accommodating, (we were on Conductor James' train, who is every inch a gentleman.) In fact the management of the A. T. & S. F. road spare no pains or expense to make travel over their road perfectly safe and agreeable."

PROTECTING THE WEAKER SEX

From the Newton *Kansan*, April 29, 1875.

For some time past we had almost concluded that a first class dog fight was the only real, genuine entertainment of the kind that the peaceable city of Newton could get up. But on strolling around town last Friday we very unexpectedly came across a crowd rushing along as though there was some business on hand, and upon making inquiry, found that a sort of a second-class fisticuff had taken place between Fritz Minke and Mrs. H. Kursting, in which Fritz came off barely second best. His Honor, Judge Langan, before whom the case was investigated, said that if women were permitted to beat, bruise, wound, strike, knock down and drag out men in the manner that Fritz swore the old lady had treated him, without the interposition of the strong arm of the law in the defense of the dear creatures (namely, men), that the whole list of bachelors, and even he, would not be safe for a moment from violence, and in order that no such conduct should obtain, and also to strike terror into the female portion of the community, and give them fully to understand that they can't pitch on to a man on slight provocations, he would fine the woman \$3.00.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Mrs. E. W. Vaughn's series, "Pioneer Days in Scott County, Kansas," continues to appear regularly in the *News-Chronicle*, Scott City. The articles began July 9, 1959.

Ruth Jackson's articles on Wallace county history in *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, included the Vincent Kahle family story, April 14, 21, 28, and May 5, 1960. The Kahles homesteaded in Wallace county in 1887. In the issue of May 19, 1960, the *Times* began publication of a series of articles written by high school students from stories told by their grandparents about the early history of Wallace county.

Sunrise school, District 60, Jackson county, started in 1877, was the subject of a history in the *Jackson County Clipper*, Holton, April 14, 1960.

With the issue of April 14, 1960, the Argonia *Argosy* began printing a series on the history of the Argonia area, by the late Mrs. Ed Achelpohl.

A biographical sketch of Edward Walsh by Mrs. Mark Clark, a granddaughter, appeared in the *Marysville Advocate*, April 21, 1960. Walsh came to Kansas in 1854 at the age of four, living first in Leavenworth and later in Marshall and Pottawatomie counties.

Columbus, incorporated as a town in April, 1870, was the subject of a brief history published in the *Columbus Advocate*, April 21, 1960.

"It's Worth Repeating," a column of early southwest Kansas history conducted by Heinie Schmidt in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, included the following articles in recent issues: "Greeley Countian [Clement L. Wilson] Early Kansas Lawyer," April 21, 1960; a history of South Side township, Kearny county, by Mrs. Luella Stutzman, April 28; "Livestock, Early Days in Kearny County," by Mrs. A. B. Boylan, May 5; "Chalk Beeson Known for Cowboy Band," May 12; "Pioneer Stories Emphasize Early Day Wheat," May 19; "Pioneer Woman [Mrs. Cora Wood] Tells of Longhorn Cattle," May 26; biographical sketches of cowboys honored at the Cowboy Hall of Fame, June 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; and "Homesteader's [Zachariah F. Hodson] Life Recalls Grasshopper Plague," July 7.

Peace Evangelical and Reformed church, near Hudson, established in December, 1885, was the subject of a historical sketch in the Great Bend *Daily Tribune*, April 24, 1960. The *Tribune* printed a history of the Great Bend United Presbyterian church April 29, 1960, on the occasion of the church's 75th anniversary.

Articles from early issues of the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, and pictures illustrating early Dodge City history, constitute a 14-page section of the third annual Special Traveler's edition of the *Globe*, April 25, 1960.

In observance of the centennial of the First Methodist church, Iola, the Iola *Register* published a brief history of the church, April 26, 1960.

In 1872 Zimri M. and Sarah Ann Hadley settled in north central Kansas. A biographical sketch of the family was published in the Burr Oak *Herald*, April 28, 1960.

A history of the Glasco Methodist church, which recently celebrated its 90th anniversary, appeared in the Glasco *Sun*, April 28, 1960.

School District 73, Labette county, was organized in 1872, according to a history of the school printed in the Edna *Sun*, April 28, 1960.

A history of the Olathe *Mirror* appeared in Elizabeth Barnes' column, "Historic Johnson County," in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, April 28, 1960. The *Mirror* was established in 1861 by John Francis; later it absorbed the older Olathe *Herald*, giving it an earlier history. The *Mirror* and the *Johnson County Democrat* were recently combined into the Olathe *News*, a daily.

"Fencing the Prairies," by W. M. Richards, was featured in the May, 1960, number of *Heritage of Kansas*, a publication of the Department of English, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia.

Continuing the series of reminiscences by early settlers of the Colby area in the Colby *Free Press-Tribune*, the recollections of George Cork, whose family homesteaded in Thomas county in 1886, were published May 5, 1960.

On May 12, 1960, the Courtland *Journal* printed a biographical sketch of the Andrew Johnson family. The Johnsons came to Republic county in the early 1870's.

A history of Fort Harker, Ellsworth county, by William E. Bain, was published in the *Wichita Beacon*, May 22, 1960.

Recent newspaper articles on George Washington Carver included: "‘Detour’ in Scientist’s Life Led Him to a Ness County Sod House," by Mrs. Martha Swearingen, *Salina Journal*, May 22, 1960; "Carver Monument [at Diamond, Mo.] Draws 30,000 First Year," by A. H. Rogers, *Great Bend Tribune*, May 22; and "Memorials [Diamond, Mo., and Beeler, Kan.] Established in Honor of Dr. G. W. Carver," *Ness County News*, Ness City, June 30.

A history of the Gotland school district, Cloud county, by Mrs. August Larson, appeared in the *Kansan*, Concordia, May 26, 1960. The district was organized in 1872.

Lt. J. E. B. Stuart’s military service in Kansas before the Civil War, as recorded in his diary, was reviewed in the *Great Bend Tribune*, May 29, 1960. Stuart participated in the establishment of Fort Larned 100 years ago.

The centennial edition of *The Lutheran Companion*, Rock Island, Ill., June 1, 1960, published by the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church, included an article entitled "Pioneers of the Prairies," by Emory Lindquist. It is a history of the settlement of Kansas and neighboring states by those of the Lutheran faith, and the establishment of their churches.

In observance of Ness county’s 80th anniversary, the *Ness County News*, Ness City, June 2, 1960, published a 20-page special edition, featuring the history of the county.

Historical articles included in recent issues of the *Independence Daily Reporter* were: a history of Coal Creek school, Montgomery county, by Wilma Schweitzer, June 5, 1960; and "Sleepy Hamlet of Elgin Once a Rip-Roarin’ Cow Town," by Barbara Combs, June 19.

Under the leadership of the Rev. G. D. Sellers, the Randall Christian church was organized in the mid-1870’s. A history of the church, by Mrs. Charles Robinett, was printed in the *Jewell County Republican*, Jewell, June 9, 1960.

A history of the Mt. Olive Presbyterian church, Petersburg, Bourbon county, was printed in the *Fort Scott Weekly Tribune*, June 9, 1960. The church was organized in 1858 as the Marmaton Cumberland Presbyterian church.

On June 10 and 11, 1960, Bird City celebrated its 75th anniversary. Publication of a 24-page special edition by the *Bird City Times*, June 9, marked the occasion.

A biographical sketch of Milo E. Lutton was printed in the *Cimarron Jacksonian*, June 9, 1960. Lutton arrived in the Cimarron area in 1885, where he homesteaded two years later, upon reaching the age of 21.

Histories of the Americus Methodist church appeared in the *Emporia Gazette*, June 9, and the *Emporia Times*, June 23, 1960. The church recently observed its centennial anniversary.

Earl Pitts is the author of a narrative on early day prairie fires, published in the *Jetmore Republican*, June 16, 1960.

Sadie Jurney, president of the Kingman County Historical Society, has described early day cattlemen's picnics and rodeos in articles printed in the *Kingman Countian*, Kingman, June 23, 30, 1960, and the *Kingman Leader-Courier*, June 24, and July 1.

The reminiscences of the late Mrs. E. X. Glover, entitled "Just A Story of My Pioneering in the Cherokee Strip," began appearing in serial form in the *Caldwell Messenger*, June 27, 1960. Mrs. Glover came to Kansas in 1879 at the age of 12.

Dodge City's Cowboy Band of the 1880's and 1890's was sketched in an article by Sue Pickle in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, June 30, 1960.

On June 30, 1960, the *Belleville Telescope* printed the first of a series of articles about a party of government surveyors in Republic county in 1858. The account is taken from a journal kept by Augustus Ford Harvey, one of the surveyors.

Agricultural History, Champaign, Ill., July, 1960, included an article entitled "The Last Days of 'Texan' Abilene: a Study in Community Conflict on the Farmer's Frontier," by Robert Dykstra.

On July 7, 1960, the *Oskaloosa Independent* published a 40-page centennial edition. Founded by the Rev. John Wesley Roberts in 1860, the *Independent* has been published by members of the Roberts family for the entire 100 years. Featured in the centennial number are biographical sketches of members of the Roberts family and a history of Jefferson county.

A letter from Manford Eaton, former Delphos resident, including items of early Delphos history, was published in the *Delphos Republican*, July 7 and 14, 1960.

Kansas Historical Notes

Directors elected at the annual meeting of the Decatur County Historical Society, May 5, 1960, in Oberlin, were: Virgil McMains, Keith Nicodemus, Ralph Brown, and Don Zimmerman. The directors met May 9 and named the following officers: Ward Claar, president; Ira Laidig, first vice-president; Ralph Brown, second vice-president; Ben Miller, chairman of the board; and LaVerne Plousard, secretary-treasurer.

Harvey Bitner and Carl Lucas were elected directors of the Stanton County Historical Society during the business session at Stanton county's pioneer day, May 14, 1960, in Johnson.

Clarence Black, Mankato, was elected president of the Jewell County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting, May 17, 1960, in Mankato. Other officers chosen included: Mrs. Darus Henningsen, Mankato, vice-president; Mrs. Elton Gillett, Burr Oak, secretary; and O. K. Fearing, Mankato, treasurer. Fred Meyer, Jewell, was the retiring president.

The Osborne County Historical Society was organized at a meeting in Osborne, May 19, 1960. Five county chairmen were elected from various areas of the county: Dean Foster, Natoma; Mrs. C. W. Ogrens, Downs; Mrs. Earl Porter, Osborne; Mrs. H. O. Turner, Portis; and Elmiere Guttery, Alton. Five co-chairmen were also chosen: Mrs. Vivian Fleming, Natoma; Mrs. Nina Gerard, Osborne; Mrs. Carl Thomas, Portis; Mrs. Louise Moore, Downs; and Mrs. Nettie Hale, Alton. Mrs. Quinton Woolley was elected secretary; Mrs. Darrel Chandler, recording secretary; Earl Woolley, treasurer; and Donald Gregory, co-ordinator.

The Phillips County Historical Society was organized at a gathering in Phillipsburg, May 27, 1960. Don Lumpkin was elected president; Cecil Kingery, vice-president; and L. L. Holben, secretary-treasurer. I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, special representative of the Kansas Centennial Commission, was guest speaker at the meeting.

Alan B. Houghton, Beloit, was chosen president of the Mitchell County Historical Society at the organizational meeting in Beloit, May 31, 1960. Mrs. Merton Gentleman, Glen Elder, was elected executive vice-president, and Aileen Newquist, Beloit, secretary-treasurer. Vice-presidents, representing various communities of the

county, are: Mrs. Walter Heller, Hunter; Carl Cox, Scottsville; Dr. C. F. Bingesser, Cawker City and Waconda Springs; Mary Lee, Glen Elder; George Betz, Asherville; Kenneth Pfeiffer, Tipton; Cliff Francis, Simpson; and the Rev. Sheridan Robbins, Beloit.

Washington's centennial was celebrated with a five-day program of events, May 31-June 4, 1960. The historical pageant, "Washingtonennial," was presented each evening.

Allan Hibbard is the new president of the Barber County Historical Society, elected at a meeting in Medicine Lodge, June 4, 1960. Other officers include: W. Luke Chapin, first vice-president; Alice Rankin, second vice-president; R. T. Ishmael, third vice-president; I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, co-ordinator; Tonkajo McElyea, secretary; Harry Nixon, treasurer; Elizabeth Simpson, corresponding secretary; Jack Fisher, publicity director; and Marjorie Stranathan, historian. Alice MacGregor was the retiring president.

Permanent officers were elected June 6, 1960, by the newly formed Barton County Historical Society at a meeting in Great Bend. They are: Ray S. Schulz, Great Bend, president; Mrs. Robert E. Sullivan, Hoisington, first vice-president; Frank Robl, Ellinwood, second vice-president; Paul Gibler, Claflin, third vice-president; Mrs. Thelma Ragan, Hoisington, corresponding secretary; Kent Collier, Great Bend, secretary; Glenn Rhea, Great Bend, treasurer; Mrs. James Boyle, Great Bend, co-ordinator; Louis Ernsting, Ellinwood, historian; and Mrs. Dorothy Bowman, Pawnee Rock, publicity director.

Thomas county's 75th anniversary was observed with a six-day celebration in Colby, June 11-16, 1960. The schedule of events included parades, dances, an old settlers' gathering, picnics, and several presentations of the historical pageant, "Saga of the Sod-dies."

Mrs. Merle Warner was elected president of the Gray County Historical Society at a society-sponsored picnic in Cimarron Cross-ing park, June 12, 1960. Frank Hungate was elected vice-president; Grace Truax, secretary; Ora Wooden, treasurer; and Frances Hamlin, Mrs. D. L. Shrauner, and Ralph Fry, directors.

Oberlin observed its 75th anniversary with an eight-day celebration June 16-23, 1960. Feature of the event was a historical pageant entitled "Proud Heritage," presented each evening.

One of the landmarks of the Moundridge community, the Alta Mill, now being torn down, was the subject of a brief historical sketch in the Moundridge *Journal*, June 16, 1960.

Earl Van Antwerp, Bill Boyer, and Bill Dobson were elected directors of the Scott County Historical Society at a meeting June 21, 1960, in Scott City.

In response to the increased interest in Kansas history during the approach of the centennial, the Kansas Traveling Libraries Commission has published a list of suggested readings, entitled *Landmarks and Pioneers in Early Kansas History*, compiled by Mary A. Hall.

Something a little different from the ordinary in Kansas history is the recently published 43-page booklet, *The Hystery of Kansās*, by Bennie Bullflower, as told to Ken Johnson. Bullflower's observations begin with the discovery of Kansas by Columbus and end with the centennial in 1961.

Zion Evangelical Lutheran church, state line road near Diller, Nebr., on the occasion of its 40th anniversary May 1, 1960, issued a 12-page pamphlet containing the history of the church.

A 58-page souvenir booklet was published as a part of Washington's centennial celebration, May 31-June 4, 1960. Featured in the booklet is "The History of Washington," by Helen Hennon.

The Trumpet Soundeth—William Jennings Bryan and His Democracy, 1896-1912 is the title of a 242-page work by Paul W. Glad, published by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, in 1960.

Works on Kansas subjects by many authors are included in a 359-page volume entitled *The Heritage of Kansas*, edited by Everett Rich, and published by the University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, in 1960. The selections give a panoramic view of Kansas life from Coronado's exploration in 1541 to about 1900.

Errata and Addenda, Volume XXVI

Page 79, line 19, Mr. and Mrs. Harrie K. Mueller should be Mr. and Mrs. Harrie S. Mueller.

Page 81, line 31, James S. Carey should be James C. Carey.

Page 83, line 5 from bottom, Mr. A. S. Coil should be Mrs. A. L. Coil.

Page 102, Brinkerhoff, Fred A., should be Brinkerhoff, Fred W.

Page 186, line 4 from bottom, S. H. Burroughs should be S. A. Burroughs.

Page 198, lines 14 and 13 from bottom, Lieut. Kennedy should be of the 10th U. S. cavalry.

Page 230, line 11, Hersog should be Herzog.

Page 231, paragraph 3, line 3, Francis Hamlin should be Frances Hamlin.

Page 234, Footnote 7, the Rev. Eben Batchley should be the Rev. Eben Blatchley.

Page 328, line 12, Footnote "12" should be Footnote "16."

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