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THE COVER

White Plume (Mon-chonsia; or Nom-pa-wa-rah), who was for some years considered head chief of the Kansa Indians. Portrait (1821?) by artist Charles Bird King, as reproduced from the McKenney and Hall *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXVIII

Spring, 1962

Number 1

Atchison and the Central Branch Country, 1865-1874

GEORGE L. ANDERSON

WITH proper acknowledgment to Charles Dickens this paper might have been entitled *A Tale of Two Cities*—of Atchison seeking to become a great commercial center, and of Waterville representing the 15 towns and villages that were located on the Central Branch railroad through Atchison, Jackson, Nemaha, and Marshall counties. Or, with a bow toward Ed Howe, long-time editor of the *Atchison Globe*, *The Story of a Country Town* might have been selected for the title. Actually, the emphasis in this paper is not upon a single city or a particular town, but upon the relationships that developed between the city and the towns of the tributary area. A brief analysis of Atchison's dreams and accomplishments and an even briefer account of the emergence of the Central Branch country will be followed by a somewhat more detailed discussion of the ties that came into existence between the would-be metropolis on the Missouri river and its hinterland to the westward.¹

Although Atchison was founded in 1854, its development as a commercial center did not begin until 1858. For a few years the young city experienced a rapid rate of growth. Its expanding trade rested upon the Missouri river and the freighting trails to the mining camps, the army posts, and the Indian reservations. Steamboats on the river and freighting wagons on the Plains were the symbols as well as the agencies of Atchison's success as an entrepot of trade. In an age when steam-powered water transport brought

Prof. George LaVerne Anderson, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1960-1961, is chairman of the history department at the University of Kansas, Lawrence. A native of Kansas, he has a Ph. D. degree from the University of Illinois, Urbana, and is the author of *General William J. Palmer—A Decade of Colorado Railroad Building, 1870-1880* (1936), and a number of historical papers.

This article is an expansion, plus footnotes, of his presidential address before the annual meeting of the State Historical Society in Topeka on October 17, 1961.

1. The *Atchison Daily Champion* and the *Waterville Telegraph* were the principal sources of data for this paper. Although there were a number of changes in names, the *Atchison Champion* will be used uniformly in the footnotes. Because of the nature of this study almost every issue of the *Champion* and *Telegraph* contained relevant information. Thus, appearances to the contrary, the citations are selective rather than inclusive.

goods from the East, and the muscles of oxen and mules pulled the loaded wagons to the West, Atchison's location at the western apex of the bend in the Missouri river was considered a strategic one.²

The early period of growth was followed by four years of war. The body politic of Atchison was divided. Trade was demoralized. Leavenworth with its military post prospered, but Atchison declined and its citizens became disheartened.³ Almost simultaneously, an even more disruptive influence was making itself felt in the region beyond the Mississippi. Steam-powered transportation on land was replacing the older forms of carrying goods to the waiting markets.⁴ The significance of the railroad for Atchison was foreshadowed when the Hannibal and St. Joseph, which had reached its western terminus in 1859, completed a branch to Winthrop, just across the Missouri river from Atchison, in 1860.⁵ For several years after this development the residents of Atchison asserted that their city was the only one in Kansas that could be reached by rail.⁶

But the leaders of Atchison realized that a railroad to the west was required if their city was to reap the full benefit of its eastern connection. For this reason they were very much interested in the Pacific railway legislation of 1862 and 1864.⁷ It seemed quite reasonable to them that Atchison should be the eastern terminus of one

2. The issues of the *Atchison Champion* for January 1, 1869, January 1, 1871, and January 1, April 27, 1873, and of the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, for November 27, December 5, 1872, contain a good deal of historical information. In more recent years the *Atchison Daily Globe* has published a number of anniversary and centennial editions. Among the most important are those published on July 16, 1894; December 8, 1927; July 11, 1929; September 17, 1938; September 17, 1940; October 19, 1952; and June 20, 1954. The fullest printed history is Sheffield Ingalls, *A History of Atchison County, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1916). Scholarly studies of the early history of Atchison include Peter Beckman, "The Overland Trade and Atchison's Beginnings," in *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial*, University of Kansas Social Science Studies (Lawrence, 1954), pp. 148-164, and Walker D. Wyman, "Atchison, a Great Frontier Depot," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 11 (August, 1942), pp. 297-308. Emphasis on the interior position of Atchison was almost a constant theme in the *Atchison Champion*. For example see the issues for August 17, December 6, 1865; February 13, 1866; August 28, 1868; January 1, 11, and December 11, 1869; and April 9, 1870.

3. *Atchison Champion*, January 1, 1869. Eugene T. Wells, *St. Louis and Cities West, 1820-1880*, 2 vols. (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas, 1951). Chapter 29, pp. 536-561, is entitled "Leavenworth and Atchison." See especially pp. 546 and 558 for the effects of the Civil War on these towns. Ingalls, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-150. Many prominent business men, including Peter T. Abell and William Hetherington, moved away from Atchison for a number of years.

4. The most scholarly and penetrating analysis of the impact of steam-powered land transportation has been made by James C. Malin. Under the title "The Communications Revolution," Professor Malin has discussed various facets of the question in several of his published works, including the following: *The Grassland of North America: Prolegomena to its History* (Lawrence, 1947), pp. 169-172; *The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854* (Lawrence, 1953), pp. 56-69; *The Contriving Brain and the Skillful Hand in the United States* (Lawrence, 1955), pp. 27, 28, and 34-198, but especially 153-191.

5. Peter Beckman, "Atchison's First Railroad," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21 (Autumn, 1954), pp. 153-165; Ingalls, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-185. For the broader significance of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad see Robert R. Russel, *Improvement of Communication With the Pacific Coast as an Issue in American Politics, 1783-1864* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1948), p. 265, and Wyatt W. Belcher, *The Economic Rivalry Between St. Louis and Chicago, 1850-1880* (New York, 1947), pp. 89-91, 163-164.

6. This claim was made by John A. Martin in his inaugural address as mayor of Atchison.—*Atchison Champion*, May 9, 1865.

7. For a summary of the legislative history of these laws see Russel, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-322.

of the branches of the Pacific railroad.⁸ Moreover, the essential ingredients for the attempt to implement their dreams were at hand. The Atchison and Pike's Peak Railroad Company had been chartered.⁹ The Hannibal and St. Joseph Company, subject to the approval of the Kansas legislature, had been authorized to build 100 miles westward toward a connection with the main line of the Pacific railroad, and had been promised the usual subsidies of lands and bonds.¹⁰ Finally, the Kickapoo Indians had in their possession a broad expanse of fertile land which might, with proper management, be used to breathe new life into the plans for a railroad to the west.¹¹ In Washington, in Topeka, and in New York, Samuel C. Pomeroy, Luther C. Challiss, and Peter T. Abell, among others, labored to mold these diverse ingredients into a practicable project.¹² The Kansas legislature was persuaded to delay its approval of a route running west from St. Joseph.¹³ The Kickapoo Indians were in-

8. This view is implicit in most of the discussions of Atchison as the "Great Railroad Centre" of the Missouri valley.—Wells, *op. cit.*, pp. 558, 559; Russel, *op. cit.*, pp. 305, 317.

9. *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1859* (Lawrence, 1859), p. 62. The act of incorporation was passed on February 11, 1859. The new company succeeded to the rights of the Atchison and Ft. Riley Railroad Company which had been incorporated on February 17, 1857, and it was required to begin construction within five years.

10. Sections 10 and 13 of the Pacific Railway Act of July 1, 1862.—*United States Statutes at Large*, v. 12, pp. 494-496. The portion of the act which was favorable to Atchison reads, "That the Hannibal and Saint Joseph . . . may extend its road from Saint Joseph via Atchison, . . . for one hundred miles . . . said company may construct their road, with the consent of the Kansas legislature, on the most direct and practicable route west from Saint Joseph, Missouri. . . ." Sen. John B. Henderson, of Missouri, was responsible for the insertion into the law of the phrases which permitted the company to build directly west from St. Joseph. He did not succeed in accomplishing a similar objective in 1864. Space does not permit extended comment on the controversy over the Henderson amendment. Suffice it to say that it played an important role in the political and economic life of Kansas for a number of years. Some contemporary material may be found in the *Atchison Champion*, November 25, 1866, and June 15 and 24, 1873; the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, June 24, 1873, and the *Nemaha Courier*, Seneca, April 16, June 11, October 13, 1864.

11. In one of the many treaties negotiated by George W. Manypenny, the Kickapoo tribe had on May 18, 1854, at Washington, D. C., agreed to exchange their lands in Missouri for a comparable area in Kansas.—*United States Statutes at Large*, v. 10, pp. 1078-1081.

12. Benjamin F. Stringfellow, Samuel Dickson, John M. Price, and Thomas Murphy also played prominent parts. Most writers emphasize the role of Samuel C. Pomeroy, but there is a good deal of evidence that Luther C. Challiss was of greater importance in the initial stages of the Atchison and Pikes Peak Railroad Company. Under the title "An Old Citizen Returned," the *Atchison Champion*, on May 8, 1869, paid the following tribute to Challiss: "He was prominently and actively identified with many of the railroad enterprises of Atchison, and contributed very largely to the success of those that reached completion. He was the first President of the Atchison and Pike's Peak (now the Central Branch, U. P.) Railroad Co.; negotiated the treaty with the Kickapoo Indians by which their splendid Reserve was purchased for the Company, and was influential in obtaining that favorable legislation from Congress which secured for our city this important Railroad." In one of the reorganizations of the company, Challiss was left out and later sued for a substantial sum of money.—*Atchison Champion*, October 3, November 6, 28, and 30, 1869. In assessing the role of Pomeroy it should be remembered that although he was the president and later a director of the Central Branch company, the president of the bridge company and the president of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, the Central Branch was not extended to Ft. Kearny or to Denver, the Missouri river was not bridged at Atchison until it had been bridged at Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Leavenworth, and the Atchison-Topeka segment of the Santa Fe line was not completed until Kansas City had engrossed the trade of the Southwest. For complimentary references to Senator Pomeroy see the *Atchison Champion*, August 11, 1865; January 28, 1868; and September 17, 1869. In a speech reported in the *Champion* on August 21, 1866, John J. Ingalls stated: "But without your [Pomeroy's] special efforts, it is safe to say that the great Central Branch of the Pacific, R. R. would have remained forever the visionary and baffled project of a speculators dream."

13. The 1863 session of the Kansas legislature refused to give its consent to a line directly west from St. Joseph.—*Senate Journal for 1863* (Lawrence, 1863), pp. 266, 267, 286, and 299. The 1864 legislature did give its consent, but before the St. Joseph leaders

duced to sell a portion of their reservation to the railroad company.¹⁴ New sources of capital were discovered in New York.¹⁵ The Hannibal and St. Joseph was prevailed upon to assign its Pacific railway privileges and prospective subsidies to the Atchison and Pikes Peak.¹⁶ To harmonize name and objective the official title of the company was changed in late 1866 to the Central Branch of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.¹⁷ Thus the foundation of the Central Branch country was laid. A railroad beginning on the banks of an unbridged Missouri river would wind its way westward for exactly one hundred miles. Without a route fixed in advance it would find the fertile valleys and miss the county seats.¹⁸ Beginning as a mere gleam in the eyes of its founders and aiming for the Pacific by way of Ft. Kearny it would terminate in a corn field in the valley of the Little Blue.¹⁹

One phase of the Pacific railway question, the rivalry of St. Louis and Chicago, seemed to the Atchison leaders to offer a particularly fine opportunity to advance the interests of their city.²⁰ They

could take advantage of their opportunity the permissive section was dropped out of the federal legislation.—*House Journal for 1864* (Lawrence, 1864), pp. 83, 173, and 174; *Senate Journal for 1864* (Lawrence, 1864), pp. 99 and 109; *Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 2419-2423. For a copy of the 1864 resolution and extended comments on the legislatures of 1863 and 1864 see the *Kansas Chief*, Troy, February 11, 1864. The best brief summary of the question with appropriate references to the debates in the federal congress is to be found in Russel, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

14. The treaty was concluded at the Kickapoo agency on June 28, 1862. The text together with a number of amendments may be found in *United States Statutes at Large*, v. 13, pp. 623-630. Under the terms of the treaty the Central Branch company was permitted to buy 124,832 acres. The negotiation of the treaty is discussed in Paul W. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca, 1954), pp. 136-140.

15. *Atchison Champion*, May 10, 1865.

16. The assignment was made by the board of directors of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Company on June 9, 1863, and was ratified by the stockholders on September 21, 1863.—*Freedman's Champion*, Atchison, January 28, 1864, reprinting from the *Topeka Tribune*, a letter from B. F. Stringfellow. Benjamin Loan, member of congress from Missouri, asserted that the assignment was made without consideration.—*Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 3180. Russel, *op. cit.*, p. 312; Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 138; *Atchison Champion*, July 7, 1866.

17. *Atchison Champion*, December 27, 1866.

18. After a trip through the Central Branch country, Captain Green, traveling correspondent of the *Lawrence Journal*, wrote, "It [the Central Branch] runs as if it started out from Atchison to hunt good land and avoid county seats."—Reprinted in *Atchison Champion*, October 26, 1869.

19. Franklin G. Adams in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, February 15, 1873. The one hundredth milepost was found to be in Sec. 22, T. 4 S., R. 6 E. The particular tract had been entered by David C. King. It passed through the hands of G. H. Hollenberg, William Osborn, and Ralph M. Pomeroy before becoming the property of the Central Branch company.

20. Perhaps the most important of Frank H. Hodder's many significant scholarly contributions to American history in general and Kansas history in particular was the delineation of the relevance to the organization of Kansas territory of the Chicago-St. Louis rivalry. See especially his "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1912* (Madison, 1913), pp. 69-86, and "The Railroad Background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 3-22.

For appreciative analyses of Hodder's work as well as for substantive additions to the study of the problem, the following articles by James C. Malin should be consulted: "Frank Heywood Hodder," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5 (May, 1936), pp. 115-121; "F. H. Hodder's 'Stephen A. Douglas,'" *ibid.*, v. 8 (August, 1939), pp. 227-237; and "The Motives of Stephen A. Douglas in the Organization of Nebraska Territory: A Letter Dated December 17, 1853," *ibid.*, v. 19 (November, 1951), pp. 321-353. See, also, Wells, *op. cit.*, and

thought that their location was a strategic one.²¹ They pointed out that very close to Atchison a straight line from Chicago to Santa Fe would intersect a straight line from St. Louis to Ft. Kearny.²² They convinced themselves that Atchison, and not St. Joseph or Kansas City, would be the junction point of railroads running from Chicago to the southwest and those running from St. Louis to the northwest. For them the Central Branch would be the main line to the Pacific and it would place the people of the Central Branch country in close touch with the markets of both St. Louis and Chicago.²³ In their more fanciful moments, the leaders of Atchison could conjure up visions of the exotic products of China and Japan and the minerals, lumber, and livestock of the Far West competing for space in the Atchison freight yards with the grain and produce of the Central Branch country. But these dreams faded before the hard realities of life. It was Kansas City that got the bridge over the Missouri river in 1869. And it was Kansas City that became the principal junction point of the railroads from St. Louis and Chicago thus setting the stage for Ed Howe's wry remark that Atchison, Leavenworth, and Lawrence had one thing in common—they had all been robbed by Kansas City.²⁴

It was quite natural that in its attempt to become the railroad center of the Missouri valley, Atchison should become involved in a struggle with Kansas City, Leavenworth, and St. Joseph.²⁵ Atchison was the smallest of the competitors. Although the promoters of the rival cities minimized the chances as well as the advantages

Belcher, *op. cit.* Comparisons of the two cities and references to the contest between them appear frequently in the *Atchison Champion*. See especially the issues for August 25, September 5, 1867; February 10, April 9, October 20, December 11, 1869; January 4, 1870; January 10, April 7, September 2, October 13 and 23, 1871; and October 21, 1873.

21. A. W. Spaulding in a letter to the St. Louis *Democrat* from Atchison, reprinted in the *Champion*, March 19, 1872, labeled Atchison "the strategic field" where Chicago and St. Louis would do battle.

22. *Atchison Champion*, February 13, 1866. On this occasion it was asserted that a line from Chicago to Santa Fe would intersect a line from St. Louis to Denver at Atchison. On June 16, 1865, the *Champion* emphasized the importance of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe to Chicago, and on July 12, 1866, it pointed out the significance of the Central Branch to St. Louis.

23. *Atchison Champion*, February 13, 1866; July 22, 1870; and May 1, 1872. In commenting on an article in the Cincinnati *Times*, the *Champion* remarked on April 21, 1870, "This Road [the Central Branch] will be the great central highway across the continent." The newspapers in the Central Branch towns shared this view. Thus the Irving *Weekly Recorder* asserted on December 17, 1869, "A connection with Ft. Kearney makes this the grand central route from the East to the Pacific. . . ." On April 1, 1870, the *Waterville Telegraph* was even more expansive, "We at Waterville, hardly realize that we are situated on a branch, soon to be united with the main trunk of the great thoroughfare which is revolutionizing trade between the Atlantic states and Eastern Asia."

24. *Atchison Champion*, May 18, 1869. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 560, cites the failure of Atchison "to secure the early construction of a bridge" as one reason why Atchison did not become the commercial center of the Missouri valley.

25. For a summary of this competition written from the Atchison point of view see "The Great Railroad Centre" in the *Champion*, December 8, 1870. For significant evaluations of the four Missouri river towns in 1863 and 1873, see "An Editor Looks at Early-Day Kansas: The Letters of Charles Monroe Chase," Lela Barnes, editor, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 26 (Summer and Autumn, 1960), pp. 113-151, and 267-301, especially pp. 115, 116-118, 148, 150, 270-276, and 297-301.

of the little city, the advocates of Atchison's cause competed with a zeal that had its source in the certainty of ultimate victory. One of these advocates was John A. Martin, the perceptive and articulate editor of the *Champion*, and the principal theoretician of Atchison's future.²⁶ Martin disposed of Kansas City and St. Joseph by labeling them Missouri cities which should be denied the benefits of the commerce and resources of Kansas.²⁷ As for Leavenworth, its early growth and prosperity had been in response to artificial and temporary factors which had ceased to be influential.²⁸ But Martin was not content to resolve the contest in favor of Atchison by simple analysis of provincial and ephemeral considerations. Drawing upon his knowledge of science, geography, and history he cast his thought about cities into two general theories. One of these might be designated geographic predestination. In explaining his conviction that Atchison would outdistance Leavenworth and St. Joseph, Martin asserted, "The fact is that lines of commerce and travel are controlled by natural laws. . . . Nature, in fashioning this beautiful and fertile land, in establishing the course of its streams, the altitude of its hills, and the windings of its valleys, destined Atchison to be the metropolis of the Missouri Valley and the 'Great Railroad Centre of Kansas.'" ²⁹ In expounding his other theory which might be called automatic accretion, Martin declared,

Man aggregates. So do the beasts of the field and forest; the birds and insects of the air, and the fishes of the sea. Community is the law of existence. . . . [It is as] inevitable as gravitation. Bees swarm, buffalo move in multitude, men dwell in cities. . . . The city must have a focus; some

26. There is a biography of Martin by James C. Malin in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 12 (New York, 1933), pp. 341-342. In the second installment of his historical sketch of Atchison published in the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, December 5, 1872, W. H. Rossington remarked, "Col. John A. Martin, one of the pioneer publishers in Kansas, with his *Champion*, has probably done more to blow wide the fame and name of Atchison, than any other man or influence in it."

27. The fullest statement of this point was made by Martin in commenting on an article in the *Seneca Courier* which was reprinted in the *Champion* on January 3, 1872. Martin was not entirely satisfied with the reasons given by the *Courier* for working in the interest of Atchison rather than St. Joseph. He thought the writer should have said, "Atchison is a Kansas town. It is identified with Kansas interests. It helps pay the taxes of Kansas. It is animated by Kansas ideas and devoted to the upbuilding of Kansas institutions. St. Joseph, on the contrary, is a Missouri town. It is identified with Missouri interests. It helps pay Missouri taxes. It has Missouri ideas, and is devoted to the upbuilding of Missouri." See, also, the *Champion* for June 23, 1867, and June 15, 24, 1873.

28. Atchison *Champion*, September 20, 1865, and May 1, 1869. *Waterville Telegraph*, February 10, 1871.

29. Atchison *Champion*, December 8, 1870. An earlier editorial entitled "A Public Park" in the *Champion* for September 10, 1870, contained an eloquent expression of the "inevitable destiny" theme. Similar ideas permeate the article "The Great Railroad Centre" which appeared on November 2, 1870. When David Martin was in charge of the *Champion*, an article in the *Holton News* which favored Atchison over Leavenworth stimulated him to write a long article on "Atchison and Her Position" in which he said that the railroad system of northern Kansas "naturally radiates from Atchison, because it is the most interior point on the Great River, in the State. The same natural causes which concentrated here the private freighting interests of the West, bring to us the Railroads of Kansas."—*Champion*, December 11, 1869. See, also, the issues for January 7 and April 11, 1871.

ocean harbor, oasis, river bend, mountain slope, or fertile area, affording peculiar advantages for access, egress, and accumulation. Nothing is fortuitous. . . . We have [the] opportunity. The gods are favorable. A vast productive area, penetrated by railroads and inhabited by an energetic and intelligent population, surrounds us in every direction. If Atchison is not without a rival on the Kansas frontier within the next ten years, it will be from a wanton and stupid disregard of the conditions which are requisite to the growth of cities.³⁰

Whatever may be the merits of Martin's theorizing, he did not let the people of Atchison forget that it was railroads that were needed if Atchison was to become the commercial metropolis of the Missouri valley. By 1872, as a result of the prodding of Martin, the lobbying and leading of such men as Peter T. Abell, George W. Glick, and John M. Price, and the stimulating impact of James F. Joy's dollars, Atchison had become the center of a modest network of railroads.³¹ On the east side of the Missouri river there were lines leading northward to St. Joseph and Chicago, and southward to Kansas City and St. Louis. On the west side there were lines leading through Leavenworth to Kansas City and St. Louis, and northward through Troy Junction to Falls City, Lincoln, and be-

30. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1867. The quoted portions do not do justice to the lengthy editorial entitled "The Growth of Cities." On December 10, 1867, Martin brought his thinking about the growth of cities into sharper focus in an article entitled "Atchison—Her Needs and Necessities."

31. The *Champion* claimed that the network was composed of eight distinct lines. Needless to say the hopes, the fears, the railroads conventions, the bond elections, the details of construction and the opening day excursions over the completed lines were reported in great detail. Because this is not primarily a study of Atchison as a railroad center the references will be limited to those that describe the network. There is a brief summary of Atchison's railroad connections in D. E. Hawley, *Atchison City Directory for 1878-1879* (Atchison, 1878), pp. 9, 11, 17, 19, 21, 23, 41-46. In *The Gazetteer and Directory of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Rail Road and of the Missouri River From Kansas City, Missouri, to Omaha, Nebraska* (Burch and Polk, Detroit, 1873), pp. 206, 207, reference is made to "eight distinct lines of Railroad." In view of the fact that the book contains sketches of Kansas City, Leavenworth, and St. Joseph, the following statement is interesting. "By common consent, Atchison is now spoken of by all intelligent people, and the press, as the great railroad center west and north of St. Louis. 80 to 100 freight and passenger trains arrive and depart daily."

For an exuberant exposition of Atchison's challenge to her rivals as well as an optimistic preview of her railroad network, see the article "A Bilked City" in the May 1, 1869, issue of the *Champion*. The following paragraph is a fair sample. "We [Atchison] shall have a railroad from Atchison to Topeka, and another from Atchison to Lawrence. We shall have a railroad to Nebraska City and another to Manhattan. We shall have a road, via Leavenworth way-station, to St. Louis, on the west side of the river. We have a direct line to Chicago and all Eastern cities. We shall have a connection . . . with the Kansas Pacific Road at Topeka, thence pushing Southwest, to the Neosho Valley. In fact, Atchison, Topeka and Lawrence are the great Railroad Centres of Kansas, and always will be. They will build through lines, and air-lines, and country cut-offs, and branch roads, all around Leavenworth, threading all parts of the State and connecting with lines running to all parts of the Continent."

Other contemporary summaries may be found in the *Atchison Champion*, August 28, November 18, 1868; March 30, 1870; January 1, 1871; February 3, March 19, April 9, July 7, 1872; and August 1 and September 23, 1873; *Holton Express*, July 5, 1872; *Waterville Telegraph*, April 7, 1871; and in Franklin G. Adams, *The Homestead Guide: Describing the Great Homestead Region in Kansas and Nebraska* (Waterville, Kan., 1873), pp. 112-133. "Business and Railroads," November 18, 1868; "Aid to Railroads," December 31, 1869; "The Railroads and Our Trade," September 4, 1869; and "Atchison: What Her Citizens Must Do," February 16, 1872, are examples of Martin's promotional efforts. The best historical account of the construction of Kansas railroads in print is A. Bower Sageser, "The Rails Go Westward," in John D. Bright, editor, *Kansas: The First Century* (New York, 1956), v. 1, pp. 221-254. On May 3, 1871, the *Champion* printed an account of the testimonial dinner that was given for Peter T. Abell.

yond.³² The Atchison-Topeka segment of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe had been completed. And there was the Central Branch, a one hundred mile "stump" road to Waterville.³³ Although there were railroads radiating in every direction, Atchison was still a thousand feet away from having an effective railroad network. The Missouri river remained unbridged at Atchison. And because there was no bridge, freight and passengers had to be crossed over the ice in winter, and by ferryboat during the other seasons of the year, while Atchison's rivals smugly reaped the benefits of their bridges.³⁴

While fashioning her bifurcated railroad network, Atchison had been challenged on many occasions by these rivals.³⁵ St. Joseph intervened in Kansas politics to obtain aid for the St. Joseph and Denver City railroad in the fond expectation that it would divert much of the trade of the Central Branch country to St. Joseph, frustrate the extension of the Central Branch railroad, and tap northwestern Kansas far to the west of Waterville.³⁶ Atchison responded by obtaining the completion of the Atchison and Nebraska line with the dual purpose of diverting trade from St. Joseph to Atchison at Troy, and of securing a connection with the main line of the Union

32. Joy was instrumental in securing the completion of the Atchison and Nebraska line. *Atchison Champion*, August 20, 23, 25, 26, September 2, 14, 30, October 21, November 24, 1870; and February 7, November 26, 1871. His financial participation was handled by the Exchange Bank of William Hetherington.—Cash journal, pp. 400, 414, 415, 440, 456, 457, 462, 465, 467, 473, 475, 476, 478-480, 491, 492, 496, 497, 505, 507, 514, 534, 544, 546, 547, 550, 568, and 569.

33. This is the term used by Franklin G. Adams in his "History of Marshall County," *Marshall County News*, Marysville, February 8, 1871, and in the *Waterville Telegraph*, March 8, 1872.

34. The Missouri river was bridged at Kansas City in 1869, at Leavenworth in 1872, and at St. Joseph in 1873. It was not bridged at Atchison until 1875. The *Champion* on September 8, 1868, published a full account of P. T. Abell's speech in which he discussed the obstacles to securing a bridge at Atchison. Other lengthy discussions may be found in the issues for June 11, 1872; June 20, August 7, 27, and November 13, 1873. After the rival cities had their bridges the *Champion* tried to make the best of a bad situation by emphasizing the speed and efficiency of the transfer (ferry) system.—See issues for November 29, December 28, and December 29, 1870; January 4, 1871; December 1 and 28, 1872; and June 15, August 18, 1873. On December 3, 1872, the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, commented, "The Atchison ferry boats are still rushing backward and forward through the ice, and Atchison like, will keep it up to the very last moment."

35. See, "The Great Railroad Centre," *Atchison Champion*, December 8, 1870, and the article in the *Atchison Patriot* entitled "Atchison" reprinted in the *Waterville Telegraph*, June 6, 1873, for good discussions of this competition.

36. In January, 1866, the St. Joseph and Denver City railroad was made one of the four beneficiaries of the 500,000-acre federal grant to Kansas for internal improvements. There is some information on the legislative history of the act in Edwin C. Manning, "The Kansas State Senate of 1865 and 1866," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, pp. 359-375, but especially 373-375. For the disposition of the grant see Thomas LeDuc, "State Administration of the Land Grant to Kansas for Internal Improvements," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (November, 1953), pp. 545-552. For the reaction to this grant in Atchison see the *Champion*, January 25, 27, 30, February 7, 8, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 27, March 2, 4, 6, 8, and June 19, 1866. The grant of federal lands to the state of Kansas for the particular benefit of the St. Joseph and Denver City railroad was made on June 23, 1866.—*United States Statutes at Large*, v. 14, pp. 210-212. The road was completed to Marysville in January, 1871, and to Hanover in late August, 1871.—*Waterville Telegraph*, January 6, and September 1, 1871. For other discussions of the Atchison-St. Joseph rivalry see the *Champion*, May 30, June 16 and 23, 1867; October 24, November 27, December 2, 1869; January 6, 1872; and June 23, 1873.

Pacific beyond Lincoln.³⁷ Leavenworth projected several railroad lines into the Central Branch country, broke the connection of Atchison with Kansas City by tearing up several hundred feet of track, and attempted to divert the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe from Atchison to Leavenworth.³⁸ Atchison retaliated by projecting a railroad through Oskaloosa to Lawrence with the intention of reaching St. Louis by way of Pleasant Hill, Mo., thus cutting off both Leavenworth and Kansas City.³⁹

The principal weapon of Kansas City in the contest was the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, or Kansas Pacific, as it was later called. The westward construction of this railroad disturbed the leaders of Atchison a great deal.⁴⁰ Their response was to press for the immediate construction of the Atchison-Topeka segment of the railroad to Santa Fe. Their spokesman, John A. Martin, asserted in unqualified terms that this link was the most important of Atchison's railroad projects, and that it was the absolute prerequisite for Atchison's development as a railroad center.⁴¹ To the Atchison men it was this line that would perpetuate the earlier association with the commerce of the southwest; would circumvent Lawrence and Leavenworth as well as Kansas City; and would make Atchison a significant point on the route from Chicago to the Southwest.⁴² In addition to the long range menace, the Kansas Pacific threatened Atchison's control of the Central Branch country by providing points of departure for feeder lines northward from Topeka through Holton to Netawaka, from Manhattan up the valley of the Big Blue to Irving and Blue Rapids, and from Junction City northward to

37. On October 24, 1869, the Atchison *Champion* asserted that as a result of the junction at Troy, the Atchison and Nebraska would drain St. Joseph "like a leech." The connection with the Union Pacific was suggested by the *Champion* as early as May 4, 1866. See, also, the issues for July 20, 1867, and March 11, 1871.

38. *Ibid.*, October 22, November 12 and 17, 1869; March 23, June 12 and 14, September 25, December 15, 20, 21, 22, 25, and 30, 1870; January 1, 5, 7, 8, and 14, February 18, June 30, July 12, 1871; and April 21, 1872. Waterville *Telegraph*, December 23, 1870; January 6, 13, 20, and August 25, 1871.

39. Atchison *Champion*, November 23, December 1, 1867; January 3, November 20, 1868; May 1 and 21, August 1, November 27, 1869; September 21, 1870; February 9, August 10 and 24, 1871; February 14, April 19, 1872. On June 7, 1867, the *Champion* mentioned a line to Lawrence by way of Oskaloosa and Valley Falls, and on March 8 and 13, 1868, it discussed the possibility of an Atchison, Tonganoxie and Southern railroad.

40. The Atchison *Champion* reported regularly on the progress of construction, commented on the vulnerability of the line to floods, and analyzed the impact upon Atchison of the shift from the Republican to the Smoky Hill route.—See issues for August 4 and 17, November 16, December 15, 1865; April 29, May 3, June 29, July 12, August 28, September 23, 1866; January 3, 1867; and April 28, 1870.

41. *Ibid.*, May 2, 12, 17, July 20, 1867; May 11, October 10, 1869. On March 25, 1869, the line to Topeka was placed second in importance to the Central Branch.

42. *Ibid.*, June 16, August 2, and 11, 1865; July 20, September 17, 1867; October 29, November 6, 1869; and December 3, 1870. See, also, the reprint of an article in the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, in the issue for March 30, 1872. On June 21, 1872, similar views were published in the Holton *Express*.

Waterville and northwestward into the valley of the Republican.⁴³ Atchison met these flanking movements with proposals for branch lines from Effingham, Muscotah, or Netawaka, through Holton to St. Marys, Wamego, or Manhattan.⁴⁴ But a more direct threat could not be countered effectively. An unbridged Missouri river made it likely that Atchison would become just another way station on the railroad from the Central Branch country to Kansas City.

Although their principal interest was focused on railroads, the leaders of Atchison realized that many more institutions and enterprises were needed if their city was to fulfill the destiny that they had selected for it.⁴⁵ At first it was honor and profit enough to have warehouses to serve the caravans of freighters, but soon there came demands for a market house, a union depot, grain elevators, stockyards, and more wholesale firms. At first civic pride could be fulfilled by references to the levee, but later it was sidewalks, paved streets, luxurious hotels, and improved roads into the countryside that were wanted. At first reality matched vision when a few small shops and mills supplemented the exchange of goods and produce, but as time passed it was great flour mills, extensive packing plants, and factories to produce agricultural implements, milling machinery, and furniture that were wanted so badly that the city council attempted to match St. Joseph and Leavenworth by offering substantial subsidies to new industries.⁴⁶ In the early years a private bank or two seemed adequate, but as business became more complex, pressure was generated for national banks, building and loan associations, savings banks, and insurance companies. In the field of

43. Atchison *Champion*, September 14, 1871; *Marshall County News*, Marysville, November 16, 1872; February 8, May 24, August 2 and 23, 1873; *Waterville Telegraph*, January 28, July 22, September 2, 9, and 23, December 2, 1870; May 26, June 23, August 18, 1871, and February 23, August 23, 1872.

44. On March 6, 1868, the Atchison *Champion* reprinted from the Hays City *Advance* an argument in favor of an Atchison, Hays City, and Santa Fe railroad. For other proposals see the *Champion*, April 23 and June 29, 1869; February 16, May 10, 14 and 17 (reprint from Holton *Leader*), June 2, 17, and 21, August 30, September 9, December 18 (reprint from the Louisville, Kan., *Reporter*), 1870; January 12, February 28, March 3, 15, 18, and 21, June 15, July 8, 1871, and May 2, 1872; Holton *Express*, April 26, 1872; and *Waterville Telegraph*, June 24, 1870, and March 17, 1871.

45. This paragraph is a condensation of ideas, suggestions, and promotional "puffs" that appeared in *Champion* advertisements, articles, and editorials. Inasmuch as several dozen issues are involved separate citations would be of little value.

46. Atchison *Champion*, October 27 and November 5, 1871. In the latter issue the *Champion* summarized the purposes of the bond issue: \$5,000 each for a foundry, an agricultural implements factory, a hotel, a woolen factory, and a coal mine, and an additional \$10,000 to be used as the mayor and council should decide. The bonds carried 746-72.—*Ibid.*, November 10, 1871. One long-range result of the bond issue was the establishment of an iron foundry by John A. Seaton.—*Ibid.*, March 24 and April 18, 1872. This plant was the forerunner of the Locomotive Finished Materials Company. The shift in emphasis from transportation to industry, from railroads to factories, was foreshadowed in a letter published in the May 2, 1872, issue of the *Champion* from R. K. Crum of Whiting. Crum stated that the great need of Atchison was not more railroads, but "diversified employment" and that Atchison should seek to become a great manufacturing center. Some attention had been paid earlier to the possibility of coal, oil, and gas development in the vicinity of Atchison.—See the *Champion* for May 14, 17, 24, and 31, June 7, August 15, September 30, November 11, 1865; and January 9, 1866.

journalism the *Champion* sought to become the voice of northern and northwestern Kansas and was challenged by the *Free-Press*, the *Patriot*, and the *Globe*.⁴⁷ In matters cultural and educational, the growth of St. Benedict's College, the construction of the new high school building, and the Corinthian Hall lectures and dramatic productions were hailed as harbingers of a richer fare. To complete the atmosphere of the emerging metropolis, John A. Martin, envisioning a city of 50,000, gave some thought to long-range urban planning. A section of modest homes and one of palatial estates, an industrial area, and parks because New York, London, and Dublin had parks, all of these were included in Martin's blueprint for Atchison, the "Queen City" of the Missouri valley.⁴⁸

While Atchison dreamed and sought to obtain the essential elements of a great city, the Central Branch country came into existence. Small segment though it was of the grand scheme, this hinterland of fertile prairies and valleys was not to be despised. William F. Downs, general superintendent and land commissioner of the Central Branch Railroad Company, advertised it as an area 100 miles long and 40 miles wide.⁴⁹ Ordinarily the "Great Homestead Region" extending for another 100 miles westward from Marshall county was included in the tributary area.⁵⁰ The early descriptions of this domain were liberally sprinkled with superlatives. Thus an Eastern traveler through the Central Branch country was moved to use the following phrases in his descriptive account, "And such a country! A climate full of health and strength; an air bright, balmy, and pure; a soil whose richness centuries of cultivation could not exhaust; a landscape fair and lovely to look upon;

47. On September 19, 1867, the *Champion* published the following statement, "THE CHAMPION has a large and constantly increasing circulation throughout Western and Northwestern Kansas. In the cabin of the settlers in the lovely meadows of the Blue and the Grasshopper [Delaware]; in the rude rendezvous of the lonely hunter along the grassy ridges of the distant Republican; in the homes that dot the hillsides, the valleys and the prairies of Atchison, Brown, Nemaha, Marshall, Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Pottawatomie and Doniphan counties, it is an eagerly welcomed visitor." B. P. Waggener and H. Clay Park took over the *Patriot* on September 8, 1868, and later Nelson Abbott became its proprietor.—*Atchison Champion*, September 8, 1868, and August 7, 1871. On May 2, 1873, the *Water-ville Telegraph* welcomed the appearance of the *Atchison Globe*. On the following day the *Marshall County News* commented that it would be interesting to watch the struggle between the *Globe* and the *Champion* and predicted that all northern Kansas would stick with the *Champion*.

48. *Atchison Champion*, September 10, 1870, and April 14, 1871. In an article published in the March 5, 1871, issue of the *Champion*, Martin was extremely critical of the rectangular block system. If on the one hand Martin paid some attention to aspects of urban development, he did not neglect to comment on the frontier in American history. On April 11, 1869, he wrote, "The Western boundary of Western settlement is moving on, with startling rapidity, to meet the great wave of immigration coming from the Pacific. . . . Soon there will be no 'West,' as it is now known. . . ."

49. The advertisement was carried on the front page of the *Atchison Champion* for a good many months.

50. The most complete description of the area is contained in Adams, *The Homestead Guide*, pp. 3-112. See, also, the article by M. W. Reynolds in the *Lawrence Journal* reprinted in the *Atchison Champion*, March 3, 1870.

gently undulating prairies; streams of pure water, their banks fringed with trees."⁵¹ Into this Eden-like paradise "the steel serpent" of railroad rails was thrust beginning in 1865.⁵²

An abortive effort by the Atchison and Pike's Peak Railroad Company in 1860 had been followed by several years of inactivity, by conflicting federal legislation, and by the reorganization of the company.⁵³ In the midst of these events construction of the road was begun. William Osborn, formerly of Waterville, N. Y., was the chief contractor; O. B. Gunn, the chief engineer; and J. P. "Paddy" Brown, Frank Bier, Richard Cavanaugh, and James S. Fisk, were some of the principal subcontractors.⁵⁴ Patented excavators and mobile dormitories shared the construction scene with wheelbarrows and oxen teams.⁵⁵ Slowly the road was built westward. Along the line from Monrovia, to Muscotah, to Frog's Paradise, just east of present day Centralia, periods of great activity were followed by months of indecision, while back in Atchison, moments of high elation alternated with seasons of deep despair.⁵⁶ The ambiguity of the project was described by a writer in the *Lawrence Journal* after a ride over a portion of the road. "Nobody knows where it is going. Its present terminus is Centralia. Its ultimate terminus is one of the problems of the future which the man in the moon could solve as readily as the managers of the road. . . . [It] is now hunting around on the prairies for a place to stop."⁵⁷ Finally, it was decided that the Central Branch

51. Article from the *Chicago Railway Review*, reprinted in the *Waterville Telegraph*, June 16, 1871. On August 11, 1871, the *Telegraph* reprinted a descriptive article from the August, 1871, issue of the *Chicago Landowner*. In an account reprinted in the *Atchison Champion* for November 22, 1866, a correspondent of the *St. Joseph Herald* declared that "The road [Central Branch] traverses the most magnificent sections of land which were ever shone upon, or encircled by a surveyor's chain." Another early account was written by a correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* after an excursion to Muscotah and was reprinted in the *Atchison Champion*, November 29, 1866.

52. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1868. In commenting upon the proposed Atchison, Hays City, and Santa Fe railroad the writer remarked, "Col. Webb is determined that another 'steel serpent shall glisten in the sun' along the prairies of the West. All the 'steel serpents' terminate at the Great Railroad Centre."

53. The officers of the Atchison and Pike's Peak company on June 3, 1865, were Samuel C. Pomeroy, president; Willis Gaylord, vice-president; James Wadsworth, secretary and acting treasurer; and Chauncey Vibbard, chairman of the executive committee. Sometime between June, 1865, and November, 1866, Ralph M. Pomeroy became president and Effingham A. Nichols became treasurer of the company. The directors of the company in October, 1870, were Samuel C. Pomeroy, Benjamin F. Stringfellow, William F. Downs, William C. Wetmore, James A. Stewart, Henry Day, Clement M. Parsons, Effingham A. Nichols, Alfred S. Barnes, O. H. Palmer, E. B. Phillips, Ralph M. Pomeroy, and George S. Hale.—*Atchison Champion*, June 3, 1865, November 20, 1866, and October 13, 1870.

54. *Ibid.*, March 25 and 26, June 6, July 29, 1865, and April 24, 1866.

55. *Ibid.*, March 25 and 26, August 20, September 17, December 29, 1865; March 7 and 27, April 17, 1866; and July 21, December 11, 1867.

56. On January 26, 1865, the *Atchison Champion* predicted that the railroad would reach the Big Blue by July 1, 1865. Two months later on March 22, 1865, the editor suggested that the road west from Atchison would win the race to the Pacific Ocean. Except for the months from November, 1865, to April, 1866, and those from November, 1866, to May, 1867, the *Champion* reported quite regularly on the progress of construction.

57. Reprinted in *ibid.*, May 17, 1867.

should cross the Big Blue at Irving and then proceed in a north-westerly direction until the 100th milepost was reached.⁵⁸ This goal was accomplished in late 1867, and a new town was laid out.⁵⁹ It was named Waterville after William Osborn's home town in New York, but referred to as West Atchison because of the preponderance of Atchison men among its builders.⁶⁰

Monrovia, Effingham, and Muscotah; Netawaka, Centralia, and Frankfort; Irving, Blue Rapids, and Waterville; these were the principal towns along the Central Branch. Interspersed at favorable points were the villages of Whiting, Wetmore, Corning, Vermillion, Barrett's Mill, and Elizabeth.⁶¹ Depending upon the time of year an accommodation train, or separate trains for freight and passengers, would go chuffing up the line.⁶² Until 1870 the engines burned wood, and "wood up" stations were located at frequent intervals along the track.⁶³ As one reads the accounts of travelers one catches glimpses of women helping with the harvest and of small boys winding their way through the tall grass to the "wood-up" stations to sell watermelons to the passengers and train crews.⁶⁴ One also catches fuller views of prairie fires and valley floods; of eating places; and of primitive wooden shacks for depots.⁶⁵

These views of the Central Branch country are possible because the Atchison newspapers reported the visits to Atchison of country residents, printed columns of special correspondence from the Central Branch towns and reprinted other columns from the newspapers

58. Marysville *Enterprise* quoted in the *Atchison Champion*, July 14, 1867. See, also, the issues of the *Champion* for July 20 and 21, 1867.

59. The grading was completed in early December.—*Atchison Champion*, December 11, 1867. "E. Pluribus" wrote to the *Champion* from Waterville on January 18, 1868, saying that Major Gunn was surveying the townsite and that several residents of Atchison were in Waterville preparing to establish business houses.—*Ibid.*, January 22, 1868.

60. The most complete account of the establishment and early history of Waterville is to be found in the sketch by Franklin G. Adams in the *Marshall County News*, February 8 and 15, 1873. There is an earlier account in the *Waterville Telegraph*, March 31, 1871. For the origin of the name see the *Telegraph* for April 7, 1871.

61. Descriptive accounts of the Central Branch towns may be found in the *Waterville Telegraph*, March 4, 1870; in the *Atchison Champion*, August 25, 1869, May 5, August 3, 1870, and August 2, 1871; in the *Chicago Land Owner* for August, 1871, and in Adams, *The Homestead Guide*, pp. 137-191. The *Land Owner* sketch is accompanied by a map of the Central Branch country and plats of all of the towns.

62. The changes in schedules and equipment occurred too frequently to permit citation. A particularly complete time table was published in the *Irving Weekly Recorder*, March 10, 1869. An early train consisted of five carloads of merchandise, four of lumber, and one of agricultural implements plus the passenger and baggage cars.—*Atchison Champion*, July 4, 1867.

63. *Waterville Telegraph*, January 1, 7, and 28, 1870. The shift from wood to coal was made in the autumn of 1870.—*Ibid.*, September 16, October 14 and 28, 1870.

64. *Atchison Champion*, September 11, 18, 1869. *Waterville Telegraph*, February 25, September 2, 1870.

65. *Atchison Champion*, April 25, and October 27, 1869; April 10, 22, 1870; and November 19, 20, and 22, 1873. *Holton Express*, April 12, 1872. *Seneca Courier*, February 10, March 24, 1871. *Waterville Telegraph*, January 1, March 18, April 29, September 2, 1870; and February 2, 1872.

established in them.⁶⁶ The *Waterville Telegraph*, the *Blue Rapids Times*, the *Irving Recorder*, the *Seneca Courier*, and the *Holton Express* were regularly levied upon for news concerning local events, the visits of Atchison men, the business transactions with Atchison firms, and optimistic predictions of future growth.⁶⁷ The country editors reciprocated by reprinting news stories and editorials from the Atchison papers and by supporting Atchison's claims and causes.⁶⁸ Two of these country editors, Frank A. Root and Franklin G. Adams, were of particular importance.⁶⁹ Both men had played significant roles in the early history of Atchison. Both remained faithful to Atchison when they exchanged their desks in Atchison for cruder quarters in a newly established town. In 1869 Root left Atchison to establish the *Waterville Telegraph*.⁷⁰ Like a sounding board located 100 miles to the west, Root echoed the hopes and the arguments of his erstwhile partner, John A. Martin. Just as Martin supplemented his editorial duties and his income by serving as postmaster of Atchison, so Root enlarged his sources of news and augmented his income by working as postal agent on the Central Branch trains. From the vantage point of the mail car, Root collected news stories from all of the towns and published them in the *Telegraph* under the heading, "Items from the Central Branch Country."⁷¹ Later as the editor of the *Seneca Courier* he defended Atchison's interests even though Seneca was tied more closely to St. Joseph.⁷² Still later as editor of the *Holton Express*, Root continued the same policy, but his position was complicated by the

66. Because of the regularity of these practices some examples must suffice. On September 30, 1869, the *Champion* said that it wanted correspondents in every northern Kansas town. Martin's excursions over the Central Branch line were usually followed by long descriptive articles: *Champion*, April 16, August 16, 1867, and October 13, 19, and 22, 1871. "O. K." whose real name was L. Hensel was a regular contributor from Seneca and other points in the Central Branch country. Although he later became a correspondent of the *St. Joseph Gazette*, the *Champion* on July 15, 1873, reprinted his Central Branch article. A. B. McNab, using the pen name of "Kickapoo," was a frequent contributor. Occasional correspondents included A. J. Patrick of Irving whose letter on "The Present and Future of Marshall County" was published in the *Champion* on March 29, 1867; T. Shaffer who contributed an article on "Cloud County" in the August 25, 1868, issue, and W. H. Dodge whose description of Jackson county was published on December 29, 1868.

67. On June 7, 1870, the Atchison *Champion* reprinted items from four country newspapers.

68. *Holton Express*, April 12 and 19, May 17, 1872; *Seneca Courier*, February 17, 1871; and *Waterville Telegraph*, February 18, April 15, December 2, 1870, May 26, June 2, October 13, November 3, December 15, 1871, and January 26, 1872.

69. There is a short sketch of Root's career by James C. Malin in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 16, p. 146. There is a brief biography of Adams in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 6, pp. 171-175. Root and Adams were brothers-in-law.

70. "O. K." reported in the November 30, 1869, issue of the *Champion* that Root was "Eyes and Ears" and that he was to be the editor of the *Telegraph*. When Root moved to Seneca he became the postmaster as well as the editor of the *Courier*.

71. As indicated in the previous note Root also supplied a column under the heading "Eyes and Ears" for the Atchison *Champion*.

72. In a letter to the *Seneca Courier* from Atchison, March 15, 1871, I. N. Coz discussed the relations between Seneca and Atchison.—*Courier*, March 17, 1871. On January 3, 1872, the *Champion* reprinted the *Courier's* reasons for supporting Atchison rather than St. Joseph.

completion of the narrow gauge Kansas Central from Leavenworth to Holton.⁷³

Franklin G. Adams, Root's successor in Waterville, undertook to appeal to an even broader audience. While serving as editor of the *Telegraph*, Adams traveled extensively through the country west of Marshall county. In 1873 he published the material that he had gathered in an emigration guide book entitled *The Homestead Guide*.⁷⁴ In glowing words and well-turned phrases he described the attractiveness of the Central Branch country and the area to the west and north of it. Moreover, as Root's successor in the position of postal agent, Adams provided a steady flow of news items and descriptive comments for the Atchison papers as well as his own.⁷⁵ By journalistic ties in general, and by the special efforts of Root and Adams, the Central Branch country was closely bound to Atchison.

But there were other bonds that united the metropolis on the Missouri with the towns of the hinterland. If a Central Branch town staged a fourth of July celebration, held a farmers' meeting, or sponsored a railroad bond election it was regular practice for the major address to be delivered by John J. Ingalls, Bailie P. Waggener, John A. Martin, or any one of a dozen Atchison men who were noted for their forensic talent.⁷⁶ If the Corinthian Hall schedule of events included a lecture by Bret Harte or a particularly outstanding play by Lord's Theatrical Company, special trains originating in Waterville were used to bring the people in.⁷⁷ If the district court was in session at Seneca, Marysville, or Washington, Atchison attorneys were there to plead the causes of their clients.⁷⁸ On some occasions, excursions would bring many residents of Atchison out to a Central

73. As editor of the *Holton Express*, Root printed a column "Items Along the Kansas Central" after that railroad was completed to Holton.—See the issue for September 20, 1873.

74. The copy of this book in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society was published in Waterville in 1873. The railroad and township map which accompanies it shows the proposed railroads as well as the completed ones. The first part of the book is devoted to the physical features of the region, pp. 112-133 to the railroads, and pp. 137 to 191 to the history and growth of Atchison and the towns in the area as far west as Norton county. The *Atchison Champion* gave a good deal of publicity to the book. See especially the issues for June 14 and 17, 1873. Adams and W. P. Campbell took over the *Waterville Telegraph* in January, 1871. In August, 1873, Adams became the editor of the *Atchison Globe*, and on January 1, 1876, he became the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.—*Waterville Telegraph*, January 13, 1871; *Marshall County News*, August 23, 1873; D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 698.

75. Adams had served as postal route agent on an earlier occasion.—*Atchison Champion*, August 24, 1869.

76. Peter T. Abell, George W. Glick, William F. Downs, and John A. Martin participated in the Cloud county railroad bond election in 1871.—*Ibid.*, October 13, 1871. For other appearances of Atchison men see the *Champion*, August 5, 1873; *Marshall County News*, July 26, 1873; and the *Netawaka Chief*, July 9, 1873.

77. *Atchison Champion*, October 21, 1873; *Waterville Telegraph*, December 9, 186, and 23, 1870, August 23, 1872.

78. *Atchison Champion*, October 22, 1869, and October 26, 1873; *Waterville Telegraph*, January 1, April 29, 1870; September 15, 1871; and November 22, 1872. The firm of A. H. Horton and Bailie B. Waggener was particularly prominent in the Central Branch country. It was formed in April, 1870.

Branch town for a picnic and music by a silver cornet band, and on other occasions excursions would bring the people of the towns into Atchison for a round of visiting and shopping.⁷⁹

During the hot weather season, especially if cholera were prevalent in the Missouri river towns, some Atchison men would take their families to summer cottages in Netawaka or Blue Rapids. When drought and prairie fires brought destitution to many settlers in the Central Branch country in 1871, it was John Logan of Atchison who was placed in charge of the distribution of relief supplies provided by the state.⁸⁰ Moreover, it was the women of Atchison under the leadership of Mrs. D. P. Blish and Mrs. William Hetherington, among others, who organized the Kansas Relief Association, who utilized their Ladies' Aid Society to collect clothing and provisions, and who staged a concert at Corinthian Hall to raise relief funds.⁸¹ On pleasanter occasions groups of Atchison young people journeyed to Central Branch towns to assist with revival meetings, the Rev. H. D. Fisher of the Atchison Methodist church traveled to Waterville to preach the dedicatory sermon when the new schoolhouse was ready for use, and James Diggett, an Atchison music teacher, toured the Central Branch country giving concerts for the enjoyment of the people.⁸² Additionally, the Northern Kansas District Fair at Atchison, the meetings of Masons and Odd Fellows, and the political campaign tours served to strengthen the relations between the city and the towns.⁸³

Close though these social and cultural ties were, the interlocking economic relationships seemed to be even more pervasive. Like the newspaper editors Root and Adams, many of the merchants and professional men of the towns had been residents of Atchison. When Sam Dickson, one of the earliest settlers in Atchison, moved to Waterville in 1869, he found himself in the midst of a colony of Atchison expatriates.⁸⁴ J. D. Armstrong, dry goods merchant; J. C. Peters, dealer in groceries and liquors; George W. Hutt, retailer of groceries, agricultural implements, and hardware; John Landgraf,

79. Atchison *Champion*, July 6, 15, 20, 28, and 29, 1870, March 25, 1871, and July 17 and 20, 1874; Waterville *Telegraph*, May 13 and 20, June 24, July 15, 22, and 29, December 9, 1870.

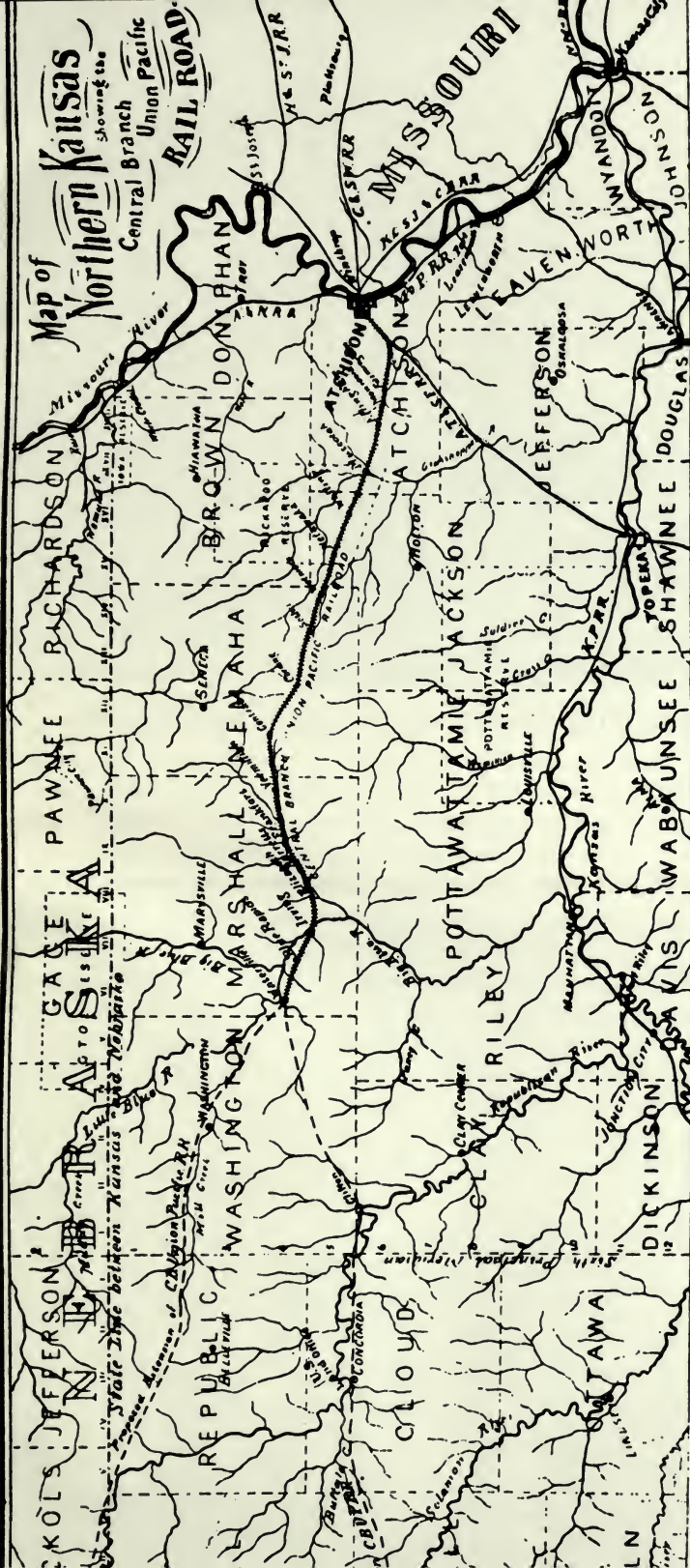
80. Atchison *Champion*, March 9, 1871; Waterville *Telegraph*, March 17, 1871.

81. Atchison *Champion*, October 20 and 28, November 1 and 5, December 15, 1871; Waterville *Telegraph*, December 1, 8, and 22, 1871.

82. Holton *Express*, May 17, 1872; Waterville *Telegraph*, June 17, 1870, February 4 and 25, June 17 and 24, July 4, 1871, and May 24, 1872.

83. John A. Martin regularly sent complimentary tickets to the Atchison fair to the editors of newspapers in the Central Branch towns and the railroad offered half-fare rates. The citations are too numerous to be included.

84. Frank Root estimated that three-fourths of the Waterville business men were from Atchison.—Letter to the Atchison *Champion*, August 25, 1869.



A portion of the map of the Central Branch country as published in *The Land Owner*, Chicago, August, 1871. Quite obviously the delineator emphasized the position of Atchison and the importance of the Central Branch. The most notable feature of the map is the omission of the St. Joseph and Denver City railroad which by the summer of 1871 had reached beyond Marysville.



Atchison, in the 1870's, looking toward town from St. Benedict's College.

Waterville, 1872, showing the usual land-office and livery stable "rush."



proprietor of a saddle and harness shop; Henry Volz, blacksmith; and A. Simis, druggist, were among those who had moved out from Atchison.⁸⁵ What was true of Waterville was true of the other towns in the Central Branch country. George W. Shriner and Charles Williamson, of Washington; J. D. Brumbaugh, Charles F. Koester, and Frank Schmidt, of Marysville; Ben F. Drury, Frank Kaufman, and Jacob Weisbach, of Frankfort; G. B. White, of Whiting; J. M. Meacham and George Gould, of Seneca; H. W. Forman, A. Williams, and W. P. McCubbin of Centralia; and William Stratton, of Wetmore, had been residents of Atchison before going west to seek their fortunes in the hinterland.⁸⁶

In some instances close economic ties were created when Atchison firms established branches in the Central Branch towns. This practice seemed to be particularly characteristic of the lumber business. Thus the G. C. Hixon Lumber Company, a large interstate firm with a major outlet in Atchison, opened a branch yard in Waterville, and Cummings and Adams, an Atchison firm, established a branch at Centralia.⁸⁷ A somewhat longer extension of Atchison influence occurred when Johnson and Haskell, a Waterville firm with Atchison connections, founded branches in Clyde and Clifton.⁸⁸

A different kind of personal relationship resulted from the fact that Atchison people became landowners, both large and small in the Central Branch country. Next to the railroad companies, the banking firm of Stebbins and Porter with some 50,000 acres of land in Marshall and Nemaha counties was the largest landowner in the area.⁸⁹ The smaller landowners, or would-be landowners, were more numerous. From Centralia to Dead Man's Hollow, south-east of Waterville, to Mill creek valley near Washington, the countryside was full of settlers from Atchison city or county.⁹⁰ These expatriates from Atchison, together with their fellow settlers from elsewhere, built schoolhouses that were furnished by the H. E. Nickerson Furniture Company, took their grain to be ground by mills equipped with machinery from N. Plamondon and Company, crossed a good many bridges built by Stebbins and Morse, and

85. *Ibid.*, September 21, December 19, 1869, and April 8, 22, 1870.

86. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1867, August 15, September 2, October 31, 1869, and June 21, August 12, 1873; *Marshall County News*, August 9, 1873; *Waterville Telegraph*, February 25, July 11, 1870, February 10, April 28, 1871.

87. *Atchison Champion*, May 30, 1867; *Waterville Telegraph*, April 8, 1870.

88. *Waterville Telegraph*, March 3, April 28, 1871.

89. *Atchison Champion*, June 21, 1866, and March 24, 1867; *Waterville Telegraph*, March 11, 1870.

90. *Atchison Champion*, November 20, 1868, and September 10, 21, and 22, 1869; *Waterville Telegraph*, January 7, February 4, April 8, May 6, 1870; *Seneca Courier*, March 17, 1871.

elected men to township and county offices who had served apprenticeships in Atchison county.⁹¹

These varied ties between the settlers in the Central Branch country and the people of Atchison were re-enforced by the omnipresent drummers for Atchison business firms. In winter's snows and summer's heat these men made their tireless rounds over the rails from Atchison to Waterville, and over the trails from Waterville to Clay Center, Concordia, and Belleville. Wherever they went they brought news of what was going on in Atchison; when they returned they supplemented their orders for goods with reports on business conditions and crops in the tributary area. In some instances the proprietors of Atchison wholesale houses or manufacturing firms took to the road to become personally acquainted with their customers in the Central Branch country. In this group were included such men as D. P. Blish and John Silliman, of the Blish-Silliman Hardware Company; Matthew Quigg, of Quigg, Dolan and Company, wholesale dealers in groceries and liquors; W. C. McPike, of the McPike and Allen Drug Company; J. H. Garside, of J. Garside and Sons, grain dealers; J. S. Hoke, of the Hoke Lumber Company, and W. M. Marbourg, of Marbourg and Lea Hardware Company.⁹² Then there was the corps of regular traveling salesmen. Max Alwens, for Julius Kuhn and Company; George T. Challiss for D. C. Robbins and Company; J. T. Jones, for Marbourg and Lea; D. P. Rogers, for Challiss Brothers; Harry Smith, for the R. A. Heim Stationery Company; W. H. Riggs, for the agricultural implement house of Robbins, Haygood and Company; N. H. Maher of the Plamondon Company, and E. W. Plankenton, for Jacob Leu, wholesale dealer in stoves, were some of the men who were on the road almost constantly drumming up business for their firms.⁹³ In a special class were the traveling agents and correspondents of the Atchison newspapers. Always careful to refrain from soliciting job printing in towns that boasted

91. Atchison *Champion*, October 31, November 5, 1869, December 1 and 22, 1870, February 9 and 24, 1871; Seneca *Courier*, February 24, 1871; Waterville *Telegraph*, January 14, August 19, 1870, and February 10, 24, 1871.

92. The notices are too numerous to permit complete citation. For examples see the Atchison *Champion*, May 7, September 4, October 5, 1869, and November 21, 1873; Seneca *Courier*, February 24, 1871; and Waterville *Telegraph*, February 4, August 5, November 11, 1870, February 17, April 14 and 21, May 5, June 23 and 30, 1871, May 31, 1872, and June 21, November 22, 1873. John A. Martin advocated intensive cultivation of Atchison's trade area. On September 4, 1869, he urged Atchison merchants to "oppose effort with effort, enterprise with enterprise, advertising with advertising, drumming with drumming, low prices with low prices, good articles with good articles, and big promises with big performances."

93. For examples of the notices see the Atchison *Champion*, August 1 and 21, September 4, October 5, 1869, August 29, 1870, June 2, 1871, October 7, 1873; Holton *Express* May 3, June 7, 1872; Seneca *Courier*, March 31, 1871; and the Waterville *Telegraph*, April 22, July 29, 1870, and May 19, June 23, August 18, 1871.

of a local newspaper, these peripatetic journalists became reciprocating channels of information as they carried news of Atchison to the towns and sent back long descriptive articles to their papers.⁹⁴ That the efforts of the drummers and agents were attended with some degree of success is indicated by the increasing number of carloads of lumber, of agricultural implements, of hardware, dry-goods, and groceries that were shipped westward from Atchison.⁹⁵

But the taking of orders and the shipment of goods in response to them did not complete the interaction of the merchants of the Central Branch towns with the business community of Atchison. There remained all of the intricate details associated with the payment of the bills. In some fashion, without resorting to the earlier practice of shipping coin or currency, or anticipating later procedures of payment by check, a way had to be found to pay wholesale houses in St. Louis, Chicago, and Eastern cities, as well as Atchison firms. And some way had to be devised to receive payment for the carloads of produce, grain, and cattle that were shipped eastward.⁹⁶ Like the transportation of goods and persons, the transmission of funds is a segment of the broad problem of effective lines of communication. Just as Atchison needed to be the center of a network of railroads, so she needed to be the center of a network of banks with lines of correspondent relationships reaching out to the towns in the hinterlands as well as to the principal financial centers of the nation, if she was to fulfill her role as a metropolis.

To the creation of such a network of banks to serve the Central Branch country, the Exchange Bank of William Hetherington made a substantial contribution.⁹⁷ During its early years the Exchange had developed correspondent relationships with A. Beattie and Com-

94. Examples of James A. Loper's letters may be found in the *Atchison Champion*, June 3, 4, 7, 8, 10-12, 1870. For some of Richard A. Hoffman's reports from the Central Branch towns see the *Champion*, April 12, 15, 16, 18, and 23, 1872, March 7, June 21 and 26, 1873.

95. The citations are too numerous to include here. Good examples of descriptions of westbound trains may be found in the *Champion*, March 2 and 25, 1869, March 3, 1870, March 3, April 20, 1871.

96. Even in the early years of settlements some grain and livestock was shipped out of the Central Branch country.—*Atchison Champion*, September 8, 1869, May 18, 1870, and December 23, 1871; *Holton Express*, April 26, May 24, July 17, 1872; *Marshall County News*, August 30, 1873; *Seneca Courier*, February 17, 1871; and *Waterville Telegraph*, March 7, 1873.

97. The present writer's unpublished article, "A Century of Continuity: the Exchange Bank, 1857-1859," is the fullest historical account of this institution. During the period 1866-1872, Augustus Byram was Hetherington's partner and a heavy borrower from the bank. In addition to his freighting and railroad construction activities, Byram was a partner with his brother Peter and G. W. Gillespie in the G. W. Gillespie Lumber Company.—*Atchison Champion*, October 17, 1866; *Waterville Telegraph*, March 4, 1870; Cash journal, Exchange Bank of William Hetherington, pp. 545, 551. The Exchange bank was "puffed" regularly in the Central Branch newspapers. For examples see the *Waterville Telegraph*, June 3 and 24, August 8, 1870, and the *Holton News* quoted in the *Atchison Champion*, November 21, 1871. The tickler and collection register of the Exchange bank (no pagination) shows that the Exchange had customers in America, Centralia, Holton, Marysville, Monrovia, and Muscotah in addition to the more frequent borrowers in Seneca, Waterville, and Wetmore.

pany of St. Joseph, with the First National Banks of Leavenworth and Kansas City, with the Second National of St. Louis, the Third National of Chicago, and the Importers and Traders National Bank of New York. These were not merely paper connections to embellish an advertisement. They were active channels for the interchange of drafts, acceptances, specie, and currency. As the agency through which William Osborn transacted the financial business attendant to the construction of the railroad, the Exchange bank had played an important role in bringing the Central Branch country into existence.⁹⁸ This intimate association was continued when William F. Downs, as general superintendent and land commissioner, received and paid out his funds through the Exchange.⁹⁹

Close financial relationships developed because some merchants like J. C. Meacham of Seneca and Samuel Dickson, J. C. Peters, and John Landgraf of Waterville, who had been regular customers of Hetherington's Exchange Bank before they moved to their new homes,¹⁰⁰ and others like Rising and Son and W. C. McVay of Wetmore, Jason Yurann, of Blue Rapids, Rochefeller and Collins of Washington, and W. W. Jerome of Irving, went to the Exchange for funds to finance their business operations.¹⁰¹ Less direct in its impact, but just as important in its effect, was the extension of credit by the Exchange to the Atchison firms that did business in the Central Branch country. J. Garside and Sons, reputedly the most extensive buyer of grain in the area;¹⁰² Hipple and Larkin and Brady

98. Some information on Osborn's transactions with the Exchange may be found in "Cash Book A" of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 99, 160; in the cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 300-303, 319-390, 602-619; and in the record of the suit brought by the Exchange against William Osborn, R. A. Park, and the Central Branch of the Union Pacific Railroad Company in the "Atchison County Court, 1868 Cases," No. 76. In March, 1866, William Hetherington purchased the stock of the Bank of the State of Kansas which was the successor to the Kansas Valley Bank of Atchison. Because he used the blank pages in the record books of the Kansas Valley Bank precise citation is difficult. These books were used through the courtesy of John Adair, currently the president of the Exchange National Bank of Atchison. Some of them are on deposit in the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

99. "Cash Book A" of the Kansas Valley Bank (Exchange cash journal, 1868-1869), pp. 30, 162, 244, 306, 308, 341, 398, 399, 403, 405, 451, 456; Cash journal of the Exchange Bank of Wm. Hetherington and Co., 1869-1870, pp. 24, 350, 378, 504. Cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank (Exchange cash journal, 1870-1871), pp. 407 *et passim*.

100. "Cash Book A" of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 48, 76, 106, 116, 124, 214, 274, 280, 334, 390, 394, 453, 468; cash journal of the Exchange Bank, 1869-1870, pp. 106 *et passim*; cash journal of Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 388, 436, 450, 481, 528, 534, 590.

101. Cash journal of the Exchange Bank, 1866-1867, p. 388; "Cash Book A" of the Kansas Valley Bank, p. 426; cash journal of the Exchange Bank, 1869-1870, pp. 216, 316, 430, 494, 572, 586, 654. Cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 406 *et passim*.

102. This firm had a grain warehouse at Effingham in addition to its facilities at Atchison.—Atchison *Champion*, January 23, 1870, and February 16, 1871; Waterville *Telegraph*, June 16, 1871. The senior J. Garside was in charge of the Exchange bank in the summer of 1872 during Hetherington's absence.—Atchison *Champion*, June 22, 1872. Cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank (pp. 308 to 395 constitute the cash journal of the Exchange bank, March-June, 1866), pp. 310-395; cash journal of the Exchange Bank, 1866-1867, pp. 62, 284, 318, 370; "Cash Book A" of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 84, 224, 252, 258, 300, and 378; cash journal of the Exchange Bank, 1869-1870, pp. 8, 40, 86, 252, 254, 262, 324, 356, 374, 466, 530, 680; cash journal Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 412 *et passim*.

and Collins, two of the most active cattle buying firms;¹⁰³ J. S. Hoke and Company, G. C. Hixon and Company, and G. W. Gillespie and Company, the principal lumber firms;¹⁰⁴ H. E. Nickerson and Company, manufacturer and wholesaler of furniture; A. B. Symmes, the pork packer; and the wholesale houses of W. F. Dolan, Marbourg and Lea; and Robbins, Haygood and Company, were all regular customers of the Exchange bank.¹⁰⁵

Until 1870 there were no banks in the Central Branch country to serve as the initial point for the payment of bills and notes and for the extension of credit. In that year the Marshall County Bank of Burtis, Smith and Burtis, later reorganized as the Marshall County Savings Bank of Burtis, Powell and Burtis, was established in Waterville.¹⁰⁶ Between 1870 and 1874 the Lappin and Scrafford Bank in Seneca, the Olmstead-Freeland Bank of Blue Rapids,¹⁰⁷ the Exchange Bank of Frank Schmidt in Marysville,¹⁰⁸ the Morrill and Janes Bank of Hiawatha,¹⁰⁹ Sabetha Exchange Bank,¹¹⁰ and the Exchange Bank of Holton were founded.¹¹¹ The relations of the Exchange Bank of Atchison with these country banks varied a great deal. For some it merely provided one step in the draft-clearing process.¹¹² For the Lappin and Scrafford Bank of Seneca, the Exchange served as a city correspondent and on some occasions lent considerable sums of money to the members of the firm.¹¹³ But it was with the Marshall County Savings Bank of Waterville that the

103. Samuel Hipple was a brother-in-law of William Hetherington and owned a large livestock farm near Effingham. Both firms shipped cattle to New York as well as to Chicago.—*Atchison Champion*, September 21, 1869, April 28, 1870, June 22, 23, 1871, and July 4, 1873. *Cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank*, pp. 313, 317, 319, 402 *et passim*. "Cash Book A" of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 132, 288, 294, 324, 340, 442. *Cash journal of the Exchange Bank*, 1869-1870, pp. 12 *et passim*.

104. *Cash journal of the Exchange Bank*, 1866-1867, pp. 340, 608, 644. "Cash Book A" of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 32, 118, 238, 372. *Cash journal of the Exchange Bank*, 1869-1870, pp. 12 *et passim*. *Cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank*, pp. 399 *et passim*.

105. *Cash journal of the Exchange Bank*, 1866-1867, pp. 148, 252, 254, 286, 314, 350, 396, 408, 438, 482, 500, 526, 604, 628, 632, 638. "Cash Book A" of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 36 *et passim*. *Cash journal of the Exchange Bank*, 1869-1870, pp. 108 *et passim*. *Cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank*, pp. 402 *et passim*.

106. *Waterville Telegraph*, June 17, 24, July 29, August 19, 22, 1870, January 27, 1871, July 19, 1872, and January 31, March 14, June 13, 1873; *Atchison Champion*, June 20, 1873, and *Marshall County News*, Marysville, December 7, 1872, and February 8, 15, September 27, 1873.

107. *Blue Rapids Times*, June 13, 1872; *Marshall County News*, February 8, 1873; *Seneca Courier*, February 10, 1871; and *Waterville Telegraph*, July 1, 1870, and January 20, 1871.

108. *Marshall County News*, September 23, 1873, and *Waterville Telegraph*, May 12, 1871.

109. *Atchison Champion*, June 18, 1873.

110. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1873, M. E. Mather was the proprietor.

111. *Holton Express*, April 12 and 26, August 16, 1872. *Marshall County News*, May 17, 1873. J. L. Williams was president and T. P. Moore, cashier. There was a Farmers Bank in Holton too, with Martin Anderson as president and H. J. Ransom as cashier.

112. This was the relationship with the Morrill and Janes Bank of Hiawatha.—*See cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank*, pp. 410 *et passim*.

113. "Cash Book A." of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 74, 92, 244, 246; *cash journal of the Exchange Bank*, 1869-1870, pp. 266, 436, 454, 466, 532, 618; *cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank*, pp. 417, 439, 487, 490, 562.

Exchange Bank of Atchison had the closest connections. William Hetherington, principal proprietor of the Exchange bank, was a director of the Waterville bank.¹¹⁴ When it came time for the newly opened country bank to establish correspondent relationships with banks in St. Louis, Chicago and New York, the Exchange played a part in the opening of the accounts. And when the men who operated the Waterville bank needed funds it was the Exchange Bank that provided them.¹¹⁵ In return it is altogether likely that the Waterville bank served as a connecting link between the Exchange and the tradespeople in the country west of Marshall county. At least this was the case if credence may be placed in the assertion of the Waterville *Telegraph* that the Marshall County bank was doing the banking business of all northwestern Kansas. In elaborating this statement the editor said,

In fact the Marshall County Bank has become the medium of commercial intercourse between the wholesale trade East and the business men of the northwestern counties. The Bank keeps accounts with merchants at all points within a radius extending from Clay Center to the South, all around to Fairbury in Nebraska on the North—including in the range Waconda, a hundred miles to the West.¹¹⁶

Irrespective of the validity of the claim made by the Waterville editor, there is considerable evidence that it was in the realm of banking services that Atchison enjoyed the greatest success in its effort to play the role of metropolis to the Central Branch hinterland. As in other areas of activity the banks of Atchison, the Exchange among them, were in constant competition with institutions in St. Joseph, Leavenworth, and Kansas City for the business of the Central Branch country. Whatever may have been the outcome during the reasonably normal periods in this competition, the banks of Atchison and the city of Atchison emerged triumphant during the panic of 1873. As failure followed failure and the dark clouds of depression settled over the business of the nation, the banks of New York and those in other Eastern cities suspended currency payments. The banks of Chicago and St. Louis followed suit. As panic conditions moved westward the banks of Kansas City, Leavenworth, and St. Joseph, refused to cash checks and drafts and declined to pay out currency on certificates of deposit.¹¹⁷ It was

114. Waterville *Telegraph*, September 25, October 16, December 18, 1874; *Marshall County News*, September 27, 1873. The Waterville bank advertised that it paid eight per cent interest on savings accounts.

115. Cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 416, 453, 454, 472, 562.

116. Waterville *Telegraph*, March 31, 1871.

117. The course of the panic and the suspension of specie payments by the banks of New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Leavenworth, and St. Joseph in almost every issue of the *Champion* from September 26 to October 10, 1873.

asserted contemporaneously, and it seems to be true, that only the banks of Atchison in this area remained open and continued to do business.¹¹⁸ However it may be with the other banks, the cash journal and the ledger of the Exchange bank demonstrate that it carried on its usual functions during the days of panic. Checks were cashed, bills receivable declined in amount, and deposits were withdrawn. Out in the Central Branch country the merchants had unhappy relations with the banks of Leavenworth, St. Joseph, and Kansas City. Drafts were returned unpaid, grain accumulated at trackside, and livestock could not be sold. In addition to meeting their regular obligations the Atchison banks bought some of the unpaid grain drafts and thus put some funds in circulation.¹¹⁹ An almost unanimous chorus of praise for the Atchison banks had its counterpart in the denunciation of the banks in the other cities.¹²⁰ Atchison had its moment of high exultation and her spokesmen made the most of their opportunity. Their city, they said, was unquestionably the Queen City of the Missouri valley.

Unfortunately, the success in the field of banking was not matched by success in bridging the Missouri and in extending the Central Branch railroad to the westward. No through line to the Colorado mountains; no connection with the main line of the Union Pacific in Nebraska; no branch lines to Holton, Seneca, Hanover, or Washington, none of these appeared on the scene to alter the relations of Atchison with the Central Branch country. As year after year passed and the extensions were not built, the Central Branch became known as the Rip Van Winkle of American railroads. While company representatives argued with federal officials, John A. Martin fumed, cajoled, and prodded.¹²¹ Finally his patience was ex-

118. On September 27, 1873, the *Champion* paid the following tribute to the banks of Atchison: "There are no sounder or safer banks in the United States than those in Atchison. . . . There is not one of them that has ever departed from the legitimate business of banking. . . . And there is not one of them whose assets are not equal to a dollar and a half for every dollar of liabilities." There are equally complimentary statements in the issues for September 28, 30, October 1, 4, 1873. On October 12, 1873, the *Champion* published a brief history of the Exchange bank in connection with its commendatory article.

119. Atchison *Champion*, September 30, October 1, 1873.

120. On October 4, 1873, the *Champion* noted the return of Matthew Quigg from a trip through northern Kansas and quoted him as saying that "the course of the Atchison banks in refusing to suspend currency payments and the strength and soundness evinced by them has greatly increased the favor in which Atchison is held throughout the region he visited and will have the most favorable effect upon the business interests of our city. Many country merchants and business men had suffered serious inconvenience by the locking up of their funds in suspended banks, while those who kept deposits in Atchison have had no trouble and suffered no inconvenience." The *Clyde Reporter*, *Troy Chief*, and *Wamego Blade* were quoted in the *Champion*, respectively on October 8, 11, and 18, 1873.

121. William M. Evarts, E. R. Hoar, Reverdy Johnson, and G. T. Curtis were among the distinguished lawyers who participated in the presentation of the Central Branch company's case.—Atchison *Champion*, February 20, 1872. The discussion of the extension of the Central Branch began before the one hundredth milepost was reached and continued throughout the period under discussion.—Atchison *Champion*, January 31, February 4, 1868; January 30, February 3, 6, and 9, March 2, May 2, 4, and 7, September 24, December 12, 1869; February 12 and 27, March 8, 9, and 11, June 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18,

hausted and he declared, "Our experience fully justifies the conclusion that . . . the Central Branch Railroad Company is the most inefficient, unreliable, torpid, and senseless organization on this continent."¹²² But denunciation could not accomplish what exhortation had failed to bring to fruition. The extent of the Central Branch country, Atchison's special hinterland, remained in 1874 what it had been in 1867.

September 9, 1870; January 6 and 29, February 10, July 19, 20, and 24, August 19 and 23, September 8, November 1 and 18, December 14 and 27, 1871; February 20, March 21, and April 20, 1872; April 7, June 28, August 13, November 21, 1873; *Holton Express*, July 26, 1872; *Marshall County News*, Marysville, October 26, 1872; *Waterville Telegraph*, March 11, July 1 and 22, 1870; January 13 and 20, February 15, March 10 and 31, May 17, June 2 and 30, August 18, September 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, October 13, November 3 and 17, December 29, 1871; February 16, March 1 and 8, April 19, June 28, July 12, 1872.

122. *Atchison Champion*, March 16, 1872. A letter from A. B. Whitney of Haddam provoked Martin's outburst. Two years earlier the *Champion* had denounced the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Company in equally bitter language.—See issues of May 19-22, and 26, July 30, 1870.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART FIVE, 1826-1829

1826

¶ Mountain man Ewing Young, partners-in-trade Thomas H. Boggs and James Dempsey, Paul Baillio, six men of the Santa Fe road survey crew (sent East by Comm'r G. C. Sibley for economy's sake), and several other persons—around 20 in all—were in the company with laden pack horses and mules which left Taos, N. M., for Missouri in mid-February. They crossed present Kansas in March, and probably reached Fort Osage around April 1. Somewhere on the Santa Fe road a band of perhaps 200 Pawnees robbed members of this party.

Ref: Kate L. Gregg, ed., *The Road to Santa Fe* . . . (Albuquerque, c1952), pp. 41, 42, 84, 140-150, 227, 231, 260, 263, 275. Ceran St. Vrain may have been with this party.—See comment in David Lavender's *Bent's Fort* (Garden City, N. Y., 1954), pp. 65, 375.

¶ Francis G. Chouteau's "Randolph Bluffs" (Mo.) depot (*see* 1821-1822) was "washed away entirely" in early May (or late April) by a flood on the Missouri. Chouteau, it is said, removed his family to the "Four Houses" post (*see* 1819) some 20 miles up the Kansas river (in present Johnson? county). Then he relocated on higher ground, and higher up the Missouri—a mile or so above the "Randolph Bluffs."

The new site was on the river's *south* bank (within what is now "Guinotte's Addition" to Kansas City, Mo.), and about two miles below the mouth of the Kansas. Frederick Chouteau was quoted (in 1880) as saying: "My brother Francis . . . built his house at [what is now] Kansas City in 1828—a frame house—where he lived with his family."

(Within the next 12 years—before his death in 1838?—Francis Chouteau's establishment came to include "one of the largest and best farms in the county, with a steamboat landing [built in 1832, perhaps near what is now Olive street, Kansas City, Mo.], warehouses, and costly dwellings, and out-houses. . . ." All of this was swept away by the great flood of 1844.)

Ref: *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (KHQ), v. 16, p. 7; W. H. Miller's *History of Kansas City* . . . (Kansas City, 1881), p. 10; *Kansas Historical Collections* (KHC), v. 8, p. 425; *The Kansas Monthly*, Lawrence, v. 2 (June, 1879), p. 83 (John C. McCoy's statement on Chouteau's farm, etc., and the flood of 1844); *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, February 10, 1951 (or "Kansas City, Mo., History Clippings," v. 5, p. 146, in Kansas State Historical Society (KHi) library).

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¶ Late in May a caravan (80 to 100 persons) left Missouri for New Mexico. (In mid-April the Franklin, Mo., paper had reported the company would include "all those lately returned"—and it is known that Ewing Young, Paul Baillio, and Thomas H. Boggs made this journey.) There were "waggon and carriages of almost every description," and the "amount of merchandise taken . . . [was] very considerable." The Franklin editor commented:

It has the air of romance to see splendid pleasure carriages, with elegant horses journeying to the Republic of Mexico, yet it is sober reality. In fact the obstacles exist rather in the imagination than in reality. Nature has made a fine road the whole distance.

Spanish trader Escudero, who left Missouri in the fore part of June with "six or seven new and substantial [goods-laden] wagons," may have caught up with the large caravan, but probably traveled the route separately.

Ref: *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., April 14, June 9, 1826; *Independent Patriot*, Jackson, Mo., July 8, 1826; Lavender, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 375 (for notes on Ceran St. Vrain's presence? with this company); R. E. Twitchell's *Old Santa Fe* . . . (Santa Fe, c1925), p. 217.

¶ Baronet Vasquez—the first subagent for the Kansa—was appointed in September(?), 1825, and served till his death in August, 1828. The only persons employed for the Kansa up to September, 1826 (according to the St. Louis Indian superintendency report), were Subagent Vasquez and Gabriel Philibert, blacksmith. (The latter probably was hired in mid-1826—a record of tools purchased for Philibert bears the date July 11, 1826.)

During his tenure Baronet Vasquez maintained a home, and the agency headquarters, within present Kansas City, Mo. He brought his wife, Emilie Forastin (Parent) Vasquez, and children upriver from St. Louis, perhaps as early as 1825. (Frederick Chouteau was quoted, in 1880, as stating: "His [Vasquez's] family was [in 1828] at my brothers' agency at Randolph, where he had lived since 1825." This could be interpreted to mean that the Vasquez family had quarters supplied by Francis Chouteau—first at "Randolph Bluffs"; and after the 1826 flood, at Chouteau's new location within present Kansas City, Mo.) According to the Rev. C. J. Garraghan (whose source of information was Vasquez family letters): "The Vasquez house [of 1828], a good-sized comfortable sort of building, was apparently rented at Government expense for the use of the Kansa Indian agent. It stood on the south bank of the Missouri just below the mouth of the Kaw, probably [*i. e.*, possibly] at what is now the foot of Gillis Street in Kansas City [Mo.]."

Ref: 19th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 112* (Serial 156), Sig. 40; G. J. Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City* . . . (Chicago, 1920), pp. 28-30; *KHC*, v. 8, pp. 423, 425 (for Frederick Chouteau); Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, "Records," (hereafter cited as SIA), v. 29, p. 29—in KHi ms. division.

¶ On August 16 fur trader Joseph Robidoux (aged 43), up to then associated with the Chouteau (and company) interests in the

Council Bluffs vicinity, obtained a trading license in his own name. In 1826, and a year later (when he and a partner, Baptiste Roy, were issued a license on August 14, 1827), the listed places of operation were: Bellevue; mouth of the Papillion; the Omaha villages; the Pawnee villages; "a little above Roy's grave"; and mouth of L'eau qui court [Niobrara river].

It is *said* that Robidoux landed at "Roy's Branch" above the Blacksnake Hills (Mo.) in the fall of 1826; and that he soon afterwards removed to the mouth of Blacksnake creek—where St. Joseph, Mo., was later founded.

Robidoux and Roy obtained a license in 1828 (August 6) to operate in the same locations as before. Eight days later they were issued a license permitting them to trade *at the Blacksnake Hills*, near the Iowa subagency. However, in October, the Chouteau interests (American Fur Co., Western Dept.) bought out rival Robidoux, agreeing to pay him "\$1,000 a year for two years to stay out of the Indian country." It appears that he went to the mountains with Fontenelle and Drips in 1830 (*see* February, 1830, entry). When he returned to the Blacksnake Hills post (late 1830? or 1831?) he was an employee of the American Fur Company. But in 1834 he purchased the post from the company, and became sole proprietor. A license issued to Robidoux on July 30, 1834, indicated that he traded with the Iowas, Sacs, and Foxes, and employed eight men. Nine years later (1843) Robidoux founded the town of St. Joseph, Mo., at that location.

Ref: 19th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 58* (Serial 146); 20th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 96* (Serial 165); *The History of Buchanan County, Missouri* (St. Joseph, Mo., 1881), pp. 391-396; *History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph, Mo.* (St. Joseph, [1899], pp. 335-337; 20th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 47* (Serial 181); Dale L. Morgan's *Jedediah Smith* . . . (Indianapolis and New York, c1953), p. 319; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* . . . (Cleveland, 1904-1906), v. 24, p. 121; 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273).

¶ Francis G. and Cyprian Chouteau obtained a license on August 17 to trade (for a year) at "Mouth of Kansas River, and [at] the Dirt Village of the Kansas" (over 100 direct land miles upstream, near the Big Blue junction). Apparently the "Four Houses" post (of 1819? origin)—20 miles up the Kansas—continued to serve as their base of operations on that river till late in 1828 when they built at a new location about 12 miles from the Kaw's mouth. (*See*, under 1828.)

Ref: 19th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 58* (Serial 146); 20th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 57* (Serial 181) for September 3, 1827, license issued to Pierre Chouteau, Jr. (American Fur Company agent), to trade near the mouth of the Kansas, with the Kansa nation—a license covering the trading operations of his brothers, Francis and Cyprian, for the 1827-1828 year.

¶ Between August 21 and October 10, Surveyor Angus L. Langham's party meandered the Kansas river from its mouth to the Kansa village (near the Big Blue-Kansas junction). Langham's assistants

were Thomas Swearingen, William S. "Old Bill" Williams (also serving as interpreter), and eight hired hands. The outfit included horses. (Subsistence of men and horses from August 1 to December 31 was a \$382 item in the surveyor's accounts.) It is said the party had a small military escort—*see* below.

This company reached the "mouth of Warhusa" (Wakarusa) on September 2; passed the "Necushcutebe, Soutrielle or Grasshopper" (Delaware river of today) on September 13; and reached Langham's first objective—a point "20 leagues up," or "60 miles on a straight line from the mouth of Kansas river" on October 2. (By the Kansa treaty—*see* June, 1825—this survey point was to mark the *east* line of the Kansa reserve. It was about three and a half miles west of the center of present Topeka, in what is now Sec. 27, T. 11, R. 15 E., in Silver Lake township, Shawnee county.)

Continuing upriver, Langham noted they were near the "old Heart village" of the Kansa on October 5; that they passed the "bl[ack] Vermillion" on the 8th; and arrived at "the Kansa Village, 125 dirt lodges" on October 10.

Of the surveyors' subsequent movements no contemporaneous account has been located. It appears that Langham and his men retraced their path to the east line of the Kansa reserve; surveyed the approximately 22-mile section of the *east* line from the river northward; and then spent the rest of the year marking off, down along the Kansas, the 23 one-mile-square Kansa half-breed reserves (which extended eastward from the east Kansa boundary to about four miles below the mouth of the "Grasshopper.") Writing in 1885, John C. McCoy (surveyor in the 1830's, who likely heard the story direct from Langham) stated that Langham "passed the winter of 1826-7 on Soldier Creek [known as Heart river at that time] about 4 miles north of [present] Topeka, and about 3 miles east of the Kaw village of the 'Fool Chief' [a location dating from 1829?—*see* map p. 59—not in existence when Langham was in the vicinity]. He had with him a small guard of infantry detailed from Fort Osage. . . . [But Fort Osage no longer existed in 1826, so the troops came from elsewhere.] The name 'Soldier Creek' was adopted afterwards in honor of the flag that proudly waved over the Major's [*i. e.*, Langham's] shanty and the warlike aspect of the camp where the trophies secured during the winter were chiefly possums strung up by their tails curled over ropes and tugs stretched from tree to tree." (Isaac McCoy, in 1830, called the stream Soldier creek.)

At some time in 1827 Langham surveyed the approximately eight-mile portion of the Kansa *east* boundary south of the Kansas river, and then proceeded west for 200 miles marking a length of the *south* line of the reserve.

Ref: Photostats of A. L. Langham's 1826 field notes; his 1826 accounts; and two William Clark letters (July 9 and October 9, 1826), all in KH*i* ms. division; John C. McCoy letter, February 9, 1885, in KH*i* ms. division; Isaac McCoy statement, 1832, in 23 Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 512, v. 3 (Serial 246), p. 486; John C. McCoy statement, 1885, in KH*Q*, v. 5, p. 352; John C. McCoy statement, 1889, in KH*C*, v. 4, p. 302. The time of occupancy of the Kansa "Heart village" has never been satisfactorily determined. For McCoy's 1830 references to Soldier creek *see* KH*Q*, v. 5, pp. 352-354, 364.

¶ The company of traders (size unknown) which left Fort Osage in August and reached Santa Fe in November, included James Collins (at a later date Indian affairs superintendent in New Mexico), Elisha Stanley, Solomon Houck, Edwin M. Ryland, James Fielding, Thomas Talbot, and William Wolfskill. All these men remained in Mexico for nearly a year. (*See, also*, October, 1827.) Apparently with this party was Andrew Broadus, who, at the Walnut creek camp (near present Great Bend), underwent, and survived, emergency amputation of an arm (injured earlier in a gun accident). And if Broadus was in this company, so was the runaway 17-year-old Christopher "Kit" Carson (who, by his own account, witnessed the surgery while on his first journey to the Southwest in 1826).

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 21, pp. 561-563; Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844), v. 1, pp. 59, 60; Blanche C. Grant, ed., *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life* (Taos, N. M., 1926), p. 10; *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 38, p. 497; Lavender, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

¶ After a 70-day march William H. Ashley and party (over 50 men; more than 100 pack animals) reached St. Louis the last week in September (returning from a spring and summer overland expedition beyond the Rocky mountains—*see* last 1825 entry). It was reported that each horse and mule carried nearly 200 pounds of beaver fur, and that the 123(?) packs of beaver were valued at \$60,000. According to St. Louis editor Charles Keemle:

. . . The whole route lay through a level and open country, better for carriages than any turnpike road in the United States. [East of the Rockies, Ashley's route, generally, was along the Sweetwater, Platte, and apparently on the north side of the Missouri—a pathway he had first used in the fall and winter of 1824-1825; and had traversed again, west-bound, in the spring of 1826.] Wagons and carriages could go with ease as far as General Ashley went, crossing the Rocky Mountains at the sources of the north fork of the Platte, and descending the valley of the Buenaventura [Bear River] towards the Pacific Ocean. . . .

Ref: Dale L. Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-161, 187, 190-192; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 21, 1826; D. M. Frost's *Notes on General Ashley* . . . (Worcester, 1945), pp. 146, 147; J. E. Sunder's *Bill Sublette* . . . (Norman, Okla, c1959), p. 62.

¶ Describing the Indian peace council held at St. Louis in late September and early October, William Clark (superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis) wrote:

. . . a deputation from the Great and Little Osage Nation met one from the Delawares, Shawanoes, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Weas, Senecas, and Kickapoos, at this place, on the 25th day of September, and, after [my] recommending that they should make an attempt to effect a permanent peace, without the interference of the Government, they met in Council, and, after six days warm

debate and recriminations, I was forced to take my seat among them, and with much difficulty obtained their entire approbation to the Treaty . . . [on October 7 and 8].

The tribes with whom the Osages made the reluctantly-arrived-at peace treaty were nations (or, rather, portions of nations) then residing in Missouri and Arkansas territory which the government hoped could be induced to emigrate to reserves west of Missouri and Arkansas, where some Shawnees had already moved (*see* November, 1825).

Ref: 19th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc.* 9 (Serial 149), pp. 9-12; *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 2, pp. 673, 674; also a William Clark letter of October 9, 1826 (photostat in Langham survey papers, ms. division, KHi).

¶ A harvest of 260 bushels of corn from the farm at the little station Mission Neosho (in present Erie township, Neosho county) on the Neosho river—*see* 1824—was reported for the year 1826. As a result, "the expense of supporting the mission families [the Pixleys and the Brights] was very moderate."

Ref: *Report*, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for 1827, p. 136.

1827

¶ East-bound on a perilous, heart-of-winter, 1,500-mile journey overland to St. Louis (from a January 1 starting point in the Great Salt Lake valley), snowshoe-equipped William L. Sublette and Moses "Black" Harris, with their Indian-trained pack dog—all three exhausted and starving—left the Platte near Grand Island and headed southeast towards the Kansas. In their extremity, the men finally killed and ate the dog. Later they shot a rabbit; and after that, in a timbered area, brought down some wild turkeys. Meantime, they had found an old Kansa trail which eased their travel through the deep, uncrusted snow. After traveling down the Big Vermillion (in present Marshall county) they made their way to the Kansa village (near the Big Blue's mouth) in the latter part of February. There they got food and other aid. Sublette traded his pistol for a horse (to give Harris—who had sprained an ankle—transportation), and the two men hastened on down the Kansas valley to Missouri. They arrived in St. Louis on March 4—three days late for the all-important business date with William H. Ashley which had occasioned the epic winter journey. (Ashley fulfilled the contract anyway.)

Earlier (in mid-July, 1826), in the Rocky mountains, Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, and William L. Sublette had formed a partnership and bought out fur trader William H. Ashley. Ashley had then returned to St. Louis—*see* 1826 entry—where he was, by contract, to supply Smith, Jackson &

Sublette supplies and goods at certain prices, *provided* the partners gave him their order by March 1. See March, 1827, entry for a west-bound journey over this new route—"Sublette's Trace."

Ref: *Weekly Picayune*, New Orleans, January 1 and March 18, 1844. After journalist Matthew C. Field heard, from Sublette, in 1843, the story of the 1827 winter trip, he wrote two articles ("Death of a Dog," and "A Perilous Winter Journey") which were published in the *Picayune* (as noted above), and in the daily issues of December 27, 1843, and March 14, 1844. Also, see Matthew C. Field's *Prairie and Mountain Sketches* . . . (Norman, Okla., c1957), pp. 165, 166 (for Field's diary notes, August 21, 1843). For Smith, Jackson & Sublette partnership see Dale L. Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-193, 225.

¶ At, or near, the Osage towns on the Neosho (in present Neosho county), several log buildings were erected during the year. On January 12 a contract was let for construction of a house for each of the three principal Osage chiefs living on that river. (This was in accordance with Article 4 of the Osage treaty of June 2, 1825. The total cost—\$5,700—suggests they were substantial homes.)

On February 1 David Bailey (native of New Hampshire; hired as "agriculturist" to the Great Osages in late 1826) was given \$450 to build quarters for his use. Bailey, and his wife—who was "instructress to Osage Women"—continued to work among the Osages, and to reside in present Kansas, till sometime in 1831. (Nothing has been learned of the Baileys' family, if any.)

Between March 16 and August 20, Richard Brannin (native of Virginia; hired as "agriculturist" to the Little Osages in November, 1826) was given \$445.40 to build quarters for his use. Brannin, and his wife—an "instructress to Osage Women"—continued among the Little Osages till the spring(?) of 1831. (Nothing is known of their family, if any).

Other log houses and buildings already in the vicinity of the Osage towns were those at the Osage Agency; at the "Trading House"; and at Mission Neosho. The headquarters of Agent John F. Hamtramck (of Indiana; a May, 1826, appointee; and the first *resident* agent) was on the right bank of the river, "on a Rock Ridge one half of a mile from the Neosho," "surrounded by Indian villages, some within half a mile," on the former site of White Hair's town (White Hair and a band of his people had moved six miles downstream). Other persons at the Osage Agency included Robert Dunlap (a Virginian, blacksmith to the Osages since late 1824), and Baptiste Mongrain (hired as interpreter in April, 1827). At the "Trading House" were Paul Liguette Chouteau (Osage subagent), Pierre Melicour Papin (trader), and others. (See, August, 1827, entry.)

Ref: SIA, v. 6, pp. 100, 101, v. 25, pp. 26, 44, v. 29, pp. 2, 3, 5, 23, 25, 37; 19th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Doc. No. 112* (Serial 137), Sig. 69; 19th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Ex. Doc. 112* (Serial 156), Sig. 40; 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 90* (Serial 213), p. 64; *KHQ*, v. 13, pp. 448, 449.

¶ A site for the Kansa Agency was selected by the Kansa chiefs and Subagent Baronet Vasquez early in 1827 (or possibly late in 1826). The place chosen was just east of the last half-breed re-

serve (No. 23), over four miles below the Grasshopper's (Delaware's) mouth, on the north bank of the Kansas river—65 miles below the Kansa village (as then located—near the Big Blue's mouth).

It was something like 50 miles from Subagent Vasquez's residence (within present Kansas City, Mo.—see first 1826 annals entry). Described in relation to other present-day place names, the Kansa Agency was in the southern part of Jefferson county, seven miles upriver from Lawrence.

Perhaps the agency's first white resident was Daniel Morgan Boone (a son of the famous Daniel) who had been hired as "agriculturist" for the Kansa Indians at least as early as March, 1827. An account dated March 19-21 shows transfer to him of \$450 for construction of buildings; also that he had spent \$114 for a cart and yoke of oxen, and had purchased two other yokes (at \$35 and \$40), as well as tools and sundries. Besides Boone and his family, other "first residents" were Gabriel Philibert (the blacksmith), the half-breed Clement Lessert (interpreter), Louis Gonville with his Kansa family, and half-breed Joseph James (holder of reserve No. 23). Two miles to the northwest, a good-sized stone house was built (in 1827?) for Chief White Plume (in accordance with a promise made to him by William Clark), and a number of Kansa families lived near him.

Isaac McCoy (an 1830 visitor) noted the "comfortable hewed log buildings" of the subagent, blacksmith, interpreter, and agriculturist, and White Plume's "large stone building" two miles distant. John T. Irving, Jr., after a brief stay at the Kansa Agency in 1832, wrote this description (for a work of fiction):

It was a half savage white settlement. . . . Three cabins built of unbarked logs, and thrown together in the rudest style of architecture, composed the dwelling of the workmen belonging to the agency. A little apart from the rest stood a house of larger dimensions, but scarcely more finished in its construction. This was the dwelling of the agent. Attached to it was a large field of Indian corn, almost the only grain raised by a backwoodsman; and in front was a small yard, surrounded by a slender white railing. Not only the cornfield, but a large space around the hamlet was filled with burnt and scathed trunks, giving intimation that a luxuriant growth of giant forest trees had once covered the spot, but had yielded to the unsparing inroads of man.

Ref: SIA, v. 4, pp. 196, 197, v. 29, pp. 4, 31; KHC, v. 9, pp. 194, 195; J. F. McDermott, ed., J. T. Irving, Jr.'s *Indian Sketches* (c1955), p. 238; Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*, September 14, 1879 (or see KHi "Scrapbook," v. 2, pp. 223, 224); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), p. 437 (Isaac McCoy's 1831 comments on the Kansa Agency settlement).

❶ Outfitted by William H. Ashley, and the American Fur Company, a party of about 60 men, commanded by Hiram Scott, left St. Louis late in March for the trappers' summer rendezvous at Bear Lake

(where they arrived about the end of June). They took with them "a piece of artillery (a four-pounder) on a carriage which was drawn by two mules"—the first wheeled vehicle to be taken across the Rocky mountains. (It was also the first wheeled vehicle known to have crossed what is now northern Kansas.)

William L. Sublette accompanied this expedition, which (it seems established) traveled "Sublette's Trace" (pioneered in February by the eastbound Sublette and his companion "Black" Harris—see first 1827 entry)—the pathway which led up the Kansas valley, turned northward beyond the Little Vermillion's crossing (in present Pottawatomie county) toward the Little Blue, and near the head of that river, crossed to the Platte—the route of the future Oregon trail.

The returning expedition, piloted by James Clyman (over the same line of march as on the outward journey, apparently), brought down over 7,000 pounds of beaver from the mountains, leaving Bear Lake July 13 and reaching Lexington, Mo., about October 1. (Clyman, westbound on the section of the Oregon trail between the Little Vermillion and the Big Blue, on June 24, 1844, noted in his diary: "to day struck our old trail made on our return from the mountains in the summer of 1827. . . .") Reoutfitted by Ashley, William L. Sublette and David E. Jackson promptly started back to the mountains and reach the Rockies by the end of November, but had to winter east of the Divide because of severe weather. (There was no caravan to the mountains in 1828, this second outfit of 1827 having taken its place.)

Ref: H. C. Dale's *The Ashley-Smith Explorations* . . . (Cleveland, 1918), p. 172; Dale L. Morgan's letters of October 25, and November 11, 1961, to L. Barry; Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75; C. L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman* . . . (San Francisco, 1928), p. 70; or *ibid.*, definitive edition (Portland, 1960), p. 77.

Between April 27 and May 24, Surveyor Angus L. Langham and his assistant, R. P. Beauchamp, ran a line to determine "the beginning of the Osage reservation"; and then surveyed the 50-mile stretch of eastern boundary.

(The Osage treaty of June 2, 1825, had specified that the reserve would have a beginning point "due east of White Hair's village" [in present Neosho county], and 25 miles west of the Missouri boundary; and that the east line would run 10 miles north of the village from the beginning point, and 40 miles south of it.)

The surveyors began work on the Neosho's east bank where they "had a view" of White Hair's town but could not reach it because of high water. They proceeded due east to the Missouri boundary, intersecting it 102 miles south of the Kansas river's mouth. Turning back, they then established the northeast corner of the Osage reserve—on May 11; and set out southward to mark off the 50-mile east line. On May 14 they crossed the road leading from "the

[Chouteau] Trading House" to Harmony Mission. Ten days later they completed the east line survey at a point on the Neosho river. Langham discharged his work crew on May 30 at Harmony Mission (Mo.), reporting that they had, with one exception, refused to "go westward on the south or north boundary" through fear of Indians.

By John C. McCoy's account (in 1889) Langham's camp had been invaded one day by a large party of "naked, painted, yelling Osages" chasing one of the workmen. They had dashed through "in a solid phalanx," "trampling down tents and camp fixtures," and bowling over Surveyor Langham, who was seated, writing. The Indians "wound up the demonstration with an impromptu war dance, and an emphatic demand for the surveyor and his party to vamoise, with which command they complied with alacrity." (McCoy, who ran the Osage *north* line in 1836, probably heard the story from Langham.)

In the early winter of 1827-1828, apparently, Langham surveyed the *south* boundary of the Osage lands. His letter of January 4, 1828, from "Neosho Saline" advised of expenditures for Osage surveys; and on February 2 he wrote (from Franklin, Mo.) that he had arrived from the Osage country on January 31, and had completed all the Osage and Kansa surveys except the north boundaries of their reserves.

Ref: Langham's field notes and letters (photostats from National Archives) in KHi ms. division; Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), "Registers of Letters Received," v. 2, p. 294 (microfilm from National Archives); KHC, v. 4, pp. 308, 309.

☪ Cantonment Leavenworth was founded in the spring by Col. Henry Leavenworth, commander of the Third U. S. infantry. He wrote, on May 8, that he had chosen a location for a permanent military post atop a 150-foot bluff on the Missouri's *right* bank (the March 7 orders had specified the *left* bank, but he found no suitable place there), 20-odd miles above the Little Platte's mouth; and reported that Bvt. Maj. Daniel Ketchum and a battalion of Sixth infantry (having evacuated Fort Atkinson [Neb.] as required by the March 7 orders) had stopped on their way down the Missouri to deposit army property and stores from the upriver post.

Four companies of the Third infantry, under Capt. William G. Belknap, which had started up the Missouri in keelboats from Jefferson Barracks (Mo.) on April 17, arrived shortly afterwards and were put to work on temporary quarters. (These were huts of logs and slabs of bark, it is said.) Some time later Colonel Leavenworth departed for Jefferson Barracks, and Maj. Daniel Baker (a late arrival) became commanding officer. "Cantonment Leavenworth" was named *after* the war department officially approved (September 19) the site selected.

The post's first garrison (B, D, E, and H companies, Third infantry, captained by William G. Belknap, John Garland, John Bliss, and John B. Clark)

had, for the quarter ending October 31, a strength of 14 officers and 174 enlisted men. There were, also, women and children at Cantonment Leavenworth in 1827. Families of some officers and enlisted men had arrived with the troops. Two ladies present whose names are known: Anne (Clark) Belknap, wife of the senior captain, who had come with her husband in the spring; and Mary (Hertzog) Dougherty, wife of the new "Upper Missouri" Indian agent (*see* a following entry), who was a late September arrival. During an outbreak of malarial fever in the autumn, one of the victims was the six-year-old son of Lt. Samuel W. Hunt. Asst. Surgeon Clement A. Finley was the post's first medical officer.

Ref: Elvid Hunt and W. E. Lorence's *History of Fort Leavenworth 1827-1937* (Fort Leavenworth, 1937), pp. 13-20; F. B. Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* . . . (Washington, 1903), v. 1 (for army officers' names); *Annals of Iowa, 3d series*, v. 7 (October, 1906), pp. 533-537 (for data on the Belknap family).

¶ The large Santa Fe caravan (about 105 men; 53 wagons; and pleasure carriages) which left Missouri in May had Ezekiel Williams (*see* 1813, 1814) as its elected captain. Among other officers of this highly organized company were David Workman (one of nine "commanders of the guard"), Richard Gentry (marshal), and the Rev. John Pearson (chaplain). Another traveler was Augustus Storrs (newly appointed U. S. consul at Santa Fe) whose letter dated "Santa Fe Trace, 120 miles west of Franklin, May 18, 1827" is the principal source of information on the expedition.

Of this caravan ("the largest which has traversed this route") it was reported that the "line of march" was "at least one mile in length"—a sight "extremely beautiful to the eye of the spectator."

Ref: *Missouri Intelligencer*, Fayette, Mo., May 24, 1827; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, v. 32 (June 30, 1827), p. 292.

¶ George C. Sibley and a work party of 14 (including Andrew Carson, Jacob Gregg, and Benjamin Majors) spent from May 25 to July 1 in present Kansas, making corrections in the 1825 Santa Fe road survey and putting up sod-mound markers on a section of the route west of Missouri. They reached Council Grove (westbound) on June 7. (Sibley *estimated* he had cut the distance from Fort Osage—162 miles by the 1825 survey—to 149 miles. In J. C. Brown's final field notes it was entered as 142 miles.) Continuing 16 miles southwest of Council Grove on June 10, this party camped at "the Springs." Wrote Sibley in his journal:

. . . This Spring [called "Jones' Spring" by Sibley in 1825] is very large, Runs off boldly among Rocks, is perfectly accessible and furnishes the greatest abundance of most excellent, clear, cold Sweet water. It may be appropriately called "The Diamond of the Plains" and So I had it Marked [by "Big John" Walker] on an Elm which grows near & overhangs it.

In this fashion Diamond Spring(s) received its name; and the near by creek, which to Sibley was "Otter Creek" subsequently became "Diamond creek." Turning homeward from this place the party reached Council Grove again on June 12. Next day, by Sibley's account, they

. . . Coursed and chained the Cut off from C[ouncil] Grove to Gravel Creek. . . . Here halted for the day. . . . Found an excellent Spring near Camp—which I had Marked [on a Big Oak near by] "*Big John's Spring*" as it was first discov[er]ed by John Walker. . . .

Thus another landmark on the Santa Fe road received its name; and the stream—Sibley's "Gravel Creek"—became "Big John creek."

On July 1 the tour of correction was completed to the Missouri boundary. Sibley reached home (near old Fort Osage, Mo.) a week later.

Ref: K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47, 175-195 (Sibley's journal), also pp. 60, 272; *The Western Journal*, St. Louis, v. 5 (December, 1850), pp. 178-181.

¶ Successor to Benjamin O'Fallon (resigned) as head of the "Upper Missouri" Indian agency (headquarters at the Council Bluffs—"Bellevue" [Neb.]), was John Dougherty, who had been interpreter and subagent there since 1819. Before Dougherty wrote (on May 30) to accept the position, Cantonment Leavenworth had been founded, and Colonel Leavenworth had requested that the Upper Missouri agent locate there. The move—as a temporary expedient till the end of 1828—was approved by William Clark at St. Louis.

On September 25 Dougherty and his family arrived at Cantonment Leavenworth. At that post, despite controversy, he maintained his "headquarters" till sometime in 1832.

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, February 15, 1827; "Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Registers of Letters Received" (microfilm, from National Archives), v. 2, pp. 140, 157, 160, 292; "Dougherty Collection" (typed copy of Dougherty's March 9, 1832, report) in KHi ms. division; *KHQ*, v. 22, p. 102; Hunt and Lorange, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

¶ Six Osage Indians (four men, two young women) and Paul Loise (half-breed interpreter) were conducted to Europe in the summer by David Delaunay and Francis Tesson of St. Louis (who calculated to make money exhibiting them abroad). Three years later, two of the men, both women, and an infant, returned to their Neosho river [Kansas] homes and kinsmen.

(For a time, after arriving in France on July 27, the Indians attracted great crowds, and were entertained by royalty. But the financial schemes of Delaunay failed; he was imprisoned for debt; and the Osages wandered through Europe in 1828 and 1829, suffering many hardships. Two Osage children were born—one was adopted by a Belgian woman. In the latter part of 1829 funds were raised to return the Indians to America. On board ship two of the men died.

It was the spring of 1830 before the others reached the Indian country.—William Clark wrote on May 15 that he had sent the Osages who returned from France to their nation, except Paul Loise.)

During 1827, when the visitors from America were still a novelty, two slim (and now rare) volumes relating to the Osage Indians were published at Paris. One, credited to Paul Vissier, was titled: *Histoire de la Tribu des Osages* (Paris, C. Bechet, 1827) in which about a dozen of the 92 pages dealt with the six Osages, and their travels up to August 21 when they were presented to the French king. The shorter work—*Six Indiens Rouges de la Tribu des Grands Osages*—was devoted wholly to the subject of its title. The imprint of the Society's third edition copy of this latter book reads: "Paris. Delaunay, Libraire de son altesse royale Madame la duchesse d'Orleans, Palais-Royal, No. 243. 1827."

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 16, p. 24; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 37 (September 5, 1829), p. 19; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, St. Louis, v. 5, pp. 109-128 (for Grant Foreman's article on the Osages, which has reproductions of contemporaneous portraits of the Indians); *SIA*, v. 4, pp. 119, 120 (for William Clark).

❶ Public sale of lots in the new town of Independence—seat of recently organized Jackson county, Mo.—was held on July 9. (The Missouri general assembly, by an act approved December 15, 1826, had established Jackson county.)

(By 1832 Independence was to become the dominant outfitting point for, and eastern terminus of, the Santa Fe and southwestern trade.)

Ref: *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 16, pp. 33-46; *Laws of . . . the State of Missouri, Passed Between . . . 1824 & 1836 . . .* (Jefferson City, 1842), v. 2, pp. 83, 84.

❶ A party of some 20 traders returning from Santa Fe, reached Franklin in mid-July with "about \$30,000 in specie, and several hundred mules"—concluding a "very profitable trip."

Ref: *Missouri Intelligencer*, Fayette, July 19, 1827.

❶ The Rev. Charles Felix Van Quickenborne, S. J., arrived August 24 at the house of Osage Subagent Paul Liguette Chouteau, on the Neosho river (present Neosho county), after a 16-day overland journey from near St. Charles, Mo., with a lay companion. He spent two weeks among the Osages of that vicinity. The day following his arrival he said "the first verifiable mass in Kansas."

Of the 17 Osage half-breed children baptized by Father Van Quickenborne (on August 27 and September 2), the first was two-year-old Henry Mongrain (son of Noel Mongrain and Tonpapai). Surnames of the others baptized were: Vasseur, Chouteau, Quenville, and Williams. ("Clemence Williams" was doubtless a child

of William S. "Old Bill" Williams; whose half-breed daughters, Sarah and Mary, had been given land under the June, 1825, Osage treaty.) Sponsors of the baptisms were Subagent Chouteau, Pierre Melicour Papin (trader), Agent John F. Hamtramck, Louis Peltier, Alexander Peter, P. L. Mongrain, and Christophe Sanguinet.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), v. 1, pp. 179, 191; *KHQ*, v. 8, p. 209.

☪ BORN: at Mission Neosho, either in 1827, or the latter part of 1826, Lucia Francis Pixley, daughter of the Rev. Benton and Lucia F. (Howell) Pixley. Insofar as records are available, it would appear she may have been the *first white child* born in what is now Kansas. (For Mission Neosho, *see* under 1824.)

Ref: U. S. census, 1850, Jackson County, Mo., No. 1187 (household of Mrs. Lucia Pixley, aged 61, of Blue township), as recorded on September 19, 1850. Listed in the household, also, were: Harriet N. Pixley (aged 33, born in Virginia); Lucia F. Pixley (aged 23, born in "Ind. Ter."); Flora A. Pixley (aged 21, born in Missouri); also Mrs. Lucia Pixley's daughter-in-law(?) and her infant; and Madison Meador (aged 22, farmer). Though no substantiation from any other source has been located, there is every reason to suppose that Lucia Francis Pixley was, in fact, born in present Neosho county, Kansas, where her parents lived as missionaries to the Osages from September, 1824, to March, 1829. According to W. W. Graves, in his *First Protestant Osage Missions* . . . (Oswego, c1949), p. 244, the Pixleys had six children, some(?) of whom were born at Mission Neosho: Harriet N., Levi P., Mary Jane (who married Madison Meador), Lucia F., Flora A., and A. B. Graves also stated (p. 243) that the Rev. Benton Pixley is said to have died at Independence, Mo., April 11, 1835.

☪ In September, after a four months' absence, about 60 members of the large spring caravan of Santa Fe traders returned to Missouri, bringing "a considerable amount of money," and around "800 head of jacks, jennets, mules, etc.," valued (it was reported) at nearly \$28,000.

Ref: *Missouri Intelligencer*, Fayette, Mo., September 20, 1827.

☪ While the Kansa were gathered near the mouth of the Kansas river in September to collect their annual annuities, the greater part of the nation fell ill, and some 70 Indians died of the epidemic malady. Agent John Dougherty, learning of the disaster upon his arrival at Cantonment Leavenworth in late September, hired a Liberty, Mo., doctor to go to the aid of the Kansa. On the advice of the post medical officer, Asst. Surg. Clement A. Finley, Dougherty also "procured several barrels of flour and some salt provisions and took them to the Indians."

Ref: SIA, v. 4, pp. 72, 73; "Dougherty Collection," KHi ms. division.

☪ En route to Missouri from New Mexico, with "horses, mules, asses, and specie," the small party of 12 to 15 traders which included Messrs. Collins, Stanley, Houck, Ryland, Fielding, Talbot, and Wolfskill (*see* August, 1826), camped on October 12 about 25

miles west of Pawnee Fork crossing [probably at Little Coon creek, present Edwards county]. A band of perhaps 30 Pawnees made a midnight raid on their stock and ran off 166 animals—all but three the party had. Next day, by good fortune, the traders found about 66(?) head (either abandoned by, or escaped from, the Indians). The arrival of this party in the Missouri settlements was noted in early November (by the Fayette newspaper).

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 21, pp. 561-563; *Missouri Intelligencer*, November 9, 1827, as reprinted in the *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, December 4, 1827. According to Alphonso Wetmore's 1831 statement, the 1827 robberies totaled 130 head of stock.—See 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 90* (Serial 213), p. 176.

1828

¶ On April 14 the steamboat *Liberator* set out from St. Louis for Cantonment Leavenworth—presumably carrying freight. On April 23 the steamboat *Illinois* (advertised in March as a “new and substantial” craft) left Jefferson Barracks, Mo., for the same place, with Companies A, F, I, and K, Third U. S. infantry aboard. Col. Henry Leavenworth, head of the regiment, accompanied them. The troops’ arrival (early in May) placed eight out of 10 companies of the Third infantry at Cantonment Leavenworth.

It appears that these steamboats may have been the first on the “upper” Missouri (*i. e.*, above the mouth of the Kansas) since 1821. The *Liberator* returned to St. Charles, Mo., on April 27; the *Illinois* was back at St. Louis “from the Platt” on May 6.

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 16, pp. 140n, 144-146, 148.

¶ The Western Cherokees (those living west of the Mississippi) in a treaty with the United States signed on May 6, were *guaranteed* a reserve of “seven millions of acres” of land and a “perpetual outlet” to the west, in what is now Oklahoma. This tract (40 by 300 miles) was to be for *all* of the Cherokees:

. . . a *permanent* home . . . which shall, under the most solemn guarantee of the United States, be and remain theirs forever—a home that shall never, in all future time, be embarrassed by having extended around it the line, or placed over it the jurisdiction of a territory or state, nor be pressed upon by the extension, in any way, of any of the limits of any existing territory or State. . . .

Ref: C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 288-292; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. R. No. 474* (Serial 263), p. 15.

¶ The large Santa Fe caravan (about 150? men) which left Missouri in the fore part of May is said to have taken merchandise valued at \$150,000 to New Mexico; and, by report, the smaller caravan (about 50 persons) which left the last of May, carried goods worth \$41,000. Alphonso Wetmore captained the latter expedi-

tion which rendezvoused at the Blue Springs (Mo.) on May 28th. [His brief diary (May 28-August 2), with its graphic, colorful comments, enlivened an otherwise staid senate document published in 1831.]

Wetmore's company reached Council Grove on June 11; met a return caravan on the 12th; crossed Cow creek (in present Rice county) on the 24th; and on July 4 arrived at the Caches (Wetmore called them "Anderson's caches") of 1823 origin. There the caravan crossed the Arkansas and proceeded by way of the Cimarron desert route to New Mexico.

Ref: H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902), v. 2, p. 509; 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 90* (Serial 213), pp. 34-40 (for Wetmore's diary), or, see *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 8, pp. 184-195.

¶ At Cantonment Leavenworth, on May 29, a post office was established—the first in what is now Kansas. Philip G. Randolph, first appointee, was succeeded as postmaster by Thomas S. Bryant on October 16.

Ref: Robert W. Baughman's *Kansas Post Offices* (Topeka, c1961), pp. 21, 156, 197; *KHC*, v. 1-2, p. 255, or, v. 7, p. 441.

¶ DIED: In May, Clermont, I, long-time chief of the large band of Osages residing on the Verdigris river (in present Oklahoma)—first mentioned in this chronology under 1802-1803. It is said that he had four wives and 37 children. (His son, Clermont, II, also a distinguished man, died in 1838.) The town of Claremore, Okla., near the one-time Osage village site, was named for the chiefs "Clermont." Of Clermont, I, the missionary W. F. Vaill wrote:

. . . a man of noble countenance and stately figure, of robust constitution, and vigorous intellectual powers. . . . He was a jealous, subtle man—a wily, intriguing politician, and a most eloquent speaker. . . .

Ref: *Report of American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions for 1828*, pp. 90, 91; Grant Foreman's *Indians and Pioneers* . . . (New Haven, 1930), pp. 22, 157, 158.

¶ In the spring Father Charles Felix Van Quickenborne made a second journey (see August, 1827) to the Osages of the Neosho river, stopping en route at Harmony Mission, on the Marais des Cygnes, in Missouri. It is known that he performed 17 baptisms, but there is no record of the names. A little Osage "prince" accompanied him on the return trip—to be educated at the Jesuits' Indian school at Florissant, Mo.

Ref: Garraghan's *Jesuits* . . . , v. 1, p. 193.

¶ On June 4 Indian Agent John Dougherty paid Calice "Montargu" (Montardeau) \$7.25 for "his services and use of his ferryboat in crossing the Kansas Nation across the Missouri." This transaction—listed in a Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, record

book—is the earliest item located concerning a ferry operation at, or near, the mouth of the Kansas.

(Other ferry operators had been licensed in Clay county, Mo., as early as 1825—Joseph Boggs, John Thornton, and Richard Linville—all of whom had ferries within a few miles of the Kaw's mouth. Linville's location on the Missouri, in 1825, was in Sec. 18, T. 50, R. 32 W., Clay co., Mo., "where Louis Barthelette . . . lives." Presumably this was at the Randolph Bluffs location where Louis ("Grand Louis") Bertholet lived in 1823, and earlier—see annals entries for 1821-1822, and June, 1823. It is said that Linville sold his ferry to "an old[?] Frenchman named Calisse Montarges" in 1826. After the spring, 1826, flood, if not before, "Calisse" doubtless moved the ferry nearer the mouth of the Kansas, and across the river(?). A land entry of October 31, 1832, shows Calice Montardeau on the W.½ of Lot 2, in Sec. 5, T. 49, R. 33 W., in present Kansas City, Mo. He is said to have operated his ferry till 1830. Catholic records of Kansas City, Mo., state that "Calice Montredie" died June 18, 1847, aged 49 years.)

Ref: SIA, v. 21, p. 26 (for the June 4, 1828, item); *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri* . . . (St. Louis, 1885), p. 113; *KHQ*, v. 2, p. 5; D. A. R., Kansas City (Mo.) chapter, *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Missouri, 1826-1876* (Kansas City, Mo., c1934), p. 266.

¶ Delegations from the Pawnee Republic band, the Omaha, Otoe, Iowa, Sac, Kansa, and the immigrant Shawnee Indians, called together by Agent John Dougherty, met in council at Cantonment Leavenworth on June 23, and made a peace treaty. Also present were Subagent Jonathan L. Bean (from the Iowa subagency), Lt. Samuel W. Hunt (of the Third infantry), and Levi Benjamin.

Ref: SIA, v. 21, p. 30; "Dougherty Collection," in KHI ms. division.

¶ During the summer, it is said, a "military" road was opened from a point opposite Cantonment Leavenworth to the town of Barry, near Liberty, Mo. Troops from the post worked on the section from the Missouri river eastward, while Clay county, Mo., residents built westward from the settlements.

Ferries were required at the crossings of the Missouri and the Little Platte river. By Joseph Thorp's recollections (in the 1880's) Robert Todd was authorized to keep the first ferry at the cantonment (and held the job for several years); while John Thorp (brother of Joseph) operated the first Little Platte ferry, but sold out in less than a year to a partner Zadoc Martin.

Ref: Joseph Thorp's *Early Days in the West* . . . (Liberty, Mo., 1924), p. 62; Hunt and Lorence, *op. cit.*, p. 22; W. M. Paxton's *Annals of Platte County, Missouri* (Kansas City, Mo., 1897), pp. 9-12.

¶ DIED: On August 5, Kansa Subagent Baronet Vasquez, of cholera, while returning from St. Louis to his post. Two companions on the journey—Dunning D. McNair (20-year-old Indian superintend-

ency clerk), and the Rev. Joseph Anthony Lutz—reached the Vasquez residence (within present Kansas City, Mo.) on August 12.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City* . . . , p. 28.

¶ Intent on establishing a Catholic mission among the Kansa Indians, the Rev. Joseph Anthony Lutz (aged 26) arrived at the mouth of the Kansas river on August 12 (*see* preceding entry). After a week's stay there, at the Vasquez residence, he accompanied acting subagent Dunning D. McNair 65 miles up the Kansas valley, where, for the next six weeks, he made his headquarters at the Kansa Agency (with McNair), as the first missionary visitor to that nation. On August 20, the day after his arrival, he met Chief White Plume who was cordial; on the 24th, and subsequently, he visited the 16 Indian families (including White Plume) who lived two miles northwest of the agency. But he did not meet the main body of the Kansa till September 17, and they were then preparing to go on their fall hunt—not to return till mid-December.

On September 18 Father Lutz started for Cantonment Leavenworth (37 miles to the northeast) where his visit was the first by a Catholic priest at that post. Returning to the Kansa Agency, he remained till September 29. With McNair, he then went downriver to the mouth of the Kansas, and stayed with Mrs. Vasquez and her children—ministering to the “little community of nine families at the mouth of the Kaw” [present Kansas City, Mo.] till December 2. On that date he left for St. Louis.

Though it appears that Father Lutz returned to the Kansa Agency, briefly, in 1829 (to pick up some personal possessions left there), the plan to establish a Catholic mission among the Kansa was abandoned. There is no record that he baptized any Indians in 1828 or 1829.

Ref: Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings* . . . , pp. 27-33.

¶ In mid-August a company of perhaps 70 traders with about 1,200 head of stock left Santa Fe to return to Missouri. While heading for the Cimarron, two men, traveling ahead of the main party, were shot by unknown Indians. Young McNees died at the scene—near a little stream (a tributary of Beaver creek, in Union co., N. M.), then named “McNees’ creek” for him. Daniel Munroe, fatally wounded, was carried 40 miles to the Upper Cimarron Springs, where both men were buried. Soon afterward, some of the traders fired on (and killed most of) a small party of (Pawnee?) Indians that rode up to them—thereby precipitating an Indian war which was to be costly to Santa Fe traders. (It was the *Pawnees* who were reported, in November, to have gone “en masse in a war excursion against the whites.”)

It is said that Meredith M. Marmaduke and Milton G. Sublette were in the party firing on the Indians. These men, a William Taylor, and four others, had a narrow escape from death a few days later when they met a large band of hostile Indians while hunting—according to the recollections of William Waldo.

In September, probably in the Great Bend area, Pawnee Indians raided this company of around 700 horses and mules.

Ref: *Missouri Intelligencer* . . . , Fayette, September 12, 1828; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 23, 1828; William Waldo's "Recollections . . ." in *Glimpses of the Past*, St. Louis, v. 5, pp. 68-71; 20th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 67* (Serial 181), pp. 17, 18; 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 90* (Serial 213), pp. 31, 40; *KHQ*, v. 13, p. 411—for McCoy's statement concerning his own 1828 expedition: "We afterwards ascertained that we had been within 75 miles of the place where the last attack of the Pawnees was made on the first party defeated on the Santa Fe road, which happened in September while we were in that country." McCoy's party got as far west as present Marion county, to the Cottonwood, apparently. Also, in *ibid.*, p. 433, is his comment, "While I was in that country two caravans, at different times were robbed by those western Indians [*i. e.*, Pawnees?]. The first company had two men killed, and lost about 700 mules and horses." *Ibid.*, v. 16, p. 170 (for Pawnee war excursion).

☐ BORN: On August 22, at the Kansa Agency (present Jefferson county) Napoleon Boone, 12th (and last) child of Daniel Morgan and Sarah Griffin (Lewis) Boone. This grandson of famed frontiersman Daniel Boone was the second white child, and the first white *boy* born in present Kansas of whom there is record. (Napoleon Boone died, aged 21 and single, in California, May 20, 1850.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 1-2, p. 289, v. 8, pp. 260n, 433, 434; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 41, pp. 365, 369.

☐ A party of 21(?) homeward-bound traders, with 150 mules and horses, four wagons, and a quantity of silver money, left Santa Fe on September 1. Near the Upper Cimarron Springs they came on a large Comanche camp. The caravan's captain, John Means, was killed and scalped when the Indians attacked the rear guard. Thomas Ellison and Milton E. Bryan, riding with him, escaped. The traders moved on, followed and harassed by the Indians, who, some days later, succeeded in stampeding all the horses and mules. (William Y. Hitt, wounded several times, narrowly escaped death when ambushed by the raiders.)

Forced to abandon their wagons and baggage, the merchants set out on foot, at night, on a northward course, each carrying as much silver as he could manage. On reaching the Arkansas (at Chouteau's Island?) they buried most of the money, and headed for Missouri, some 350 miles distant. It was a journey of hardship and suffering. They reached Cow creek in a group, but some, from exhaustion, hunger, and exposure, could go no farther. Five of the stronger men continued to the settlements. A rescue party went

out from Independence and picked up the stragglers, who were scattered along the Santa Fe road for 150 miles. In the latter part of October these traders reached home.

According to Milton E. Bryan, and others, the buried money was recovered in 1829 when the Santa Fe caravan and military escort reached the vicinity of Chouteau's Island in July.

Ref: Milton E. Bryan's "The Flight of Time . . ." in *The Kansas Chief*, Troy, June 9, 1887 (clipping in KHi library); *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 24, 1828; Otis E. Young's *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail* . . . (Glendale, Cal., 1952), pp. 17-29, 86, 87; William Waldo's "Recollections," *loc. cit.*, p. 70; Isaac McCoy (*see KHQ*, v. 13, p. 433) stated, in 1828, that the traders carried with them "about \$6,000 in specie on their backs," when they abandoned the wagons.

¶ Between September 4 and 24, U. S. Comm'r Isaac McCoy (a Baptist missionary at Carey [Mich.]) conducted a small Indian delegation (three Ottawas, two Pottawatomies, and a half-breed Pottawatomie interpreter) on an exploratory tour into present Kansas.

Though McCoy's party had reached St. Louis (on horseback, from Carey) in mid-July, it was after the middle of August before McCoy, the Indians, and two hired hands—nine persons in all—left that town for Harmony Mission (Mo.). There, Noel Mongrain (an elderly Osage half-breed) joined them as "guide." On September 4 they crossed into "Kansas" and camped on the Marais des Cygnes [in present Linn county]. As McCoy outlined the journey in his report (of October 7):

" . . . I proceeded westwardly up the Osage [Marais des Cygnes] river, generally on the north side. Passing the sources of Osage we bore South west across the upper branches of Neosho until we intersected the main river at a point eighty miles south, and 127 west of the mouth of Kansas river, and [a]bout 25 miles southeast of the Santa Fe road. We then bore north west until we reached the Santa Fe road [in present Marion county] . . . 140 [miles] due west of . . . [Missouri]. . . . We turned eastward along and near to the Santa Fe road, to a point due South of the upper Kansas village, then travelled north to said village on the Kansas river, 125 miles west of . . . [Missouri]."

It was on September 18 that they came to the "upper" Kansa town of about 15 huts—in the vicinity of Junction City of today. Heading eastward they passed between two other small Kansa camps; and early on the afternoon of the 19th sighted "the principal Kanzau village . . . say 7 miles off"—two miles east of present Manhattan. Bearing southeast from that area they crossed Mill creek [in what is now Wabaunsee county]; reached the Wakarusa headwaters; continued eastward on the divide between the Kansas and Marais des Cygnes rivers; and on September 24 reached the Shawnee settlements near the mouth of the Kansas.

Isaac McCoy, summing up his impressions of the country traversed, noted its high rolling character; the abundant limestone; the

"exceedingly fertile" soil; the sufficiency (though not abundance) of water; the scarcity of wood (though it "is not so great as has sometimes been reported"); and the abundance of game ("Elk, Deer & Bear plenty," also they had seen "a few Antelopes"). The Pottawatomies and Ottawas, he wrote, "while they lament the scarcity of wood, and especially the almost total absence of the sugar tree, pronounce it a fine country."

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 5, pp. 227-268 (for McCoy's journal; and brief report, on pp. 264, 265), v. 13, pp. 408-415 (for a longer report by McCoy), v. 26, pp. 152-157 (for a discussion of McCoy's route, the Kansa village locations, and a map showing the general route of the exploring party).

¶ The situation of the Shawnee Indians in present Kansas was described by the Rev. Isaac McCoy in late September:

The Shawnees arrived in this country last Spring late. [The *first* immigrant Shawnees had come late in 1825—*see* annals entry.] They [now] consist chiefly of about one half of those who resided at Waupaugkonetta in Ohio, some from Merimack [river, Mo.] . . ., some from Lewistown, O[hio] & elsewhere. With some aid from government, chiefly in food & clothing, & farming utensils, they are in three or four settlements of villages putting up with their own hands very neat log cabbins [in present Shawnee township, Wyandotte county—south of the Kansas river, and in Johnson county—also south of the Kansas].

McCoy also noted the presence of the "old prophet"—Ten-squa-ta-wa (brother of Tecumseh). Among other Shawnee chiefs of prominence already in "Kansas" by the fall of this year were William Perry and Cornstalk.

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 5, pp. 260, 261, v. 13, p. 442.

¶ On the Kansas river's south bank, about six miles (by land) west of the Missouri boundary, within the Shawnee reserve, in the autumn, the Chouteau brothers built a new American Fur Company trading house—a post of some permanence—known as Cyprian Chouteau's establishment by the 1840's. At the scene in 1828 was Father Joseph A. Lutz, who wrote, on November 12: "Messrs. Francis, Cyprian and Frederick Chouteau have begun to erect at the Kanzas River a large building which will soon be looked upon as a sort of emporium for the sale and exchange of goods among the Shawnee and Kanzas Indians." (The site seems to have been a mile or so north of present Turner, Wyandotte county, in Sec. 13, T. 11, R. 24 E.)

An 1830 trading license issued for its operation referred to the post's location as "On the Kanzas river about 12 miles from the mouth . . ."; in 1831 (and later) it was described as "opposite the old half breed establishment[?] on the Kanzas, about 12 miles from the mouth." Frederick Chouteau (in 1880) was quoted as saying: "In 1828 and 1829 we built some trading-houses [the

1829 post was Frederick's—farther upstream] four or five miles [by land] above [what was later] Wyandotte, on the north [*i. e.*, south—he must have been misquoted!] side of the Kansas river. . . . The houses built in 1828, in the fall, were for trading with the Shawnees and Delawares." An early confirmation that the post was on the *south* bank can be found in the January, 1830, annals entry of Prince Paul's visit there. Also, Isaac McCoy's surveying party stopped there in August, 1830, and, as Prince Paul had done, crossed the Kansas at that point, to proceed to Cantonment Leavenworth.

As for the occupants of the trading house, the following statement from the Rev. Benedict Roux's letter of November 24, 1833, strongly implies that both Francis G. Chouteau (together with his family), and Cyprian were then living there. Father Roux wrote:

"I am at present at the trading house of the Messrs. Chouteau. . . . I cannot . . . speak too highly in praise of Mr. [Francis] Guesseau and of his wife and brother. . . . But I do not expect to remain long with them, as they are right in the Indian country and too far away from the Catholics [referring to the French settlement which had developed on the site of present Kansas City, Mo.] for me to carry on my ministry with convenience.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings* . . . , pp. 32, 47, 48; 21st Cong., 2d Sess., *House Ex. Doc. 41* (Serial 207); 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. No. 104* (Serial 234); KHC, v. 8, p. 425, v. 9, pp. 573-575; *Ibid.*, v. 4, p. 302, and KHQ, v. 5, p. 346 (for McCoy—the latter reference gives the *date* but does not specifically mention the trading post).

¶ Between November 8 and early December a party of Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks was conducted on an exploring tour of present "Kansas and Oklahoma," from the Kansas river southward to the Canadian, along a line of march at no place more than 48 miles west of the Missouri and Arkansas boundaries. By Isaac McCoy's report, the company which set out on November 8 from a camp (in present northeast Johnson county) about five miles south of the Kansas river's mouth, consisted of:

. . . Cap. G. H. Kennerly, leader, Lieut. [Washington] Hood Topographer, Mr. John Bell assistant topographer, and G. P. Todson surgeon. To me [McCoy] had been intrusted the monied matters. The Chickasaws Delegation consisted of 12 Indians, and an interpreter, accompanied by three white men chosen by themselves, in all 16, with Mr. John B. Duncan Sub. Agent, as their leader. The Choctaw delegation was composed of six Indians, and lead by Mr. D. W. Haley. The Creek delegation consisted of three, and was lead by Mr. Luther Blake. We had one interpreter to Osages and Kansas [Noel Mongrain], seven hired men, and a black servant belonging [to] a Chickasaw Chief. In all 42. We had with us upwards of sixty horses.

The expedition moved "a little west of south" to the Marais des Cygnes (crossed it about 20 miles west of Missouri), continued southwest to the Neosho, and followed downriver to the Osage Agency (present Neosho county) on November 17. After four days

of Indian councils and peace talks Kennerly's party proceeded about six miles down the Neosho to camp on the night of the 20th near White Hair's village. They were entertained in the houses of White Hair and Belle Oiseau. (The latter accompanied McCoy's party southward on the 22d.)

From the Osage towns they "took the road to the Creek agency on the Verdigris river, within four miles of its junction with the Arkansaw." There, and near Fort Gibson (Okla.), they remained five days before continuing to the mouth of the Canadian river's south fork—260 miles south of the Kansas river's mouth. By December 10 all the Indian delegations had set out for their homes. Kennerly, Hood, Bell, Todson, McCoy, together with the hired hands and pack horses retraced their way to the Osage Agency (arriving on December 15), crossed the Neosho there, and "took the direct route to Harmony Mission" 70 miles to the northeast. From that place they returned to St. Louis on December 24th.

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 13, pp. 400-462 (for Isaac McCoy's journal and report; and the reports of Kennerly, Hood, and Bell); Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* . . . (Washington, 1840), pp. 350-369.

♣ BORN: On December 7, at Cantonment Leavenworth, Lewis Bissell Dougherty, son of Indian Agent John and Mary (Hertzog) Dougherty. He was, so far as known, the third white child and second white *boy* born in present Kansas. (Lewis B. Dougherty died at Liberty, Mo., in 1925.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 8, p. 260n; "Dougherty Collection," in *KHi* ms. division; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 24, pp. 359-363.

♣ Four years before the treaties of October 27 and October 29, 1832, legalized and defined their tribal reserves in what is now Kansas, the bands of Piankeshaw and Wea Indians, and the Peorias, residing in southwestern Missouri, took William Clark's advice and moved to lands already set aside for them, south of the Shawnee reserves. (In 1828 Angus Langham partially surveyed the two tracts—one for the Weas and Piankeshaws, the other for the Peorias and Kaskaskias—in present Miami and Franklin counties.)

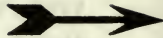
It was during 1828 that these Indians first established villages in present Kansas. The exact time is unknown—a January 3, 1829, report on Indian tribes noted that 350 Shawnees "with all the Weas and Piankeshaws" had removed from Missouri to lands assigned them. (See, also, July, 1830, and March, 1831, entries.)

Ref: 20th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 27* (Serial 181), p. 2 (for 1829 report); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), p. 115 (for Clark's "advice" reference); Langham map showing 1828 survey of Wea and Piankeshaw, etc., lines (photostat), in *KHi* ms. division.

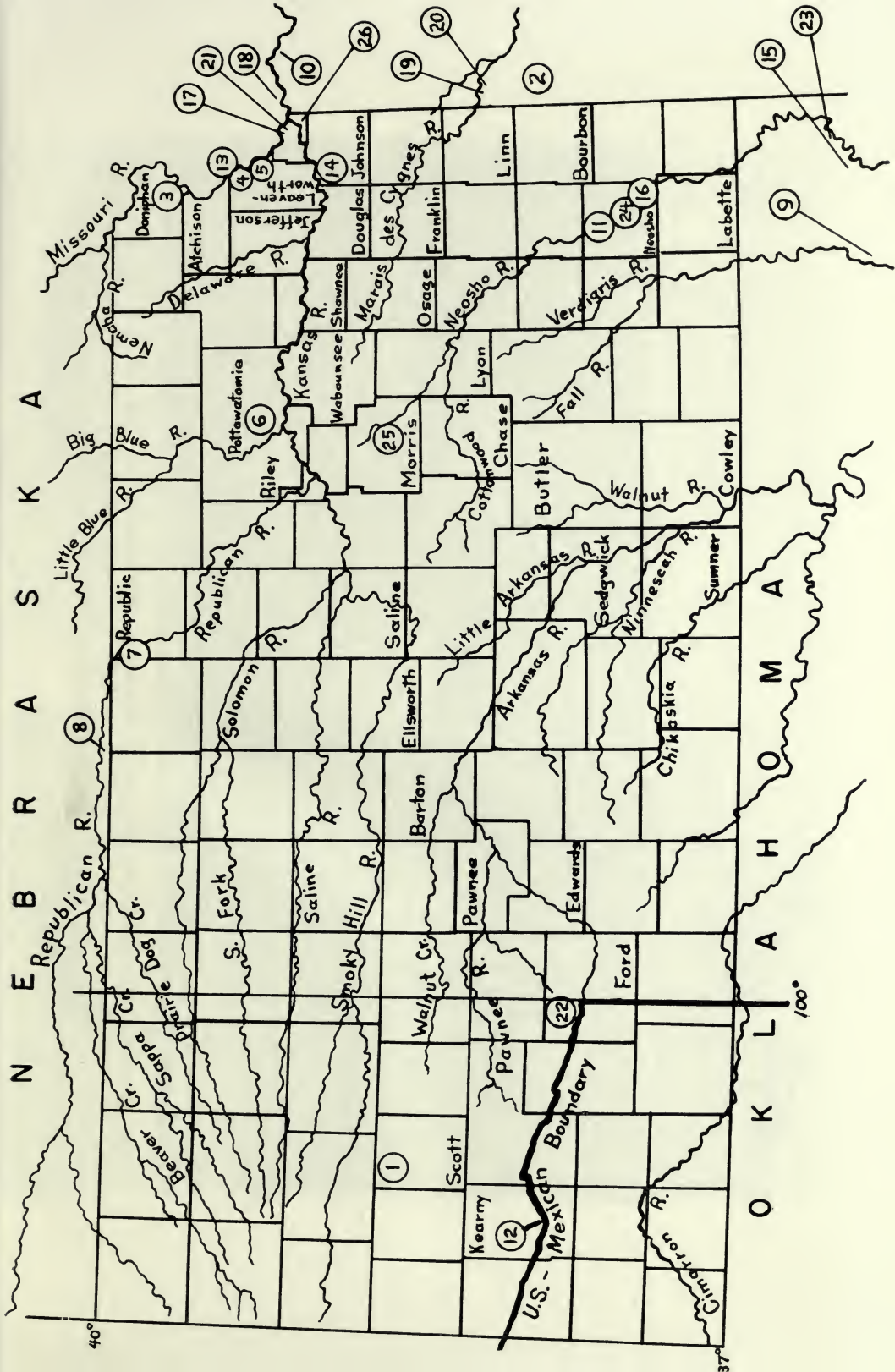
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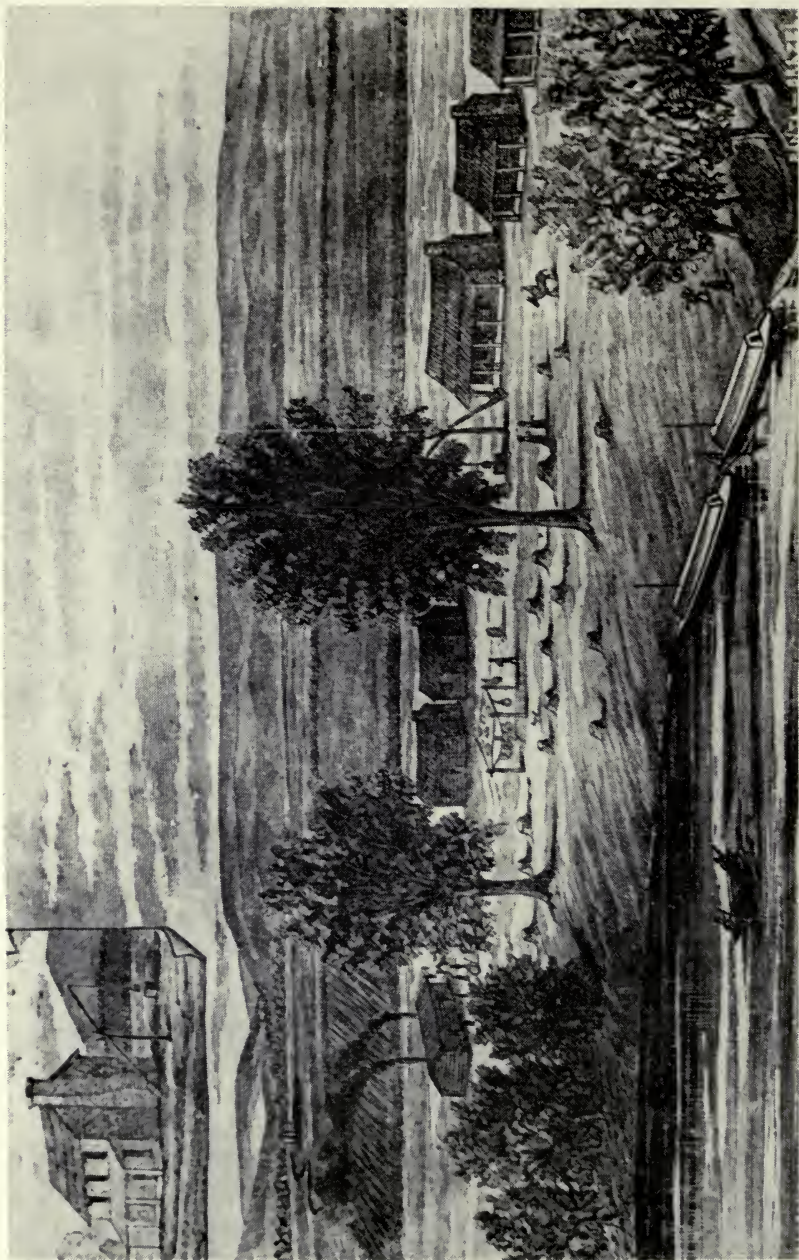
SOME HISTORIC SITES OF PRE-1826 ORIGIN

(See corresponding numbers on map)

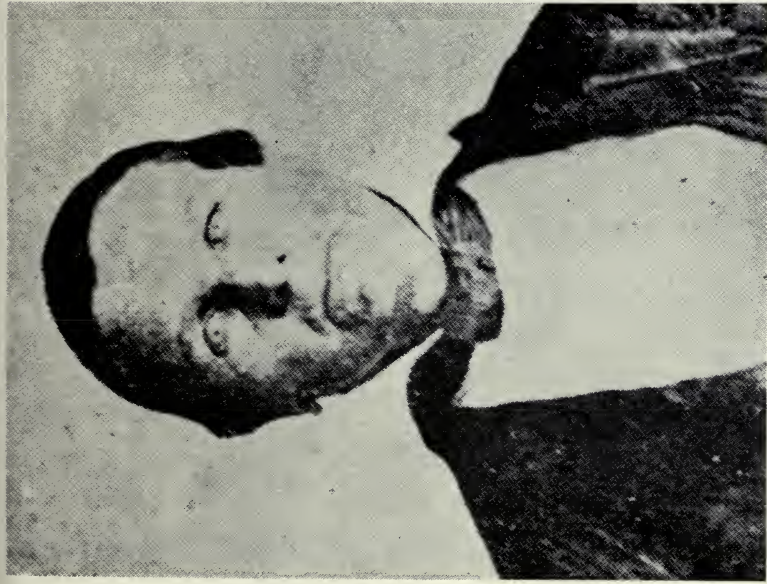


Site	Date	Location	See Annals
1. Pueblo ruins ("El Cuartelejo")	Early 1700's	Ladder creek valley, Scott county.	"About 1700"
2. Osage villages	17th?-early 18th centuries	Vernon county, Mo.	
3. Kansa "Village of 24"	Early 18th century	Doniphan, Doniphan county.	1723
4. Kansa "Village of 12"	Mid-18th century	Salt Creek valley, Leavenworth county.	1744
5. Fort Cavagnolle	1743?-1758?	Salt Creek valley, Leavenworth county.	1744
6. Kansa village	1790's?-1829	In Pottawatomie county, two miles east of Manhattan, Riley county.	1790-1791
7. Pawnee Republic village	One was occupied 1790's?-1809; the other from 1822?-1833?	Southwest of Republic, in Republic county, Kan.	1806; 1825
8. Pawnee Republic village		Southeast of Red Cloud, in Webster county, Neb.	1806; 1825
9. Clermont's Osage village	1802 or 1803	Near Claremore, Rogers county, Okla.	1802-1803
10. Fort Osage	1808-1822	Near Sibley, Jackson county, Mo.	1808
11. Little Osage village	1812?	In Neosho county, on west bank of Neosho river.	1813
12. Chouteau's Island	1816	Southwest of Lakin, Kearny county.	1816
13. Isle au Vache (Cow Island) Cantonment Martin site	1818-1819	Island in Missouri river, between Atchison and Leavenworth.	1818
14. "Four Houses" trading post (of Chouteau brothers)	1819?-1828?	At mouth of Cedar creek? in Johnson county?	1819
15. Union Mission	1820-1836	In Mayes county, Okla., on the Grand river.	1820
16. Osage villages; including White Hair's town	18__?	In Neosho county.	1820; 1822
17. Andrew Woods' (Missouri Fur Co.) trading post	1820?-1824?	On the Missouri, above the mouth of the Kansas river.	1821-1822
18. Francis G. Chouteau's (French Fur Co.) depot	1821?-1826	On the Missouri, about three miles below the mouth of the Kansas, at Randolph Bluffs.	1821-1822
19. Harmony Mission	1821-1836	Near Papinsville, Bates county, Mo.	1821
20. Fort Osage sub-factory	1821-1822	Near Papinsville, Bates county, Mo.	1821
21. Cyrus Curtis-Michael Eley trading post	1822?-1826?	On the Missouri, above the mouth of the Kansas river.	1821-1822
22. "The Caches"	1823	About five miles west of Dodge City, Ford county.	1822-1823
23. Hopefield Mission (No. 1)	1823	In Mayes county, Okla., on the Grand river.	
24. Mission Neosho	1824-1829	Near Shaw, Neosho county.	1824
25. Council Grove	1825	On the Neosho river, in Morris county.	1825
26. Shawnee settlement (first immigrant Indians)	1825	In Shawnee township, Wyandotte county.	1825





Artist Henry Worrall's reconstruction of the Kansa Agency (1827-1834?) and Chief White Plume's stone house (inset)—as sketched in 1879 after he visited the site (with its then fragmentary remains), and gathered other information from pioneers' recollections. The location was on the Kansas river in south Jefferson county. (Note portrait of Chief White Plume on cover.)



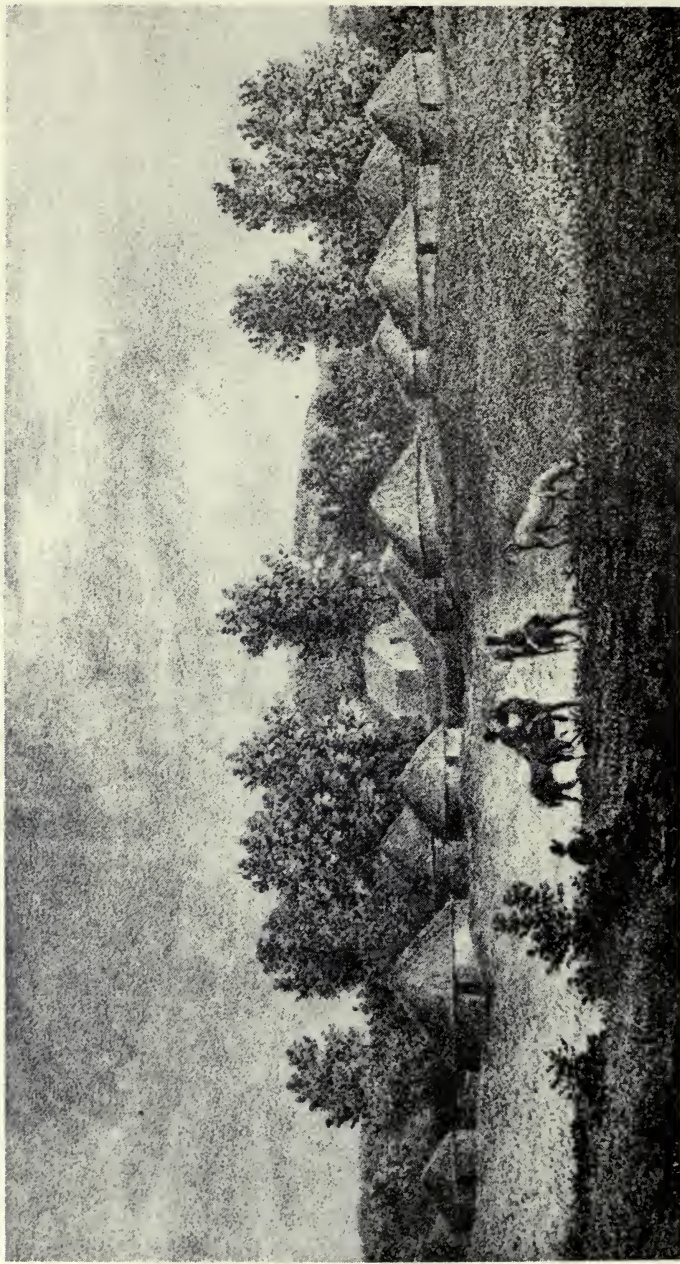
CYPRIAN CHOUTEAU
(1802-1879)

His trading post (from late 1828) was on the Shawnee reserve, south bank of the Kansas (present Wyandotte county).



FREDERICK CHOUTEAU
(1809?-1891)

His Kansa trading post (founded 1829) was, after 1831, near the mouth of Mission creek (present Shawnee county).



Fool Chief's Kansa Village (dating from 1829?) between Soldier creek and the Kansas river (northwest of present Topeka). As drawn by George Lehman (from Nicholas Point's sketch?). Fathers Pierre Jean de Smet and Point paid a brief visit to the town in May, 1841, while en route west with an emigrant caravan.
De Smet stated there were about 20 of the "wigwams" (like stacks of wheat), each one about 120 feet in circumference—large enough to shelter 30 to 40 persons. He estimated the village population at 700 to 800 souls.

¶ Subagent John Campbell came from Missouri in (the latter part of) 1828 to occupy (perhaps build?) the Shawnee Agency (present Johnson county, near the Missouri line), where his particular charges (as subagent) were the Piankeshaws, Weas, and Peorias (whose tracts of land were south of the Shawnee reserve). In a February 9, 1829, report by the secretary of war, Subagent Campbell was listed as residing at "mouth of Kansas river." He was subordinate to Agent Richard Graham in 1828-1829, (then to Graham's successor George Vashon, in 1829-1830, and to his successor, R. W. Cummins, in 1830-1833).

The beginnings of Shawnee Agency are obscure, and whether a building was erected prior to 1828 has not been ascertained. Agent Graham (in charge of the Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, Weas, and Peorias residing in Missouri, Arkansas, and west of Missouri) had his headquarters near St. Louis, and visited the various Indians under his supervision when business demanded.

Shawnee Agency was well established by 1829. (The location, by present-day description, was on the E.½ of the S.E.¼, Sec. 10, and W.½ of the S.W.¼, Sec. 11, T. 12, R. 25 E.—See *KHQ*, v. 5, p. 342.) As 2d Lt. Philip St. George Cooke saw it in June, 1829: ". . . [on the edge of a] light and airy grove . . . was delightfully situated . . . the house . . . of the sub-agent of the Delawares—the hospitable old Major C[ampbell] . . . with ready joke and julep, did his best to make our long farewell to the settlements, a lively one." Surveyor Isaac McCoy, westbound from Independence (Mo.), wrote, on August 21, 1830: "In the evening reached the Shawanoe & Delaware agency, at the house of Maj. J. Campbell the Sub. Agt. by whom we were kindly received. Our tents were pitched for the company, while I accepted an invitation to take quarters with Maj. Campbell." (For an earlier Shawnee Agency event of that year, see January 12, 1830, annals entry.)

Rcf: 20th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 72* (Serial 181), pp. 6, 7; Philip St. George Cooke's *Scenes and Adventures* . . . (Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 4, 42; *KHQ*, v. 5, p. 342 (for McCoy).

¶ Author-editor-missionary Timothy Flint's two-volume popular and "romantic" work, *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States*, published at Cincinnati during the year, contained a chapter on "Missouri Territory" (defined as the area bounded by the British possessions on the north; the Northwest Territory, Illinois, and Missouri on the east; the Mexican republic on the south and southwest; and the Rocky Mountains on the west). By his description (but not from his own observation), beyond the partially wooded belt of country extending from 200 to 400 miles west of the Mississippi:

There commences that ocean of prairies, that constitutes so striking and impressive a feature in the vast country beyond the Mississippi and Missouri.

This vast country is for the most part, a plain, more or less covered with grass, in great extents fertile; in other extents almost a moving sand. It is pastured, and trodden by countless numbers of buffaloes, elk and other wild animals, that graze upon it. . . .

Ref: Flint's work, as noted above, v. 2, p. 435.

1829

¶ William L. Sublette's party ("52 men and two Indians") left St. Louis around mid-March to take the Smith, Jackson & Sublette pack-mule train to the fur traders' rendezvous in the Rockies, ending up at Pierre's Hole. (Sublette had brought the partners' furs down to Missouri in September, 1828, and had remained over the winter at St. Louis.)

In this company were George W. Ebberts, Joseph L. Meek, Samuel Parkman, and Robert Newell—new recruits among the more experienced mountain men like Milton Sublette. After a brief stop at Independence, Mo., this expedition followed out the Santa Fe trail for some miles, then, apparently, turned northwest, forded the Kansas, moved up its valley, then headed north to the Little Blue and on to the Platte—traversing "Sublette's Trace" (*see* March, 1827 entry)—the future Oregon trail route.

Ref: Dale L. Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 302, 303, 429; Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-80; D. O. Johansen, ed., *Robert Newell's Memoranda* . . . (Portland, 1959), p. 31; Frances F. Victor's *The River of the West* (Hartford and Toledo, 1870), pp. 45-58.

¶ Visiting Cantonment Leavenworth in March, on an inspection trip, Col. George Croghan made a report (dated March 31) which included these remarks:

. . . A great deal has been done [since 1827], much more in truth than could have been expected of a garrison so reduced by sickness; still the work is not half accomplished. . . . A good hospital has been erected, and four houses originally intended to quarter one company each (though now occupied by officers) have been put up and very nearly completed, but there yet remains to be provided for: Officers quarters, store houses, guard house, magazine, etc., etc. . . . I am . . . at a loss . . . as to the operating causes of [the cantonment's] . . . sickness. There is certainly nothing apparently in its location to render it unhealthy, on the contrary, the site might be considered an admirable one.

Cantonment Leavenworth was then garrisoned by Companies A, B, D, E, F, H, I, and K of the Third U. S. infantry, with Bvt. Maj. John Bliss as commanding officer. Maj. Surg. John Gale was the overworked medical officer.

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 15, pp. 353-355; Heitman, *op. cit.* (for officers' names).

¶ In the spring, probably in March, Mission Neosho (which had been operated since 1824 by the Rev. Benton Pixley and his wife

for the Osages of Neosho river) ceased operation. The hostility of Agent John F. Hamtramck towards Pixley brought about the abrupt closing of the mission, and the removal of the mission family from present Neosho county to Missouri.

(See under 1830 for a "revival" of the mission, in another location, with different personnel, and under a new name—Boudinot.)

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

☛ On April 13 the small, side-wheel steamboat *Wm. D. Duncan* (Captain Crooks), from Pittsburgh, Pa., left St. Louis for Franklin, Mo. (and returned on the 23d)—the first of several trips she made during the 1829 season, between the two towns. Her series of voyages may be said to have ushered in the era of regular steamboat travel on the Missouri. (See March 15, 1830, entry.)

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 16, pp. 284, 285; *St. Louis (Mo.) Beacon*, April 13 and July 4, 1829, (Though H. M. Chittenden in his *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River* (1903)—see *KHC*, v. 9, p. 278—stated that the *Duncan* ran to "Fort" Leavenworth in 1829, as a regular packet, this does not seem to have been the case.)

☛ The April 18 issue of the *Fayette Missouri Intelligencer* carried Bvt. Brig. Gen. Henry Atkinson's notice (of the same date) that about June 1 a detachment of 200 Sixth infantrymen, under Bvt. Maj. Bennet Riley, would leave Cantonment Leavenworth for the Santa Fe road and proceed to the Arkansas river for the protection of trading caravans bound for New Mexico. The notice concluded: "The detachment will halt at some position on the Arkansas, for the return of the caravans, till some time in October, when it will fall back upon the frontier." (The Sixth infantry was then stationed at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.)

Ref: Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40, 49, 50.

☛ At Cantonment Leavenworth, on May 15, a 15-gun salute greeted the steamboat *Diana*, arriving with Bvt. Maj. Bennet Riley and four companies of Sixth infantry; and also bringing some of the soldiers' families ("the boat swarmed with their wives and children; the deck was barricaded with beds and bedding . . .").

The *Diana* had made the voyage in record time—10 days—from Jefferson Barracks, Mo.

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 50-54; *KHQ*, v. 16, p. 287; [Philip St. G. Cooke's] "Journal" in *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 3, pp. 268-270; also Cooke's *Scenes and Adventures* . . . , pp. 40, 41.

☛ Five companies of the Third infantry left Cantonment Leavenworth in keel and mackinaw boats on May 16 for Jefferson Barracks. Next day, the rest of the Third (three companies) left that post on the *Diana*, for the lower river. (The *Diana* reached the Barracks on May 20; the "3 keels and 4 small boats" arrived on May 23.)

Ref: *Ibid.*, p. 270; *KHQ*, v. 16, pp. 288, 289; Young, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¶ The latter part of May, Marston G. Clark ("General Clark" in various records of the time), new subagent for the Kansa Indians, arrived at the Kansa Agency (which was to be his headquarters for the next five years). A native of Virginia, but resident of Indiana, Clark had been appointed in March, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Baronet Vasquez in August, 1828, and filled interim by Dunning D. McNair. John T. Irving, Jr., who met him in the fall of 1833, described Clark as a "tall, thin, soldier-like man, arrayed in an Indian hunting-shirt and an old fox-skin cap."

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 16, p. 288.

¶ Agent George Vashon (newly appointed to succeed Richard Graham, discharged) left St. Louis on June 4 for the mouth of the Kansas, to make an annuity payment to the Shawnee Indians. Probably he did not remain long at the Shawnee Agency (where Sub-agent Campbell resided), but in October he was back at "Indn Ag[enc]y, mouth of Kansas River," issuing (on the 21st) a trading license to Francis G. Chouteau; reporting (October 27) on the condition of the agency Indians, and forwarding (to William Clark) a treaty he had made with the Delawares on September 24, "at Council camp, on James's fork of White river, in the State of Missouri."

(Vashon served only briefly as agent to the Shawnees, Delawares, &c. of Missouri, Arkansas, and present Kansas. He left in mid-July, 1830, to become agent for the Western Cherokees.)

Ref: OIA, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 2, pp. 496, 497, 499; 21st Cong., 2d Sess., *House Ex. Doc. 41* (Serial 207); SIA, v. 29, p. 34.

¶ On June 11 the first military escort for Santa Fe traders—Bvt. Maj. Bennet Riley and 200 Sixth infantry troops—reached the traders' rendezvous at Round Grove (on the headwaters of Cedar creek, in present Johnson county). These soldiers were Companies A, B, F, and H, captained by William N. Wickliffe and Joseph Pentland. Among the junior officers was 2d Lt. Philip St. George Cooke, who, as a captain, in 1843, would lead a military escort on the same road.

Riley's expedition (with 20 heavily-laden wagons and four carts, drawn by *oxen*—an innovation on the Santa Fe trail; and a six-pounder, mule-drawn on a carriage) had left a camp across the Missouri from Cantonment Leavenworth on June 4; traveled down the river's *left* bank; and recrossed (on the 8th and 9th) near the Kaw's mouth, to head out on the prairie past the Shawnee Agency.

From June 12 to July 9, Riley's command marched—ahead of the traders—over the Santa Fe road, to the vicinity of Chouteau's Island (present Kearny county—*see* 1816).

Ref: [Cooke's] "Journal," *loc. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 271-273; Cooke's *Scenes and Adventures* . . . , pp. 41, 42; Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-85; *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 2, p. 288.

¶ Charles Bent (on his first journey to the southwest) was elected captain of the moderate-size Santa Fe caravan (about 70? men, and 37? wagons) which left Round Grove (*see* preceding entry) on June 12, following in the rear of the military escort. Among this company were William Bent, David and William Waldo, James L. Collins, and Milton E. Bryan. (The names of a good many others on this trip are known, also.) The caravan reached Council Grove on June 18; left there on the 20th; and proceeded without special incident to the Upper Crossing of the Arkansas (near Chouteau's Island), on July 9.

Ref: Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-85; Cooke's *Scenes and Adventures* . . . , pp. 42-46; William Waldo's "Recollections," *loc. cit.*, pp. 72, 73; *The Western Monitor*, Fayette, Mo., March 24, 1830 (for a list of more than 30 traders); and *see* Young's book, p. 184.

¶ MARRIED: Clement Lessert (interpreter at the Kansa Agency), and Julia Roy, on June 13, in Jackson county, Mo., by Andrew P. Patterson, J. P.

Ref: Marriage records, Jackson County, Mo. Lessert (Kansa interpreter from 1827 to 1834) died July 20, 1854, aged 58—*see* D. A. R., Kansas City, Mo., *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Missouri, 1826-1876* (Kansas City, Mo., c1934), p. 267.

¶ On July 10 the Santa Fe traders forded the Arkansas river (below Chouteau's Island, in present Kearny county) and camped on Mexican soil. Next day they took leave of the military escort and started across the sand hills for Santa Fe. They had traveled only six to nine miles when a party of about 50? Indians ambushed three men riding in advance—killing merchant Samuel Craig Lamme. (This incident presumably occurred in what is now Kearny county.) The traders, under Charles Bent's direction, corraled the wagons, dug rifle-pits, and got their small cannon into use. Nine volunteers rode back to the Arkansas for aid. Major Riley led his entire command into Mexican territory, rescued the traders from their predicament, and escorted them on through the sand hills. On July 15 Riley and the Sixth infantry battalion turned back to the Arkansas.

(The traders had a difficult journey to Santa Fe. Indians harassed them constantly, and the caravan, though augmented by a party of 120 Mexicans met on the road, might not have reached its destination except for aid from the west. Ewing Young and some 95 trappers from Santa Fe and Taos fought through the Indian lines and came to their rescue.)

Ref: Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-102, 140, 141; Waldo's "Recollections," *loc. cit.*, pp. 64, 72-77; [Cooke's] "Journal," *loc. cit.*, pp. 280-282. In the Sand Hills battle the traders thought the Indians numbered several hundred (Waldo "recollected" their number at from 500 to 2,000!). Cooke's journal suggests there were probably not more than 50 in the party which killed Lamme.

¶ Carrying dispatches and mail, Corporal Arter and Pvt. William Nation of the Sixth infantry, on July 12, left Cantonment Leavenworth on horseback for Major Riley's camp on the Arkansas. On July 23, when only "some 25 miles below" their destination, a small party of Indians (armed with bows and lances) wounded both men, took their horses and the mail. Though Nation was in poor condition, the two managed to travel perhaps 15 miles upriver. On August 10 Arter, alone, stumbled into Riley's camp. Forty soldiers with a cart went out and rescued Nation. He died on August 28, in present Kearny county; but the skirmish with the Indians *apparently* occurred in what is now Finney county.

Ref: [Cooke's] "Journal," *loc. cit.*, pp. 287, 288; Bennet Riley's report in *American State Papers: Military Affairs* v. 4, p. 279; Young, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

¶ A clash between Big Neck's band of Iowas, and some settlers in the Grand Chariton region of northern Missouri, in mid-July, created an Indian war scare. At Cantonment Leavenworth where Capt. Zalmon C. Palmer, and about 20 men of the Sixth infantry (all but six of them ill) composed the entire force to defend the inhabitants which included "eight or nine ladies and about twenty camp women." The ladies (and children?) "assembled every night in a large hospital which was surrounded by about 16 cannon." A request was sent to Liberty, Mo., for aid, and 40 men came to bolster the garrison.

Missouri's Gov. John Miller asked for troops from Jefferson Barracks (Mo.) to quell the "war." Bvt. Brig. Gen. Henry Leavenworth hastily organized an expedition of Sixth and Third infantrymen which proceeded to Cantonment Leavenworth on the steamboat *Crusader*. At that place, some Iowa, Sac, and Fox leaders met Leavenworth in council, in the fore part of August. They expressed regret for the actions of Big Neck's band and offered 19 chiefs and warriors as hostages (to insure surrender of the Iowas involved in the July affray). By August 19 Leavenworth, his command, and the 19 Iowas, aboard the *Crusader*, had reached St. Louis.

(Big Neck and nine others of his band were captured in September and taken to Jefferson Barracks in October. The hostages were sent home early in December.)

Ref: O. W. Pollock's *A Sketch of the Life of Mrs. Jane Foster Wheeler (Wallace)* (San Francisco, 1910), pp. 24, 25; Young, *op. cit.*, p. 62; *Western Monitor*, Fayette, Mo., August 29, 1829; *St. Louis Beacon*, December 20, 1830; *KHQ*, v. 16, pp. 294, 300, 302, 303.

¶ Returning from Mexican territory after aiding the Santa Fe-bound traders (*see* July 10 entry), Major Riley, on July 26, selected

a summer camp site for his command on the left bank of the Arkansas (in U. S. territory), opposite Chouteau's Island.

The days were uneventful till July 31, when four discharged soldiers, Simmons, Fry, Colvin, and Gordon, set out on foot for Missouri. About 10(?) miles downriver they met some 30 mounted, "friendly" Indians. George Gordon was killed while shaking hands with one of them. His more prudent companions had moved on, but they retaliated by shooting an Indian. Fortunately for the three besieged men, a hunting party from Riley's camp came along late in the day and rescued them. (Gordon's body was found, and buried, several days later. His death perhaps occurred in what is now eastern Kearny county. Cooke's journal says the men were "perhaps 18 miles" from Chouteau's Island; Riley's report says "not more than eight or ten miles.")

On the afternoon of August 3, several large parties of Indians made a raid on the stock. One of the guards, Pvt. Samuel Arrison, was severely wounded and died an hour or so later. The troops engaged the 300 to 400 Indians in a skirmish that lasted about 45 minutes. The raiders lost eight warriors, but succeeded in driving off 50 oxen and some 20 horses and mules, and they wounded other animals. (It was later reported by Mexican traders that these were Kiowas and Comanches.)

The morning of August 11 Capt. Joseph Pentland and 18 men, with six oxen and a wagon, left camp to bring in meat from three buffaloes which had been shot earlier in the day. A party of perhaps 150 mounted Indians swooped down on them. Bugler Matthew King, and the team and wagon, were abandoned by Pentland, who fled, followed by his men, to a sand bar refuge. King was killed and scalped. Riley sent additional troops and the Indians withdrew, leaving the wagon and team unharmed. (Pentland was later court-martialed for his action in this affair.)

There were no further Indian depredations; in fact, the Indians disappeared. On August 16 Riley moved camp four miles downriver. All of September was a quiet month, with good buffalo hunting for the soldiers. The week of September 21st the move back upstream to Chouteau's Island was begun—in anticipation of the arrival of the returning trading caravan, scheduled for not later than October 10.

Ref: [Cooke's] "Journal," *loc. cit.*, pp. 283-291; Riley's report, *loc. cit.*, p. 278; Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-136.

¶ In the Missouri-bound caravan which left Santa Fe about September 1, there were 96 traders, some well-to-do Spanish refugees

(10 men and six *women*), fewer than 30 wagons, and about 2,000 head of horses, mules, and jacks. Col. Jose Antonio Viscarra and a force of 200 men (some 75 Mexicans, 91 "hired whites," and 34 "hired Indians") provided escort all the way to the Arkansas. Also in the party was Santiago Abreu, a New Mexican official.

On October 6, at the Cimarron (in the Oklahoma Panhandle of today), three(?) of the escort party were killed when the Mexicans had a skirmish with a large band of Indians following a "friendly" parley. In saving Viscarra's life, one of the Pueblo Indians lost his own. With the traders' assistance, the Indians were driven off, and several were killed.

On October 11, still more than 20 miles from the Arkansas river, and already a day late for the Chouteau's Island rendezvous, the traders sent messengers to find Major Riley and inform him of their approach.

Ref: Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-144; Cooke's *Scenes and Adventures* . . . , pp. 83-85; Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* . . . (1844), v. 1, pp. 47, 48, has comment on early female travelers on the Santa Fe trail, but does not state what year the first woman went over that route.

¶ On September 23 the Rev. Isaac McCoy, his son Dr. Josephus McCoy, Gosa (an Ottawa Indian), and a hired hand arrived at the Kansa Agency. (This small party had left Fayette, Mo., on horseback, September 17 to make a "tour of exploration" at McCoy's own expense, in order "to acquire a more definite knowledge of a portion of the Indian territory . . ." in present Kansas.)

"We left the agency on the 29th," wrote McCoy, "having added to our company [the agent] General [Marston G.] Clark, White Plume [principal Kansa chief] . . . and Plume's son-in-law [Louis] Gunville [Gonville], a Frenchman, who, though he could speak very little English, was our only interpreter."

Two weeks later—on October 13th—they returned to the Kansa Agency. Where did these seven people travel during the two weeks of early October? Isaac McCoy was careful *not* to say! Beyond mention of the prairies he gave no geographical clue; and he did not state the direction of their journey.

Ref: Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* . . . (Washington, 1840), pp. 393, 394.

¶ At sunrise on October 11, after firing one shot from the cannon, Bvt. Maj. Bennet Riley and his Sixth infantry battalion left the camp near Chouteau's Island and headed homeward. But three miles downstream they halted upon learning that the caravan from Santa Fe was within a day's journey of them. (See September 1 entry.)

On the afternoon of the 12th the traders' caravan, and its large escorting party under Colonel Viscarra, reached, and forded the Ar-

kansas near Riley's camp. By evening over 500 persons (Mexicans, Spaniards, Indians of several tribes, Creoles, Frenchmen, and Americans), and an immense number of animals (Riley's oxen, and more than "2,000 horses, mules, [and] jacks, which kept up an incessant braying") were gathered together on the river's left bank—a few miles below Chouteau's Island (and within present Kearny county). Lieutenant Cooke wrote that it was "the strangest collection of men and animals that had perhaps ever met on a frontier of the United States."

The two days this congregation spent together were highlighted by exchanges of military and social courtesies, buffalo hunting, feats of horsemanship, Indian songs and rituals. Riley's Sixth infantry troops were displayed in review and drill for Colonel Viscarra; he, in turn, showed his troops in formation. Whereas the American officers could offer as festive menu only buffalo meat, salt pork, bread, raw onions, and "a tin cup of whiskey," served on a green blanket "tablecloth," Colonel Viscarra (on the evening of the 13th) provided an elaborate dinner including fried ham, "various kinds of cakes, and delightful chocolate; and . . . several kinds of Mexican wines"—all served on a low table set with silver.

Taking leave of each other on the morning of October 14, the Missouri-bound company (more than 300 persons; some 1,800? animals) started downriver; while Colonel Viscarra and his 200 men prepared to return to Santa Fe. Riley's battalion, the traders, and the Spanish refugees reached the Caches on October 17; took the dry "cut-off" towards the Great Bend; by October 23 were past that point and encamped on Cow creek. On the 25th the traders' caravan split up in several parties, each proceeding at its own pace. Riley and his battalion continued to follow the Santa Fe trail till November 5; then (somewhere in present Douglas county) they crossed the Wakarusa, and pursued a northward course 12 miles to the Kansas river; forded it (on the 5th and 6th) opposite the Kansa Agency (seven miles above present Lawrence). Lieutenant Cooke wrote: ". . . the log-houses there, were the first habitations of men we had seen for five months."

An hour was spent at the Agency, where they got a guide, and sent out an advance party to make a trail for the oxen (only 24 yoke were left) and wagons, across Jefferson and Leavenworth counties of today, to Cantonment Leavenworth. On the evening of November 8 the battalion "marched into garrison in Column of Companies, by field music"; and was received with a 15-gun salute. The Sixth infantrymen's post quarters were "the miserable huts and sheds left by the Third infantry the preceding May."

Ref: [Cooke's] "Journal," *loc. cit.*, pp. 293-300; Cooke's *Scenes and Adventures* . . . , pp. 84-92; Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-163.

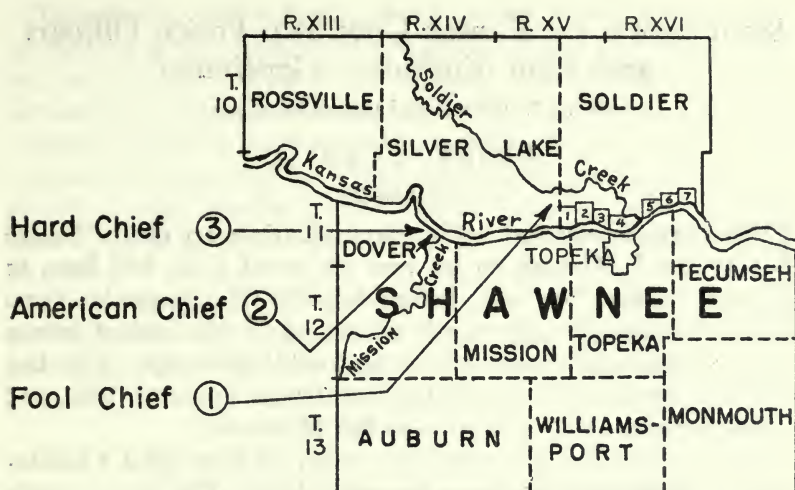
¶ In the autumn Frederick Chouteau (aged 20, youngest of Pierre Chouteau, Jr's., sons) opened a trading house for the Kansa Indians at Horseshoe Lake, on the south side of the Kansas (in what is now Douglas county), across the river and about a mile from the Kansa Agency (seven miles above present Lawrence). He remained at that location for over two years, moving in 1832 [not 1830 as printed in *KHC*, v. 8, p. 425] to a location higher up the Kansas, near the mouth of American Chief [Mission] creek. (*See, also*, under 1832.)

In 1829, it appears, the Kansa Indians abandoned their large town near the Big Blue-Kansas junction to form three separate villages some distance downstream. (*See next entry.*) It was Frederick Chouteau's intention, in 1831, to move from Horseshoe Lake upriver to the vicinity of the new Kansa towns. The annual license issued on October 10, 1831 (to the American Fur Company), specified that his trade would be at "A point between the two upper villages of the Kanzas, on the Kanzas river." However, in December young Chouteau was still at the site opposite the Agency. On December 20 his brother Francis G. Chouteau (in person) applied to Kansa Subagent M. G. Clark for permission for Frederick to continue at that place. Clark wrote Chouteau a letter that same day, referred to the license of October 10, and stated: ". . . you have been vending goods at your old stand for some days [disregarding the license] both to Indians and to whites thereby bringing down on this agency, large bodies of Indians to the great annoyance of the few whites at this place by killing their stock, crowding their houses and begging for provisions. . . . You had, I conceive, full time to have reached the point designated in the license and to have made your cabins, but the Kansas trade is unprofitable this year and you may think proper to abandon it this year. . . ."

Ref: *KHC*, v. 8, p. 425; 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. No. 104* (Serial 234); *SIA*, v. 6, p. 413 (M. G. Clark's letter of December 20, 1831). A biographical sketch of Frederick Chouteau on p. 45 of E. F. Heisler and D. M. Smith's *Atlas Map of Johnson County, Kansas* (Wyandott, 1874) states that his first wife was Nancy Logan, a [Shawnee] Indian whom he married in 1830, and that they had four children before her death in 1846.

¶ "It was apparently in 1829 that the Kansa abandoned their long-occupied 125-lodge village near the Big Blue-Kansas junction (*see* 1790-1791 annals entry) to move some 40 miles downstream and form three "permanent" towns—all west of present Topeka, within what is now Shawnee county. Discussing the Kansa, Agent John Dougherty commented, on January 30, 1830: "not until the last year, were they located in such manner as to enjoy any advantage from opening fields and cultivating the earth." His statement seems to imply a move in 1829. Unquestionably, the Kansa were well established in their new abodes by the end of 1830, in locations they were to occupy till 1847.

Fool Chief's village (700 to 800 people) was north of the Kansas river, and six miles west of the mouth of Heart river [Soldier creek].



From a Shawnee county map of 1874 which shows seven of the Kansa half-breed reserves.

On September 6, 1830, Isaac McCoy's surveying party was at work about four miles west of present Topeka, and McCoy noted in his journal: "About a mile and a half north of us between the [Soldier] creek and [the Kansas] river is the village of Chachhaa hogeree, *Prarie-village*. It contains about 50 houses, with say three families to the house." (Fool Chief's town was on the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 16, T. 11, R. 15 E., in present Menoken township.)

About seven miles to the west, and on the *south* side of the Kansas was *Hard Chief's village* (500 to 600 people), on high ground, but near the river. (His town was on the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28, T. 11, R. 14 E., in Dover township.)

American Chief's village (about 100 people), described as 20 dirt lodges of good size, was in the bottoms on the west side of American Chief [Mission] creek, about a mile and a half from the Kansas river, and about a mile below Hard Chief's town. (American Chief's town was, apparently, in Sec. 27 of T. 11, R. 14 E., in Dover township.)

Ref: 21st Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 110* (Serial 193), p. 10 (for Dougherty's statement); *KHQ*, v. 5, p. 353 (for McCoy); *KHC*, v. 9, p. 573 (for locations of the Kansa villages), v. 8, p. 425, and v. 9, p. 196 (for other data on the Kansa towns, according to Frederick Chouteau's recollections [1880]).

(Part Six Will Appear in the Summer, 1962, Issue.)

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Continued*

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL

SHORT, LUKE L.

(1854-1893)

THE story of Luke Short in Kansas is also the story of the "Dodge City war." Though by his own statement Luke had been in Dodge City some two years before the difficulties began his name appeared in the city papers only intermittently, the earliest known mention being nine months before the trouble broke out. That first news item appeared in the *Dodge City Times*, August 3, 1882, and has been reprinted in the section on Bat Masterson.

Luke next made the newspapers when he purchased Chalkley Beeson's interest in the Long Branch saloon. The *Ford County Globe*, February 6, 1883, carried the first of a series of notifications:

DISSOLUTION NOTICE.

This is to certify that C. M. Beeson, and W. H. Harris doing a saloon business in Dodge City, Kansas, under the firm name of Beeson & Harris, has this day been dissolved by mutual consent. Mr. Beeson selling his interest in the business to Luke Short who will continue the business with Mr. Harris and who assume all the liabilities of the late firm and collect all outstanding accounts due the same.

February 6th 1883.

C. M. BEESON

W. H. HARRIS.¹

Shortly after the transfer, Luke's new associate was nominated to run for mayor of Dodge City. At a voters' mass meeting in the court house on March 17, Harris was suggested for mayor and Pat Sughrue, T. J. Tate, Nelson Cary, Henry Koch, and Charles Dickerson for councilmen. Among Harris' supporters were former mayor James H. Kelley, Clerk of the District Court W. F. Petillon, and the *Ford County Globe*.²

A few days later, on March 19, a second and similar meeting named an opposition ticket backed by Nicholas B. Klaine's *Dodge City Times*, Mike Sutton, Former Rep. R. M. Wright, and Mayor A. B. Webster. This ticket included L. E. Deger for mayor and H. B. Bell, H. T. Drake, H. M. Beverley, George S. Emerson, and Henry Sturm for councilmen.³

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

NOTE: It is hoped eventually that these articles on Kansas cowtown officers and gun fighters, with additional information and an index, can be reprinted and offered for sale under one cover.

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The election was accompanied by much vilification, especially on the part of the *Times* which assured Dodgeites that should Harris be elected the town would become a snug harbor for all the robbers, drunks, con men, and general n'er do wells in the area. The *Globe* seemed content to let the election take whatever course it chose and instead spent most of its time condemning Editor Klaine for his vitriolic attacks. Perhaps Klaine's tactics paid off. When the votes were counted on April 3 Larry Deger had defeated Harris 214 to 143.⁴

Three weeks later the new city administration passed two ordinances which were to have a profound effect on both Luke Short and Dodge City. The first dealt with prostitution:

(Published April 26, 1883.)

ORDINANCE NO. 70.

AN ORDINANCE FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE AND
IMMORALITY WITHIN THE CITY OF DODGE CITY.

Be it ordained by the Mayor and Council of the City of Dodge City:

Section 1. Any person or persons who shall keep or maintain in this city a brothel, bawdy house, house of ill fame, or of assignation, shall upon conviction thereof be fined in a sum not less than Ten nor more than One Hundred Dollars.

Sec. 2. Any person whether male or female, being an inmate or resident of any brothel, bawdy house, or house of ill-fame in this city, shall upon conviction thereof be fined in a sum not less than Five nor more than Fifty Dollars.

Sec. 3. Any person or persons as defined in sections one and two of this ordinance found upon the streets or in any public place within the corporate limits of the city of Dodge City, for the purpose of plying or advertising her or their calling or business as defined in section one and two of this ordinance, shall upon conviction thereof be fined in a sum not less than Five nor more than Fifty Dollars.

Sec. 4. The general reputation of any such houses mentioned in the foregoing sections, or of its inmates and residents, shall be prima facie evidence of the character of such houses or persons.

Sec. 5. All ordinances or parts of ordinances inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.

Section 6. This ordinance shall take effect [and] be in force from and after its publication in the Dodge City Times.

Passed by the council April 23d, 1883,

Attest,

Approved April 23d, 1883.

L. C. HARTMAN, City Clerk.

L. E. DEGER, Mayor.

The other ordinance dealt with vagrancy:

(Published April 26, 1883.)

ORDINANCE NO. 71.

AN ORDINANCE TO DEFINE AND PUNISH VAGRANCY.

Be it ordained by the Mayor and Councilmen of the City of Dodge City.

Section 1. Any person who may be found loitering, loafing or wandering within the corporate limits of the city of Dodge City without any lawful vocation or visible means of support, shall be deemed guilty of vagrancy under this

ordinance, and may be fined in any sum not less than Ten nor more than One Hundred Dollars.

Sec. 2. Any person who may be found loitering around houses of ill-fame, gambling houses or places where liquors are sold or drank, without any visible means of support or lawful vocation, or shall be the keeper or inmate of any house of ill-fame or gambling house, or engaged in any unlawful calling whatever, shall be deemed guilty of vagrancy under this ordinance, and may be fined in any sum not less than Ten nor more than One Hundred Dollars.

Sec. 3. All ordinances or parts of ordinances inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.

Section 4. This ordinance shall be in force and effect on and after its publication once in the Dodge City Times.

Passed the council April 23d, 1883.

Attest:

L. C. HARTMAN, City Clerk.

Approved April 23d, 1883.

L. E. DEGER, Mayor.⁵

On Saturday night, April 28, two days after the ordinances became effective, arrests were made under their provisions. These arrests were of women ostensibly employed as singers in the Long Branch. No one seemed to question that their real occupation was prostitution; what caused the subsequent trouble was the apparent partiality in which the laws were enforced. The *Ford County Globe*, May 1, 1883, reported:

The annual revolutionary spirit was again exhibited on our streets yesterday. Wars and rumors of war, was the out-cry all along the line. The smouldering volcano broke forth on this day and wiped out the wicked and the ungodly, they having to flee from the wrath that was to come. It was a hot day for the vagrant, the gambler and the inmate of the house of ill fame, but they must yield to the majesty of the law or take the consequences. All day, armed groups of officials, both city and county, might have been seen by the least inquisitive, and the very determined look of their countenances indicated to the most confiding that they meant business, and business it was. In order to show why this determined stand was being made by the authorities, we must go back to the passage of sundry ordinances by the new city council, to which some exception was taken by those whom it seemed to press down upon most heavily the same being "an Ordinance for the Suppression of vice and Immorality within the city of Dodge" and another "to Define and Punish Vagrancy" passed April 23d 1883. It was not the ordinance itself that was objectionable to those it was calculated to reach but the partial manner of its enforcement as they think, which caused the trouble.

Saturday night the first arrest was made under the new ordinances, the same being that of three women in the long branch saloon. This was peaceably accomplished and without any resistance so far as we are enabled to learn. Yet, later in the night, Luke Short and L. C. Hartman met upon the street and paid their respective compliments to each other by exchanging shots, fortunately no one was hurt. Hartman, it seems, was a special who helped to make the arrests. Short was one of the partners of the saloon from which these women were taken. It was claimed by the proprietors that partiality was shown in arresting women in their house when two were allowed to remain in A. B.

Webster's saloon, one at Heinz & Kramer's, two at Nelson Cary's, and a whole herd of them at Bond & Nixon's dance hall, and if this is true, it would be most natural for them to think so and give expression to their feelings. No doubt they spoke unpleasant words toward our city government, that may have caused them to rise in their majesty and cause the arrest on yesterday of Luke Short, Thomas Lane, saloon keepers, and half dozen others known by the professional name of gamblers. All were hustled into the city bastille without any resistance on their part, and were allowed to languish there until the arrival of their choice of trains, both east and west come along, when they were invited to take passage without any further ceremony or explanation. The women who had been jugged Saturday, were all brought up before his honor Bobby Burns and he imposed a heavy fine on each one of them for their disregard of the law.

Thus the smouldering volcano has burst forth in all its fury, and has stricken terror to the hearts of the inhabitants that so closely surround it and causes one to reflect as to whether or not it will be followed up by a St. John cyclone and sweep away in its train the dispenser of ardent spirits, and thus give us another evidence of the moral and temperance element of our citizens and show that the righteous must and shall prevail in the city of Dodge.

On May 3, 1883, the *Times* told its version of the difficulty:

ENFORCING THE LAW.

The city has been under an intense commotion for several days, growing out of the ordinance in relation to the "Suppression of gambling and prostitution." On Saturday night an additional police force was put on, and the work of enforcement was commenced. Three prostitutes prettendly employed in Harris & Short's saloon, as "singers," but employed evidently to evade the ordinance in relation to prostitution, were arrested and put in the lock-up. This action engendered bitter feeling, and City Clerk Hartman who was on the police force, was afterward met by Luke Short, and his assassination attempted. Short fired two shots at Hartman, the latter replying with one shot, none of the shots taking effect. Short was arrested and placed under \$2,000 bonds. Mayor Deger, learning that a conspiracy had been formed, which had for its object the armed resistance to the enforcement of the law and consequent murder of some of our best citizens, organized a police force on Sunday, and on Monday the plan was carried out. Luke Short was the first one arrested and placed in the calaboose. Subsequently, five others were arrested, as follows: W. H. Bennett, a former New Mexico desperado, Dr. Niel, a Mobeetie gambler, Johnson Gallagher, a gambler, and L. A. Hyatt, a gambler. These men, Hyatt, being retained a couple of days, were given the "choice of trains," and on Tuesday, under orders of Mayor Deger, were sent out of town. Short, Lane and Gallagher went east, Bennett went west, and Niel went south.

As a precaution, about one hundred and fifty citizens were on watch Monday night, and a large police force is still held on duty night and day. Mayor Deger, the police force and the citizens of Dodge City are determined that the lawless element shall not thrive in this city. No half-way measures will be used in the suppression of either lawlessness or riot. Mayor Deger is a resolute, fearless and obstinate officer. All good and law abiding citizens are standing by him in this trying emergency.

It must be understood that no foolishness will be allowed in the conduct

of city affairs. Let the people employ their pursuits peacefully. And evildoers must stand the consequences of their lawless conduct.⁶

Of the three gamblers who boarded east bound trains, Tom Lane, at least, stopped in Topeka and sought legal counsel. The Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, May 4, 1883, reported his failure:

WILL SUE DODGE CITY.

MR. LANE, ONE OF THE MEN RUN OUT OF TOWN,
ON THE WAR PATH AGAINST THE CITY.

Mr. Lane, one of the men who were ordered out of Dodge City recently, was in town yesterday and applied to one of the prominent attorneys of the city to commence an action for damages against Dodge City. He claims that he has lived in Dodge since 1876, never had a law suit or any trouble except once when he paid a fine for fighting, and that there is no reason why he should not be allowed to remain there and conduct his business, saloon keeping, as before. He admits that two of the men were bad characters, and says that the others were forced to leave on account of the unfriendly feeling of the mayor toward them, resulting from the recent election. The attorney did not take the case, and Mr. Lane took the train for Dodge City in the afternoon. He says that he intends to stay there, if he can; that he will not fight a mob, but that if he has to go, he will sue the city.

On May 3, 1883, the *Commonwealth* had said:

A gentleman who knows the crowd that was driven out of Dodge City, as announced in our special dispatches yesterday, says that some of the men are now in this city. The number includes all classes of roughs, and it is possible that some of them were implicated in the burglaries here. It is also a fact that there are several Kansas City thieves in town.

Luke had established himself in Kansas City and was kept informed of the local situation by letters from friends in Dodge. Otto Mueller, a saloon owner, wrote on letterhead stationery bearing the name of W. H. Harris' Bank of Dodge City:

DODGE CITY, KAN., May 5th 1883

FRIEND LUKE:

I intended to write you before this, but did not know your address until informed by Myton this morning that a letter directed in care of "Marble Hall" [522 Main street, Kansas City, Mo.] would reach you.

The situation here in town is unchanged except so far as relates to public opinion, which is gradually but steadily changing in your favor. All your friends are at work with a determination which is bound to win in the end. Of course every movement must be made with the greatest care and caution, and as many are too timid to express themselves, it will naturally require time, before the organization that style themselves "the Vigilanters" will be convinced that they must give way to public opinion. And a beautiful lot of reformers they are, these vigilanters, under the leadership of their captain, Tom Nixon of Dance Hall fame. But no matter how slow, you may rest assured that this time will surely come. As the heat of passion subsides and men begin to look over the past more calmly, they can not help to see that a great wrong has

been committed and many are frank enough to admit that fact. Men of good standing in this community, against whom nothing can be said, but who take little interest in the management of public affairs, feel that they are not safe in the enjoyment of their life and property in a place where such outrages may be committed without the interference of the authorities, and feel more alarmed when they begin to realize the fact that the outrages here were committed not only without interference, but under the guidance of the municipal government, whose duty it should be to protect even those charged with the commission of a crime against violence.

Harris feels very downhearted, but is untiringly at work to set matters right. You can form no idea how your enemies watch him at every step and move. No train passes this station without being searched and watched by the Vigilanters for Contraband. Harris and his friends feel confident that Bob Wright on his return to town will take the lead against the suppression of further outrages, and I think also that he is the best man for it. Our best men in town will back him, and I think that before long the "*Reformers*" will be compelled to surrender and lay down their arms. Do not feel discouraged, but feel confident that Harris will spare no effort to have everything fixed right and that your friends will assist him all they can. I will write again and keep you advised as times goes on.

Yours very sincerely

OTTO MULLER.⁷

Luke wrote to Dodge City the same day. George Hoover, a wholesale liquor dealer and representative in the Kansas legislature, answered:

Dodge City, Kansas, May 7th 1883

MR. LUKE SHORT, Kans. City.

FRIEND LUKE.

In reply to your letter of 5th inst. I am sorry to say that the excitement is more intense now than ever and growing more so every day as the powers that be now in Dodge, are determined that what they have already done and what they propose to do, should any one else displease them shall stick. The Governor and all his power to the contrary notwithstanding and it would not be safe for Harris to appear in your petition in any shape for he was very nearly one of the selected ones. Nor for any of your friends to do so, for it would not only compel Harris to leave but also any who would appear in the matter should a petition *be signed* by the *few* who would have courage enough so to do, it would avail nothing for it would be immediately followed by one to the contrary—signed by numerous people which would make the one in your favor appear as nothing—for though *you have* many friends here and deserve them yet they would fear to sign a petition in your favor knowing that it would jeopardize themselves.

You know how a Governor acts. With the church element, the Railroad officials and part of the so called immoral element against you he would not interfere in the rulings of a city or mob ruling. My advice to you would be to either sell your interest in Dodge or else employ some one to look after your interests here and make up your mind to abandon Dodge at least during the

present administration. Much as I would like to see you at your own place I think this the only safe plan for both yourself and friends.

Very truly Yours

G. M. HOOVER.⁸

Short apparently sought legal assistance from Larned attorney Net Adams who wrote:

LARNED, KAS. May 8 1883

DEAR LUKE

Yours Just received on my return from Stafford. Pete Harding was here yesterday he says the Shot Gun brigade are still boarding the trains. They wont let any body stop Lon Hyat stoped here two days & went back but he could not get off Lane is at Cimeron & Corn H[ole]. Johnny [Johnson Gallagher] is also out they are still running things with a high hand. I shall go up there in few days Pete Harding says public opinion is growing against them fast there. I don't know exactly what I will do yet with them. Think strong of suing the whole out fit to gether with the W. U. Telegraph Co. & sue here, but dont know yet. I will be ready at any time to go and do anything I can for you. But if I were you I believe I would wait for a week or 10 days yet & let matters die down a little. They swear vengence against you as I understand it, and are watching everything to work Harris so I am informed. Let me hear from you again soon & will write more.

Respect

NELSON ADAMS

Hyat made a rucket over Harris when he was fined, but I think he is making terms, Dont Let the Devils Know that I furnish information

NET⁹

The Dodge City *Times*, May 10, 1883, expanded on the attempted return of Hyatt:

Two of the men who were ordered out of town last week returned here on Thursday night. Hyatt stepped off the train on the south side of the track, but was confronted with about a dozen pistols presented to him. He gladly returned to the car and too gladly pursued his journey west. Lane did not get off the train here but at Cimarron, twenty miles west, where he continues to hold forth. Lane would like to make terms and return to Dodge and behave like a good citizen, but we believe there is no disposition to accept his profered repentance and promises.

By this time things had progressed sufficiently for newspapers over the state and in the East to print recaps of the events. Depending on the source of information the papers were decidedly either pro Deger or pro Short. As an example, it is not difficult to determine the side on which the Kansas City (Mo.) *Evening Star*, May 9, 1883, had cast itself:

RUFFIANS REGIME.

A STARTLING STATE OF THINGS AT DODGE CITY.

The fact, that for the past ten days a very remarkable and startling state of affairs has existed at as well known a point as Dodge City, Kas., and that

all mention of them has been kept out of the press, the matter, in short, entirely suppressed from the outside world, is an excellent illustration of what western lawlessness can do and the state of society in some of the border towns. That trouble of a serious nature has existed there can be surmised from the fact that prominent Kansas City attorneys left to-day for Topeka to petition Gov. Click in the interest of Dodge City property owners that the town be placed under martial law.

The difficulty, which began only a little over a week ago, is but the culmination of a long standing feud between two elements of the place. Dodge City has long enjoyed the reputation of being a hard place. It was one of the few points in Kansas where saloons run openly and gambling is legitimized. The headquarters of the cowboys and cattle men of that vicinity, the majority of the institutions are designed for their especial selection.

Just before the last city election the mayor was a man named Webster, the proprietor of a dive, half saloon and the other half gambling house and variety hall. He was a representative of the tougher element of the sporting fraternity. The head of the other faction was W. H. Harris, of Harris & Short, proprietors of the Long Branch saloon. Harris represented the quieter and more reputable element and there was bitter feeling between the two.

At the last election Harris was beaten in the race for mayor by one Deger, Webster's candidate, and since then it has been conceded that it was only a matter of time when all of Harris's sympathizers would be driven out of the town. Thus Dodge has been hovering on the brink of trouble for a long time. About ten days ago it came. Mr. Short, who is Harris's partner, and a police officer, had a shooting affray. Neither were hurt, and the evidence showed that Short was fired on first. He was nevertheless placed under bonds, and next day thrown into jail. The marshal of Dodge, who made the arrest, is Jack Bridges, a well known character, who formerly lived here and traveled principally upon having "killed his man."

A short time later five gamblers were arrested, and also jailed. That night a vigilance committee was formed with Tom Nixon, the proprietor of one of the hardest dance halls that ever existed in the west, at the head. This crowd repaired to the jail and notified the prisoners that they must leave town next morning and that they would be given their choice of trains going east or west. Meantime the vigilantes took possession of the town.

The correspondent of the *Chicago Times* [Dodge City Attorney Harry E. Greden] and other leading papers were notified that they must not be permitted to send any telegrams in reference to the situation and a body of armed men watched the arrival of each train to see that there was no interference. A lawyer from Lamed, sent for by one of the prisoners was met by a vigilante who leveled a shot-gun at his head and told him not to stop. He passed on. Next morning the five gamblers were put on a westward bound train and Short left for Kansas City where he is at present.

The trouble has by no means yet abated. The place is practically in the hands of the "vigilantes" and the situation is more serious from the fact that the mayor is acting with them and it was he who notified the prisoners that they must go. The trains are still watched and armed men guard the town, while a list of others who will be ordered out has been prepared. Every source of reliable information indicates that Dodge is now in the hands of desperadoes, and that incident to the ejection of Short and the others, the lives

and property of citizens are by no means safe. For this reason martial law is being asked. That there will be trouble of a very serious character there, is anticipated.¹⁰

From Kansas City Luke went to Topeka to see the governor. The Topeka *Daily Capital*, May 11, 1883, reported:

A MAN FROM DODGE.

KANSAS CITY, May 10.—Luke Short, the most prominent of the six men who were expelled from Dodge, came to this city and left to-night for Topeka, where he intends to lay his case before Gov. Glick. He claims that the authorities had no right to expel him from town, but if he has violated any laws he should be permitted to remain there and answer the charges.

A PROMINENT CATTLE MAN ALSO.

A prominent cattle dealer who resides in Dodge City, said in an interview here to-night that he believed the whole trouble was simply a war upon the gamblers; that the citizens had determined to have a more orderly state of society, and had, therefore, compelled certain parties to leave. He said that they had a similar experience about three years ago, and that there is nothing especially remarkable in the present movement. The law cannot reach these cases, and consequently the people are obliged to take the law to a certain extent in their own hands.

As Luke visited Topeka, another Dodgeite was summoned there by Gov. George W. Glick. This man was W. F. Petillon, a prominent Democrat and clerk of the district court. The Dodge City *Times*, May 10, 1883, said:

W. F. Petillon has gone to Topeka in response to a telegram from the Governor. Some affairs of state need the diplomacy of statesmen. We suppose the Governor's intercession is desired on behalf of affairs in Dodge. The Governor will not interfere with our local laws and the manner of disposing of them. He might execute the State laws which would then render local laws of no use and no consequence.

In the capital city Luke presented Governor Glick with a petition which he had drawn up in Missouri. It was corroborated by Petillon:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY. HON. GEO. W. GLICK, GOVERNOR OF KANSAS:

The Petition of Luke L. Short, respectfully represents to your Excellency that he has resided at Dodge City Kansas for nearly two years; that he is a member of the firm of Harris and Short of said city, that his said partner is vice President of the Bank of Dodge City and has large business interests at said place.

Your Petitioner further states that during his said residence in Dodge City he has ever been in the peace of the state, and have not been charged with any crime until the 30th day of April 1883 when he was arrested charged with an assault upon one L. C. Hartman of said city; that he was entirely innocent of said charge, and gave bond in the sum of \$2000 to answer the same on Wednesday the [second] day of May, 1883. That he caused the said Hartman to be arrested on a charge of assaulting your petitioner and the

trial of said Hartman on said charge was set for hearing for Wednesday the 3rd day of May 1883.¹⁰

On Monday¹¹ the 2nd day of May 1883 your petitioner was again arrested but on what charge your petitioner was at the time and is now ignorant. That no warrant was read or shown to him on the occasion of this arrest, and your petitioner was denied bail. Doctor S. Galland of said city offering to Execute a bond for any amount for your petitioner's release, but said offer was refused; that about five oclock of the evening of said 2nd day of May and while your Petitioner was in custody in the calaboose a band of armed men led by Larry Deger, Mayor of said city came to said Calaboose and ordered your Petitioner to leave said city and never to return, and then and there threatened your petitioner with great personal danger, upon a refusal so to do, and also informed him that if he returned he would do so at his peril.

Your Petitioner then & there remonstrated with the said Deger and his followers, and averred that he was guilty of no crime against the law; that he was ready & willing to meet any and all charges in the courts, where he would satisfy all of his innocence, that he was under bond to appear to answer the charge, in this petition before mentioned, that he had a prosperous business in said city and that no reason existed for any such extraordinary proceeding, but the said Deger and followers would not listen to your petitioners remonstrances, and repeated their demands, that he must leave.

Your petitioner avers that by reason of the aforesaid threats, he was put in fear of his life, and he verily believes that had he remained in said city, he would have been murdered; that upon advice of friends he left said city the next morning; that while your petitioner was confined in the calaboose he was not allowed to see counsel, and when his regular counsel, Mr. Dryden attempted to see him, he was refused admittance, and his life was threatened if he further attempted to see your petitioner that after said Dryden was refused admittance to your Petitioner, Mr. Harris your Petitioners partner telegraphed to Nelson Adams Esq of Larned Kansas to come to said city to act as your Petitioners counsel, that when said Adams arrived at 11 o'clock of day, he was met, as your Petitioner is informed and believes by said Deger and his band of armed men and ordered not to stop, on pain of his life and said Adams returned to his home.

Your Petitioner further states that the leading parties of the band that came to said Calaboose and intimidated your petitioner were Larry Deger, Fred Singer, Thomas Nixon, A. B. Webster, Brick Bond, Bob Vanderburg, Jack Bridges, Clark Chipman, L. C. Hartman and these were followed by about twenty five others all being heavily armed,

that said Deger is Mayor. Fred Singer, under sheriff, Thomas Nixon, a proprietor of a Dance Hall in said city. A. B. Webster, proprietor of a saloon & gambling house, Brick Bond, a proprietor of a dance hall. Bob Vanderburg a special policeman. Jack Bridges, a Marshal. Clark Chipman, Assistant Marshal. L. C. Hartman special policeman.

Your petitioner further avers that the cause of said act of violence was not anything that your petitioner had done against the law, but arose from political differences and Business rivalry; that many of the best and most prominent business men of said city stand ready & willing to become personally responsible

to the state for your petitioners good behavior, that he has no desire to return to Said city for the purpose of violating the law, but simply for the purpose of protecting his business interests. But that the parties above mentioned threaten your petitioners life if he returns and still maintain the same attitude of defiance to the law, and unless your Excellency as conservator of the Public peace acts in the premise your Petitioner is wholly without remedy. Wherefore your petitioner humbly prays your Excellency to take such action as to your Excellency may seem appropriate, to protect your petitioner from the unlawful violence of the above mentioned parties—to the end that he may return and remain in safety—and prosecute his business holding himself amenable to all lawful action of the authorities—

STATE OF MISSOURI)
COUNTY OF JACKSON)

LUKE L. SHORT

Subscribed & sworn to before me, the undersigned Notary Public this 10th day of May 1883. My commission expires June 30th 1884—

CHRISTOPHER HOPE
Notary Public

W. F. PETILLON—Clerk of the District Court of Ford County Kansas, says that he has read the foregoing petition of Luke L. Short; that he is personally cognisant of the facts stated therein and that they are true, according to his best Knowledge information and belief.

W. F. PETILLON

STATE OF MISSOURI)
COUNTY OF JACKSON)

Subscribed and sworn to before me the undersigned Notary Public within and for said County and state this 10th day of May 1883. My Commission expires June 30th 1884.

CHRISTOPHER HOPE
Notary Public,¹²

Luke's visit with Governor Glick apparently had some results. Though no copy has been found, Glick must have telegraphed the sheriff of Ford county asking the situation in Dodge. Sheriff Hinkle's telegraphic answer was:

Received at Topeka, Kan. 6:30 pm.

May 11, 1883.

DATED DODGE CITY, Ks.

To HON. G. W. GLICK:

Mr. L. E. Deger our mayor has compelled several persons to leave the city for refusing to comply with the ordinances. No mob exists nor is there any reason to fear any violence as I am amply able to preserve the peace. I showed your message to Mr. Deger who requests me to say that the act of compelling the parties to leave the city was simply to avoid difficulty and disorders. Everything is as quiet here as in the capital of the state and should I find myself unable to preserve the present quiet will unhesitatingly ask your assistance.

Resp'y

GEO. T. HINKEL,
Sheriff ¹³

A few minutes later Glick received a similar telegram from Robert M. Wright and Richard J. Hardesty:

Received at Topeka, Kan. 6:35 pm

May 11, 1883.

DATED DODGE CITY, Ks.

To Gov. G. W. GLICK:

Our town and county never was more peaceable and quiet than it is at present notwithstanding all reports to the contrary.

R. M. WRIGHT

R. J. HARDESTY ¹⁴

Before the three Dodgeites had been heard from Governor Glick had alerted two companies of the Kansas National Guard, company H at Sterling and company K at Newton. The commanders of each company wired back that they were ready for immediate service.¹⁵

The receipt of Sheriff Hinkle's telegram, instead of placating Governor Glick, obviously incensed him. He replied:

GEO. T. HINKLE,

May 12th, 1883.

Sheriff Ford County,

Dodge City, Kansas.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your telegram to me of the 11th is at hand. I am glad to be assured by you that you are able to preserve the peace of Dodge City, and of your county. The accounts of the way things have been going on there are simply monstrous, and it requires that the disgrace that is being brought upon Dodge City, and the State of Kansas, by the conduct that is represented to have occurred there, should be wiped out. Your dispatch to me presents an extraordinary state of affairs, one that is outrageous upon its face. You tell me that the mayor has compelled several parties to leave the town for refusing to comply with the ordinances. Such a statement as that if true, simply shows that the mayor is unfit for his place, that he does not do his duty, and instead of occupying the position of peace maker, the man whose duty it is to see that the ordinances are enforced by legal process in the courts, starts out to head a mob to drive people away from their homes and their business.

It was the mayor's duty, if he did anything, to have appointed and sworn in special policemen to protect citizens, and if he could not do it, to have called upon you, or have called upon me, for assistance to aid him in executing his duties as mayor, and in preserving the peace of his town. It is represented to me by affidavits, and by statements, that the best men in Dodge City have been threatened with assassination, and with being driven away from their homes, if they raised their voices against the conduct of this mob. Now if this is true, it is your duty to call to your assistance a respectable number of people, sufficient to enforce the law, and protect every man in Dodge City, without any reference to who he is, or what his business is, and if he is charged with crime, or the violation of law, to see that he has a fair trial before a proper tribunal, and that the sentence of the law is executed by you or by the authorities, according to the command of the court.

It is also represented to me that this mob is in the habit of going to the trains armed, searching for people that may be coming to their homes, and

for the alleged purpose of driving any persons away, or threatening their lives, who may seek to return to their homes, and to their business. The further statement is also made to me that instead of its being disreputable characters that were driven away for the purpose of peace, it is simply a difficulty between saloon men and dance houses, and that the mayor of the town with his marshal has taken sides with one party against the other, to drive them out of business, and instead of the mayor enforcing the ordinances against lewd women visiting saloons, it is reported to me that he has called to his assistance those who were running dance houses with women in them, and entered saloons to drive out men who were keeping other saloons, and that he has set himself up as the judge as to who may violate the ordinances and who shall not, and that he proposes to permit certain parties to violate the ordinances of the city, while others are driven from their homes for violating ordinances, and not prosecuting others according to law for the violation of the ordinances.

I hope this is all untrue, and that the mayor has not been guilty of any such offenses. I cannot believe these statements of the mayor of Dodge City, as I believe him to be a clear-headed, honorable gentleman, and would not become a party to such transactions, or permit any such things to be done. I hope to learn from you that he has been wrongfully represented to me. His own good name, and the good name of the state, that is placed in his hands for protection, certainly would be sufficient inducement to him to see that such charges could not be truthfully made.

It is represented to me also that at this very time, and ever since this pretence of the mayor that he was trying to enforce two ordinances against women visiting saloons, that he has prohibited it only as to one saloon, made arrests in one case, and permitted that ordinance to be violated every day and every night, to his own personal knowledge, and that of the marshal and police officers of the city, by other men who were running saloons where women are permitted to visit, and sing and dance.

Now Mr. Sheriff, I desire to remind you that your duty as a public conservator of the peace, and also having authority over and above the mayor of Dodge City, if he fails to discharge his duties, that it is your duty to see that these things are not permitted and are not tolerated, and that no citizens shall be interfered with, that no citizen shall be driven away from his home, that the mayor of Dodge City shall not pick out men and say that the ordinances shall be enforced against them, and shall not be enforced against others.

It is also represented to me that citizens who have been driven away from home attempted to return to their homes, and were again driven off. Now if this state of affairs is to continue, you can see what disgrace it will bring upon your city, upon your county, and upon the state of Kansas. The demand is made upon me, and is coming to me from all parts of the state, that it is a disgrace that must be wiped out. It is also demanded and charged by parties who are now demanding the enforcement of the liquor law, that every saloon and dance house in Dodge City must be suppressed, and there is coming up almost a universal demand over the state, that it shall be done, if I have to station a company of troops in the city of Dodge, and close up every saloon, and every drinking place, and every dance house in that city.

I am also informed that one of your deputies was aiding in this mob. If this is so, Mr. Sheriff, your duty to yourself, your duty to the public, and your duty under the law, and even decency requires, that you shall dismiss that man

at once. If these things cannot be suppressed now, it is your duty also to notify the judge of your district of the state of affairs, that he may come there and invoke the judicial power of the state for the protection of those people.

I desire also to inform you that I expect you to see now that the peace of Dodge City is preserved, that the life and property of every individual there is fully protected, and that any person who desires to return to his home and to his business, must be protected by you, and must not be permitted to be molested while he is in the lawful discharge of his business, and conducting himself in a peaceable quiet manner. If anybody attempts to interfere, if they refuse to prefer legal charges in a proper court, and permit them to be tried in a proper manner, it is your duty to at once notify me, and I will see that those parties are taken charge of in a manner that will satisfy them that they must preserve the peace of the state, and behave themselves as good citizens.

I ask you in addition to this, that you call together the good citizens of Dodge City, lay this matter before them, ask them to come to your assistance, to aid you in preserving peace, and preserving order and the quietude of the town, and the consequent preservation of the good name and reputation of the state. This outrage has been heralded all over the United States, not only to the disgrace of your town, but to the whole state of Kansas. If they offer to furnish you assistance, and will respond to your call I will order a sufficient amount of arms and ammunition into your custody, so that you can have any assistance that you require.

If this is not sufficient, a company of troops will be at once ordered to Dodge City, and placed under your command and control, so that you shall have full authority and full power to preserve the peace and protect every individual that may be in the city. If this is not sufficient, proceedings will be commenced, for the purpose of at once installing officers in power who will discharge their duties honestly and faithfully to the public. Please give me a full careful and correct statement of the condition of affairs now, and say to me whether people who have been driven away will be permitted to return to their homes. Use the telegraph freely at my expense, as I have a train ready, and a company of troops ready to go to your city on a moment's notice.

I desire you also to read this letter to the mayor of Dodge City, and say to him that I invoke his assistance to aid you in preserving the peace of the town, and that I hope that the representations that have been made to me about his conduct are untrue. I should regret to hear or to know that the mayor of a city of the state of Kansas should so far forget the duties of the high office that he fills as to permit himself to become a party to a mob, and head anybody, or any crowd of individuals, in trampling upon the rights and privileges of other citizens. The good name of the city demands that it shall not be true, and the reputation of the state requires that no man occupying that position should be guilty of such conduct, or should permit such things to be tolerated in his city. Say to him in addition to this, if he cannot preserve the peace with the police force that he has, it is his duty to discharge every one of them, and appoint a new set of men who will act in preserving the peace, and if he cannot do this, to notify me, and I will furnish him with men who will act. I hope that all the difficulty has blown over, that there will be no more excitement or trouble over this matter.

I have assured parties who have written to me, and who have appealed to

me for protection and aid, that they might be permitted to return to their homes, that the sheriff of the county would see that they were protected. You have a right to call out all the men that you want to aid you in this, and in doing it, you will be simply doing your duty to the state, and maintaining the good name and reputation of your city, your county and the state of Kansas. The peace of the city is with you, Mr. Sheriff, and I expect it to be safe in your hands.

I am, my dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. W. GLICK

Governor of Kansas

GEO. T. HINKLE,
Sheriff Ford County,
Dodge City, Kansas.¹⁶

Even after this letter Sheriff Hinkle seemed not to understand that driving persons out of town rather than trying them for their crimes, whether real or imaginary, in the courts, was an unlawful act. His next telegram to Governor Glick still upheld the actions of the mayor:

Received at Topeka, Kan. 11:15 am

5/12 1883

DATED DODGE CITY, Ks.

TO HON. G. W. GLICK:

Your message recd this am. I will continue to do all in my power to preserve order in the community yet I cannot become responsible for the actions of any individual. Mr. Short's expulsion from the city is the direct result of his own action and the feeling of the people generally is very strong against him. The city is as quiet now as it has ever been but I fear that if Mr. Short returns trouble will ensue. It is evident that but one side of the matter that caused these men to leave [the] city has been presented to you and would respy suggest that you ask a statement of facts from prominent men of our city among whom I will name Hons. R. M. Wright; G. M. Hoover; J. T. Whitlaw, County Atty.; R. J. Hardesty; Geo. B. Cox; F. C. Zimmerman; N. B. Klaine and numerous others.

Respectfully

GEO. T. HINKLE
Sheriff ¹⁷

The Topeka *Commonwealth*, May 12, 1883, carried its regular daily resume of the troubles but also included an interview with an unnamed "gentleman from Dodge City":

"What about these women?" asked the reporter.

"They are a necessary evil. The cattle men who come to the town expect to meet them. They are not the wives of gamblers, as has been stated. They have never insulted a lady yet and only show themselves at night."

"D. M. Frost, who publishes a paper there [the *Ford County Globe*], was denouncing the mob, when he was threatened with death if he didn't keep still.

"Dr. Chateau [A. S. Chouteau], who is a friend of Short, went with him to the calaboose when he was arrested and while returning, was denouncing

Short's arrest without a complaint. Mayor Deager said afterwards that the bullet which was aimed at him was only stopped because he (Deager) put his thumb under the hammer of the pistol and prevented its discharge. When asked why he didn't arrest the man who was going to shoot, he replied: 'He was one of our party.'"

Luke and W. F. Petillon were interviewed in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, May 12, 1883:

THE MEN FROM DODGE.

THEIR MISSION TO TOPEKA, AND THEIR STORY OF THE TROUBLE—IT PUTS A VERY DIFFERENT FACE ON THE MATTER.

The editorial rooms of the CAPITAL were visited last evening by Mr. Luke Short, of Dodge City, and Mr. Petillon, district court clerk of Ford county, whose residence is the same. Mr. Short's name has appeared in the dispatches several times lately, as that of one of the persons expelled from Dodge City, in the interests of morality and good order. Learning that he was in Topeka yesterday, a reporter called at the Copeland, but finding him absent, left his card. In response he called during the evening, with Mr. Petillon, and jointly they gave a full statement of the controversy from their point of view, bringing forward a number of facts which have not been presented heretofore.

The narrative below is given substantially as drawn from these gentlemen in conversation, and solely on their authority, subject to all allowances which may be necessary, because of Mr. Short's personal interest in the matter.

THE SHORT AND PETILLON OF IT.

Mr. Short is a Texan, who came to Dodge some two years ago, and having been interested in the cattle business himself—as, indeed, he is still—he had an extensive acquaintance with other cattlemen and their employees. At Dodge he engaged in the saloon business with a man named Harris, and his friendly relations with the numerous Texans coming to Dodge has made Harris & Short's saloon the most popular and profitable one in the city. Mr. Webster, late mayor of Dodge City, is also a saloon keeper, and during his term of office removed from a more remote location to one next door to Harris & Short's "Long Branch," on Front street.

While Short's popularity has increased, that gentleman modestly stated, Webster's has declined, and finding it impracticable to secure his re-election to the mayoralty, Webster some weeks before election brought out Mr. Deger as a candidate, against whom Harris, Short's partner, was nominated. Deger had been a foreman for Lee & Reynolds, who are engaged in freighting, and had their place of business outside the city limits. About March 1st, however, it is said, Deger began boarding at the hotel in town, in order to gain a legal residence.

The night before election the construction trains of the Santa Fe railroad, manned by men residing at different places scattered along the line, were run into Dodge, and the next morning the men were all on hand, obtained control of the election board by filling vacancies under the forms of law, and voted. Thus Deger was elected by a majority of seventy-one in a poll of between 300 and 400 votes. Deger, Messrs. Short and Petillon declare, is a mere creature of Webster.

The saloons of Dodge City, these gentlemen say, are all of similar character including bars for drinking, gambling tables, and games of various kinds, arrangements for variety performances, or at least singing, and all employ women who are admittedly of loose character, and are provided with facilities for plying their business. In addition to the saloons there is a dance house, carried on by a man named Nixon, who was formerly an adherent of Harris, but shortly before election transferred his allegiance to the Deger-Webster party. His place is said to be of the lowest and vilest character.

Gambling is recognized and licensed by ordinances of the city, a "fine" of \$5 a month being collected on account of each table, and the same amount being levied on every dealer of any game. An attempt was made in the common council to raise the tax to \$12.50 a month, but it was not carried. An ordinance was passed, however, shortly after the accession of the new administration, prohibiting loose women from pursuing their solicitations in any public place.

As a collateral incident it is asserted the Webster-Deger party promised Nixon, in consideration of his support in the election, not only that he should be unmolested in his dance house business, but that he should have no competitor in the city.

The remainder of the article was merely a rehash of Luke's petition before Governor Glick, except that in the article Short claimed that "the sheriff of Ford county has taken no part in the matter. Mr. Short says that officer sent word to him that he (the sheriff) was a sufferer from heart disease and dared do nothing for fear excitement might prove fatal."¹⁸

On the afternoon of May 12 Luke had returned to Kansas City and Petillon was bound for Dodge bearing the governor's message to Sheriff Hinkle. The next day, Sunday, the governor received this telegram:

5/13 1883

Received at Topeka, Kan.

DATED DODGE CITY, Ks.

TO HON. G. W. GLICK:

Your letter to Sheriff has been laid before committee of citizens. We judge you have been badly misinformed. Send adjutant genl. or some proper person to investigate before you act. Answer.

GEO. T. HINKLE, Sheriff; G. M. HOOVER; R. M. WRIGHT; R. W. EVANS; M. R. DRAPER; J. COLLAR; HENRY STURM; GEO. B. COX; J. T. WHITELAW, Co. Atty.; P. G. REYNOLDS; FRED T. M. WENIE, City Atty.; M. S. CULVER, Chairman Dem. C. Com.¹⁹

Also on Sunday, May 13, 1883, a well-known ex-Kansan arrived in Kansas City to aid Luke Short. His name was Bat Masterson. The *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, May 15, 1883, reported:

The troubles at Dodge City are assuming serious proportions, and the governor must interfere very soon or a terrible tragedy will undoubtedly result. The men driven out may be men who are classed with the sporting fraternity,

but as far as known they are no worse than the men who have been chiefly instrumental in driving them out. But setting all question of comparative respectability aside, the whole affair resolves itself into a matter of victory for superior force, and not law. Luke Short, the chief of the band of men lately exiled, has his interests in the town, and claims he has been wronged. The vigilantes who drove him and his friends away assert that they are evil characters. Law has been set aside and force is the sole resort. Governor Glick has been attempting to preserve the peace, but so far has made no great progress. The sheriff acknowledges that he cannot protect the exiled men should they return, and so the matter stands at present.

Yesterday a new man arrived on the scene who is destined to play a part in a great tragedy. This man is Bat Masterson, ex-sheriff of Ford county, and one of the most dangerous men the West has ever produced. A few years ago he incurred the enmity of the same men who drove Short away, and he was exiled upon pain of death if he returned. His presence in Kansas City means just one thing, and that is he is going to visit Dodge City. Masterson precedes by twenty-four hours a few other pleasant gentlemen who are on their way to the tea party at Dodge. One of them is Wyatt Earp, the famous marshal of Dodge, another is Joe Lowe, otherwise known as "Rowdy Joe;" and still another is "Shotgun" Collins; but worse than all is another ex-citizen and officer of Dodge, the famous Doc Halliday.

A brief history of the careers of these gentlemen who will meet here tomorrow will explain the gravity of the situation. At the head is Bat Masterson. He is a young man who is credited with having killed one man for every year of his life. This may be exaggerated, but he is certainly entitled to a record of a dozen or more. He is a cool, brave man, pleasant in his manners, but terrible in a fight, and particularly dangerous to the ruling clique, which he hates bitterly. Doc. Halliday is another famous "killer." Among the desperate men of the West, he is looked upon with the respect born of awe, for he has killed in single combat no less than eight desperadoes. He was the chief character in the Earp war at Tombstone, where the celebrated brothers, aided by Halliday, broke up the terrible rustlers.

Wyatt Earp is equally famous in the cheerful business of depopulating the country. He has killed within our personal knowledge six men, and he is popularly accredited with relegating to the dust no less than ten of his fellow men. "Shot-Gun" Collins was a Wells, Fargo & Co. messenger, and obtained his name from the peculiar weapon he used, a sawed off shot gun. He has killed two men in Montana and two in Arizona, but beyond this his exploits are not known. Luke Short, the man for whom these men have rallied, is a noted man himself. He has killed several men and is utterly devoid of fear. There are others who will make up the party, but as yet they have not yet arrived.

This gathering means something, and it means exactly that these men are going to Dodge City. They have all good reason to go back. Masterson says he wants to see his old friends. Short wants to look after his business. Earp and Holliday, who are old deputy sheriffs of Dodge, also intend visiting friends, so they say, and Collins is going along to keep the others company. "Rowdy Joe," who has killed about ten men, and is the terror of Colorado, goes about for pleasure. Altogether, it is a very pleasant party. Their entrance into Dodge will mean that a desperate fight will take place. Governor Glick

has, up to the present time, failed to preserve order, and unless he takes some determined action within the next twenty-four hours, the men swear they will go to Dodge and protect themselves. For the good of the state of Kansas, it is hoped the governor will prevent violence.²⁰

When news of Bat's arrival at Kansas City, and the rumor of the proposed visit from these celebrated "dead-eye" gunslingers reached the ears of Sheriff Hinkle he frantically wired Governor Glick:

8 pm May 15, 1883

To HON. G. W. GLICK, Emp.[oria]:

Are parties coming with Short for the purpose of making trouble? Answer quick.

GEO. T. HINKLE.²¹

Whatever the governor's reply Hinkle must have misinterpreted it for he assumed he was directed to enlist a large posse with which to greet Short on his arrival. Glick, however, denied that this was his intention. The *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 16, 1883, did little to clear matters up:

DODGE CITY AGAIN.

A RUMOR OF INTERVENTION WHICH GOV. GLICK DENIES.

THE EVICTED IN CONSULTATION—THOUGHT THEY

PROPOSE TO RETURN—DISPOSITION OF THE

PEOPLE OF DODGE—TROUBLE AHEAD.

UNDER WHAT LAW?

DODGE CITY, May 15.—Much excitement exists here to-night. The sheriff has been ordered by Gov. Glick to arm forty men and have them at the train, to see that order is preserved on the arrival of Luke Short, who is supposed to be on his way here. Short is a prominent whisky and sporting man, and was, by the authorities, forced to leave the city. He comes, it is said, on the Governor's permission, and things this evening look threatening.

(Governor Glick returned from Emporia at 2 o'clock this morning. He says he sent no such orders as stated above, but positively declined to say what directions he had given asserting it was a private matter between himself and the sheriff.)

CONFERENCE IN KANSAS CITY.

KANSAS CITY, May 15.—An informal committee of three citizens of Dodge City arrived this evening to confer with Luke Short, who is here with Bat Masterson, one of his friends. The members are G. M. Hoover, banker and Representative in the Legislature; R. M. Wright, merchant; C. M. Beeson, a prominent cattle man. They were in consultation with Short and Masterson all the evening. Being interviewed afterward they were very reticent, saying they would remain over to-morrow and would then reach some conclusion. Their mission is to effect a settlement of the present difficulty if possible and they brought letters to Short from Sheriff Hinkle who it is understood, says if Short returns to Dodge he (the sheriff) and the mayor will endeavor to afford protection, but that the feeling is very strong and he would advise Short not to come. One of the committeemen said that if Short were to go

back he would probably be allowed to remain unmolested long enough to settle his business affairs, but if he should insist upon staying there there would most likely be trouble, and his life would be in danger. It is not known to-night whether Short intends to start to-morrow as intended, with his friends, who were to meet him at Topeka. The committeemen here are apparently urging him to give up the idea, or at least to wait a day or two in hopes of a peaceful settlement of the difficulties.

AN INTERVIEW WITH HIS EXCELLENCY.

EMPORIA, Ks., May 15.—A reporter of the Emporia daily *Republican* interviewed Gov. Glick, who was in this city this evening, in relation to the condition of affairs at Dodge City. The Governor said that the trouble there has grown out of a misapprehension in the management of local affairs, and the feeling between the parties has become so intensified that many of the citizens expect, not without cause, that serious trouble may follow. Governor Glick says the sheriff of that county, with whom he is in constant communication by telegraph, has ample means at his command with the aid of good citizens to preserve the peace. The Governor expressed the hope that he would not be called upon to interfere in the settlement of their local difficulties and thinks that by a judicious course on the part of the local authorities peace will be maintained.

Meanwhile Sheriff Hinkle organized a posse and met the train which he thought carried Luke Short and Bat Masterson. The *Dodge City Times*, May 17, 1883, said:

THE SHERIFF'S POSSE.

Under orders from Gov. Glick, Sheriff Hinkel organized a posse of 45 men Tuesday evening, and upon the arrival of the "Cannon Ball" train proceeded to the depot, under the assumption that Short and Masterson were on the train destined for Dodge City. Yesterday the Governor telegraphed the sheriff to keep his men in readiness, in case of necessity. We trust the Governor's nerves have become quieted by this time and that he is tired of the Dodge City business. The Governor will be a very sick man before many days.

Obviously the *Times* was Republican in sentiment.

On the day that Luke and Bat were expected to arrive in Dodge a group of citizens of that place prepared a statement which they sent to the Topeka *Daily Capital*. The statement exhibited the sentiments of the pro-Deger group and was published in the *Capital*, May 18, 1883:

A PLAIN STATEMENT

OF THE RECENT TROUBLES AT DODGE CITY, Ks.,
AS MADE BY THE OFFICIALS OF THAT CITY—SIMPLY
A DESIRE TO RID THEIR COMMUNITY OF
BLACKLEGS AND GAMBLERS.

DODGE CITY, Ks., May 15, 1883—There has been quite a commotion among the papers of Kansas City and Topeka, and while they would have the readers of their respective papers believe that Dodge is in the hands of a mob, and that the persons and property of peaceable citizens are in constant jeopardy

from destruction, the city itself and its inhabitants have been pursuing the even tenor of their way, the city assuming an aspect peaceable—if anything, more so than it has for years. The doings of violence to person and property by the mob in Dodge City is all being done in Kansas City and Topeka through the press, while in fact Dodge City itself, the scene of all the lawlessness as stated, is quiet, orderly and peaceable.

The occasion for what the press have called trouble is only a repetition of what is found to be necessary about every two years in Dodge City; that is, a clearing out of an element composed of bold, daring men of illegal profession who, from toleration by the respectable portion of the community, are allowed to gain a prestige found difficult to unseat. This element has to be banished, or else the respectable people have to be bulldozed and browbeat by a class of men without any vested interest or visible means of support, who should be allowed to remain in a decent community only by toleration, but who, instead, after gaining prestige, they undertake to dictate the government of the better class. This is the element which Dodge City has recently ordered out of town, an act which is done in every town of good government. The facts have been misunderstood, both to and by the press, and to the Governor. The true state of facts is about as follows:

At the last April election Deger and Harris ran for Mayor of the city. Harris is a gambler by profession and living in open adultery with a public prostitute, and the interest which he has in the town is merely of a local character. He could close up and settle his affairs in one day. The only real estate that he owns, and on which he pays taxes, is a small house in which he lives, and he would not own that only it is cheaper than for him to rent. It is worth about \$400. He is a man whose character no respectable man in the community in which he lives would vouch for. He is a man that is recognized by the decent people as a sympathizer, friend and shielder of the gambler, thug, confidence man and murderer, who may be arrested by the authorities for offenses against the law. He is always to be found on their bond for recognizance, no matter how glaring the deed or heinous the offense for which they stand charged.

This man was the candidate for mayor representing the gambling element. Deger, who is a man of irreproachable character and honesty, is an old resident of the town and represented the better class of people and as a matter of course, as was conceded, he was elected by a large majority, but it was very apparent that Harris felt very sore over his defeat. It was also very apparent that he and some of his followers who were mostly composed of gamblers were going to buck against everything the new administration done.

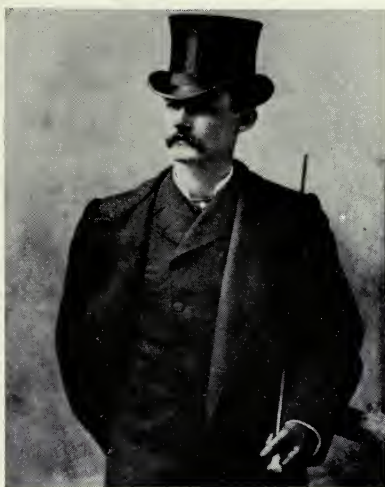
At the first meeting of the new administration it was found necessary to pass and revise certain ordinances and among them was one to prohibit women of lewd character from loitering around saloons and upon the streets. This ordinance was passed upon the application of a majority of the business men including the saloon men, of the town. They also passed another ordinance in regard to gamblers, which they considered stringent, and loudly denounced it, and upon the application of a committee representing the gamblers, the councilmen made concessions, and in fact, made all the concessions asked, in order to preserve peace and harmony. The ordinance in regard to women, went into effect two days before the concession was made by the councilmen.

The first day and night the women obeyed the ordinance without a single

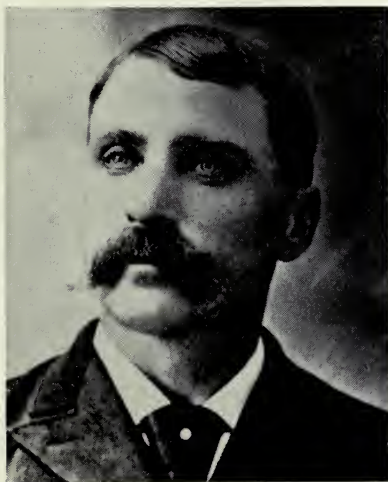
PRINCIPALS OF THE DODGE CITY "WAR"



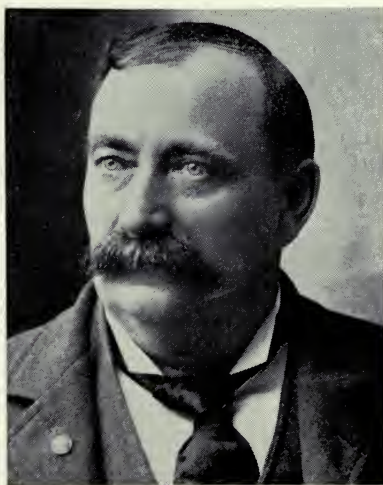
W. H. HARRIS, co-owner with Luke Short of the Long Branch saloon, was also vice-president of the Bank of Dodge City.



LUKE SHORT, epitome of frontier sartorial perfection and a gambler, was chief protagonist in the celebrated "war."



C. M. BEESON, one of three prominent Dodge Citians who attempted to effect a peaceful settlement by visiting Short in Kansas City.



MICHAEL W. SUTTON, an attorney and former friend of W. B. "Bat" Masterson, was in the camp of the opposition during the troubles.





THE DODGE CITY PEACE COMMISSION

Opposed by the governor, and the touted superior fire power of ousted Luke Short's recruited "army" of assorted gunslingers, Dodge City administration forces knuckled under, and Short was allowed to return. Before disbanding, several of the victorious "army" posed for a picture (June, 1883) which long has been labelled "The Dodge City Peace Commission."

The most widely used print (*upper left*) is that showing only seven members, though the photograph is obviously, and crudely, retouched.

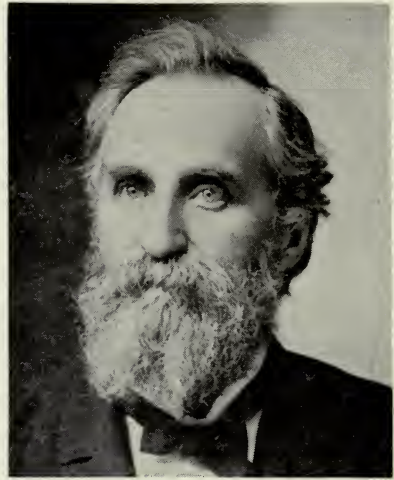
Another version (*left*) contains the correct number but William M. Tilghman, who was not the marshal in 1883 and who had little part in the trouble, has been substituted for W. F. Petillon.

The third and correct version (*above*, and see p. 100) shows Petillon at the right. The men have been identified as (back row, *from left*): W. H. Harris, Luke Short, W. B. Masterson, W. F. Petillon; (front row, *from left*): C. E. Bassett, Wyatt Earp, M. F. McLain (or McLane), Neil Brown.

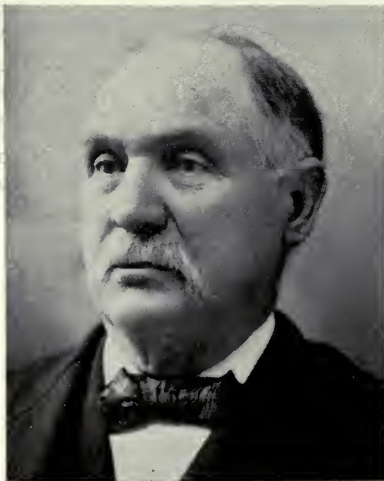
The Tilghman print, *courtesy* Oklahoma Historical Society. The Petillon photograph, *courtesy* Mrs. Merritt L. Beeson, Dodge City.



D. M. FROST, editor of the *Ford County Globe* which favored Short.



NICHOLAS B. KLAINE, antagonist of Short, and editor of the *Times*.



GEORGE WASHINGTON GLICK, ninth governor of the state of Kansas (1883-1885), and the first Democrat to hold that office. Governor Glick supported Gambler Luke Short's return to Dodge City, contending that due process of law—not "mob" rule—should prevail.



ADJ. GEN. THOMAS H. MOONLIGHT, Governor Glick's emissary to Dodge City. Traveling incognito, he sent word: "Meet me on train this evening. important. Will be on platform holding up newspaper." In that era whiskers obviously were insufficient identification.

exception, but the second night, which was the night of the concession made by the mayor and councilmen, Short, Harris, and another gambler, who were loud in their abuse of the ordinance, there being no women down town, went to a house of ill fame, and, according to their spoken words, forced two of the inmates down to their saloon to violate the ordinance, saying that they would pay the fines and costs assessed against the women. The women, after being tried and fined for the offense, had to pay their own fines and costs themselves, and when ordered to leave town, and after Short and Harris refused to pay their fines, as above stated, they made a statement, as above set forth, before the police judge, and since.

The officers, as was their duty, arrested the women and locked them up in the calaboose, for a violation of the city ordinance. After this arrest, Short, the partner of Harris, who is a gambler and an acknowledged hard character, attempted to assassinate L. C. Hartman, a special policeman who assisted in the arrest, by shooting at him from an obscure spot after night, which happened about as follows.

After making the arrest, Hartman walked down the principal street, and, when in front of a general store, which was closed, the front being dark, Hartman met Short and another gambler coming up the street. While passing by, Short and his companion, Short turned and drew a pistol and said, "There is one of the son's of -----; lets throw it into him," immediately firing two shots at Hartman from his six-shooter. Hartman, in his endeavor to turn upon Short, in some way fell to the ground. Short, supposing he had killed him, started to the saloon of one Tom Land, near by, but Hartman, immediately recovering himself, fired one shot at Short. Strange to say, neither of the shots fired took effect.

Short gave bonds in the sum of \$2,000 and afterwards filed a complaint against Hartman, stating that Hartman had fired the first shot, half a dozen of Short's confederates being ready to testify that he (Hartman) had done so, although there are several reliable business men who witnessed the affair, who will testify that Short fired the two first shots as above stated.

The women were locked up. Short and Harris were bound they should not remain locked up all night, as is customary with prisoners when locked up by city authorities. By intimidating some of the city officers by threats, etc., they affected their purpose. In all these proceedings, Short was the leader and spokesman. He is the man who but a few weeks ago pulled out his pistol and beat one of our most respectful citizens over the head until he was carried home on a stretcher, and his life was despaired of for several days. He is a man who, on several occasions, has picked up chairs and broke them over the heads of men who, as it happened, had done something in his place of business that displeased him. He is a man that killed his man, an old gray headed man 57 years old, in Tombstone, Arizona, and has been run out of that and other places by the respectable people. He is a man who was an intimate friend of such men as Jack McCarty, the notorious and well known three card monte and confidence man, known all through the west as being a hard character, and who recently died near this place after being convicted of highway robbery and about to receive his sentence of ten years.

Harris and Short keep a saloon that is a refuge and resort for all confidence men, thieves and gamblers that visit the town, and the statements that have been made in regard to the place kept by Webster are false. He is regarded as

a man of personal honor and integrity, and as mayor of the city, an office he held for two terms, he so conducted the affairs of the city, and made such vigorous war on bunko steerers, thugs and confidence men as to gain the gratitude and respect of every law abiding citizen of the place.

It was very apparent to the mayor and councilmen of the city that this element, with Harris and Short at their head, were going to violate, encourage, shield and protect all violators of the laws of the city, and that the probability was that there would be trouble in the city during the whole of their administration if they and their followers remained. Short had attempted to assassinate an officer in the discharge of his duty, had bulldozed the city officers, had violated, aided and abetted in the violation of the laws, and at a meeting of the mayor and a large number of citizens, including the council, it was, after due deliberation and consideration, determined to arrest Luke Short and his followers and let them leave town, and accordingly, he, with six other associates, were arrested on complaint and warrant and locked in the calaboose and precautions taken that they did not escape, and were allowed to leave town the next day. There was no mob violence used whatever. None but regular officers of the city made the arrest, but in case they were resisted there was sufficient force composed of armed citizens held in reserve to aid in the arrest.

It was afterwards ascertained by one of the parties arrested, who peached on the balance, that it was known by Short and party they were to be arrested, and as soon as the officers came to arrest them it was understood they were organized and that Short was to start the shooting and the balance of the party were to follow it up, but as stated by him "somebody weakened." The citizens understood the characters of the men they were dealing with and were prepared for them, and this was the occasion for the circulation that it was a mob. It was *bona fide* citizens armed to aid the officers if necessary in the enforcement of the laws.

Much of the confusion and misunderstanding regarding the situation in our city is due to the misrepresentations made to the Governor by one W. F. Petillon. Petillon is clerk of the district court and lives about six miles north of Dodge City on a claim of 160 acres. He had been recognized and identified as a Harris man some time before the election, which came about as follows: Jack McCarty had been arrested at this point for highway robbery, and had given bond for \$2,000. Harris, as one of the bondsmen, and Short, having no property against which execution could issue, got a citizen worth some real estate to sign the bond and he (Short) deposited the amount to secure the party so signing. The bond was given for McCarty's appearance to be tried. McCarty appeared and in the course of the trial it was evident that from the evidence McCarty would be convicted. After conviction and before sentence, McCarty escaped.

When his escape became known, the clerk, Petillon, was applied to for the bond, he being the proper custodian of the papers in the case. Upon application, he could not give it, as he did not know where it was. He had it at the last day of court and was the one seen to have it last. The bond was never found, although he acknowledged it was properly filed, and it is impossible to obliterate from the minds of a great many respectable people here that Petillon knew why and where that bond disappeared. It has been a noticeable feature that since that time Petillon has been a firm believer and supporter of the

Harris and Short combination. This is the kind of a man Governor Glick sends for, instead of sending for a proper representative as any reasonable, intelligent, discreet man should to investigate.

The condition of Dodge City at present is orderly and law-abiding, and the prospects are it will so continue if these men remain away. If they are allowed to remain it will be against the will and without the consent of a majority of the law-abiding citizens of this community, and if the Governor, through his interference and encouragement, forces these men back on us he does so at his peril, and if there is bloodshed as a result the responsibility will not rest entirely with the Governor, who, had he not given the matter encouragement, it would have passed unnoticed, as an occurrence frequent in all cities desirous of being law-abiding, and of good government.

Dated at Dodge City, Kansas, this 15th day of May, 1883.

L. E. DEGER, Mayor,

H. B. BELL,

H. T. DRAKE,

HENRY STURM,

GEORGE S. EMERSON,

H. M. BEVERLEY,

Councilmen of Dodge City.

R. E. BURNS, Police Judge,

N. B. KLAINE, City Treasurer.

L. C. HARTMAN, City Clerk.

C. E. CHIPMAN, Assistant Marshal.

FRED T. M. WENIE, City Attorney.

J. L. BRIDGES, City Marshal.

T. L. MCCARTY, City Physician.

On May 16, 1883, Luke and Bat returned to Topeka for another visit with the governor. The *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 17, reported their coming:

THE MEN FROM DODGE.

Luke Short, Bat Masterson and Mr. Petillon, of Dodge City, returned from their conference with friends at Kansas City yesterday, and are at the Copeland. Mr. Short is fully aware that his return to Dodge will be strongly objected to and that forcible means will be used to prevent his remaining any time. It is understood, however, that he intends soon to make an attempt.

That day, too, Sheriff Hinkle had learned that Short and Masterson would not make the attempt to re-enter Dodge via the Cannon Ball. At 1:20 A. M., May 16, 1883, this message arrived in Topeka:

TO HON. GEO. W. GLICK:

Agreeable to your message I was at train with fifty armed men. No one came. Shall I hold these men in readiness for use?

GEO. T. HINKLE.²²

Governor Glick's reply has not been preserved, but in answer to his own question Hinkle telegraphed this message to Topeka at 2:02 P. M. that same day:

TO HON. G. W. GLICK:

Will have men ready to act if occasion demands. If Short returns peaceably and alone I can protect him and will continue to do all in my power to preserve order in the community.

GEO. T. HINKLE
Sheriff.²³

By this time, after having heard from numerous parties on both sides, Governor Glick must have desired some first hand information from an objective reporter. Possibly that was the reason Kansas Adj. Gen. Thomas Moonlight turned up in Dodge City on May 16.²⁴ Whatever his motives, Glick did not escape further visits from "committees" from southwest Kansas. One such group, composed of 12 Dodgeites, boarded the eastbound Santa Fe on May 16 with the intention of setting the chief executive straight in the matter of the Dodge City troubles. The Dodge City *Times*, May 17, 1883, reported:

GONE TO SEE GLICK.

Twelve citizens left on the cannon ball train this morning for Topeka, where they will appear before His Excellency George Washington Glick, Governor of Kansas, and present him with the facts on the situation in Dodge City. The Governor's counsel has been such men as Petillon and Galland, and he has been woefully misinformed. His proffered protection to murderers has aroused indignation. The following are the names of the citizens who left for Topeka: R. J. Hardesty, G. S. Emerson, Elder Collins, R. E. Rice, S. A. Bullard, P. G. Reynolds, S. Mullendore, T. L. McCarty, Henry Sturm, A. Dienst, F. J. Durand, L. W. Jones. They will return tomorrow afternoon.²⁵

On May 18, 1883, the Topeka *Daily Capital* made an attempt to draw reason from confusion but only added to the complexity by including an interview with Luke:

MOONBEAMS ON DODGE.

THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL ON THE GROUND—

A COMMITTEE IN TOPEKA—

EXPRESSIONS FROM ALL SIDES.

It was learned yesterday that Governor Glick had commissioned Col. Tom Moonlight Minister Plenipotentiary to Ford county, to negotiate a treaty by which peace might be restored to that distracted community, and that Col. Moonlight was on the ground.

THE SHERIFF'S INSTRUCTIONS.

A reporter of the CAPITAL yesterday called Gov. Glick's attention to the statement in the dispatches of yesterday morning, that:

"The sheriff, Geo. T. Hinkle, by order of the Governor, met the 11 o'clock train with fifty armed men to protect Luke Short and his companion, who was understood to be the famous Bat Masterson, formerly sheriff of this county, but now outlawed by the city officials."

The Governor again said he had given the sheriff no such orders. He had simply reminded that officer that it was his (the sheriff's) duty to preserve the peace of the community; had advised the sheriff to call to his aid a sufficient number of good citizens and had assured the sheriff that he would be supported by the authority of the State if necessary.

In response to explicit inquiries Governor Glick said he had directed the sheriff in no respect whatever as to the details of his action or the means to

be taken to preserve the peace—had not advised him to organize and arm a posse of any specific number of men, and had only suggested particular watchfulness about the railroad station on the arrival of trains.

The Governor added a statement that as a result of his counsel, Mr. Short, and his immediate friends, had relinquished the idea of returning to Dodge City at present, and had pledged himself to use his influence to preserve peace and good order in that place.

MR. SHORT ADMITS IT.

At a later hour in the day Mr. Short was found at the Copeland, and on inquiry he admitted that he had given the pledge referred to by the Governor and would make no effort to return to Dodge City, at least at present.

The sheriff, Mr. Short said, had given assurance that ample protection would be afforded him in doing so. But Mr. Short continued, "If the sheriff is sincere in saying so, why has he not put some of my friends on his posse? Instead of doing that he has called to his assistance men known to be my bitterest enemies. I would as soon trust myself in the hands of the mob as to the protection of the sheriff's posse." Mr. Short said he was convinced that the plot for his assassination was perfected, and that his life would be the forfeit if he revisited Dodge City.

He said he expected to remain in Topeka some days yet, but was not questioned and made no statement in relation to his intentions for the future.

Mr. Short, who has been observed by many on the streets of Topeka during the last week, would hardly meet, in his personal appearance, the expectations of many who have heard and seen him described as a "red-handed desperado." He is a man rather under medium height, but well built and firmly knit, with nothing in his features or complexion to indicate irregular or dissipated habits. He is cleanly-shaved, excepting only a natty little moustasche, and is dressed with great care and in good style. He sports a magnificent diamond pin, and yesterday twirled between his fingers an elegant black walking stick with a gold head. The CAPITAL knows little of his past history, and can say nothing as to his claim to the reputation which has been given him, but there is no doubt he is able to take care of himself in almost any kind of a crowd.

A COMMITTEE FROM DODGE.

Mr. S. A. Bullard, J. F. Durand, R. E. Rice and other gentlemen, making a committee of twelve representative citizens of Dodge and Ford county, arrived in Topeka yesterday afternoon and called upon Gov. Glick. They had an extended conversation with him, as a result of which they became satisfied that peace would be maintained, and the interests of all good citizens protected. Mr. Short will be assured that he will be permitted to return to Dodge and remain there ten days for the purpose of closing his business. During that time he will be perfectly safe against molestation of any kind.

The gentlemen of the committee called at the CAPITAL office for the purpose of extending their thanks for the course it had taken in this matter, expressing their gratification at the fairness with which it had been discussed, and at the assistance it had given in reaching a satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

The Atchison *Globe* says: "F. C. Zimmerman, of Dodge City, one of the largest general merchants in the State, in a private letter to Howell, Jewett & Co., says; 'I suppose you have heard of the Dodge City trouble. The facts are that we are having no trouble at all, except that the decent people are driving out the bunko men, and disreputable citizens generally. These men complained

to Gov. Glick, who now wants to send them back under the protection of the militia. Every decent citizen of Dodge City is indignant at the Governor's action, who did not consult the respectable people about the matter, receiving his information entirely from the other side. Everything is peaceable and orderly here, and you may say as much to the newspapers."

The Topeka *Daily Kansas State Journal*, May 18, 1883, introduced a new angle when it reported that the Dodge City ladies might petition the governor for Luke's return:

A NICE YOUNG MAN.

Luke Short over whom all this Dodge City excitement and sensation has been created, don't look like a man that would be dangerous to let live in any community. In fact he is a regular dandy, quite handsome, and Dr. Galland says, a perfect ladies man. He dresses fashionably, is particular as to his appearance, and always takes pains to look as neat as possible. At Dodge City he associates with the very best element, and leads in almost every social event that is gotten up. Dr. Galland thinks the ladies will yet be heard from in Mr. Short's behalf. They have been very anxious to get up a petition among themselves to send the governor and it will probably come yet.

On the same day the Topeka *Daily Commonwealth* published a short interview with several of the 12 apostles out of Dodge City:

Col. Hardesty said that Dodge City was no more excited than Topeka; that the trouble exists chiefly in the newspapers outside. That he had friends on both sides; was an outsider so far as the row is concerned and didn't know much about it.

Meeting another member of the committee, a reporter said he had been informed that Sheriff Hinkle was disposed to preserve the peace and asked whether he would protect Short.

"No," said the committeeman, "Short has been ordered out of town by the citizens and will not be permitted to return."

"What are the charges against him?" asked the reporter.

"Disobeying the ordinances."

"Why don't you try him in the courts there and punish him?"

"Well, he is a bad man generally. He was ordered out of town a year ago, and allowed to return on promise of good behavior. But he is a bad man to have around, and we don't want him there, and won't have him. Our proceedings may not be just exactly according to law, but it's a custom, and he can't return."

"What will be done if he attempts to return?"

"He will be ordered to go on. If he does all will be well. If he resists the order and tries to come back there may be trouble. But I guess all will be peaceably settled."

Short said last night that he should go back; just when he don't know, nor how. If he don't have an escort he will have to go under cover, and can't tell how long it will take him to get there. If he persists in this intention, and carries it out there may be trouble yet, but Gov. Glick says he thinks all will be settled in a few days.

After hearing the committee of 12 from Dodge City, Governor Glick sent this letter to Sheriff George Hinkle:

May 17th 1883

GEO. T. HINKLE

Sheriff of Ford Co

Dr Sir

I understand from the Com-tee of gentlemen, who called on me today that you seem to have understood me as requiring you to protect Luke Short. My advice and directions to you should be understood as requiring you to keep the peace between all parties. I have not regarded Short in this trouble at all, but only the peace and quiet of Dodge City and I have wanted to aid you and support you in doing your duty as the chief peace officer in the county, and in the discharge of that duty I offered you assistance to be under your control and under your orders alone till you advised me that you could not preserve the peace and in that case I would give you more assistance. I am well pleased with your course and the vigilance as to which you have acted & I can assure you shall have my support in the good work that the Gentlemen say you have done and the faithful manner in which you have acted in the discharge of your duty.

Your obt svt

G. W. GLICK
Governor ²⁶

At this point the Santa Fe railroad, perhaps at the governor's suggestion, instructed its Dodge City representative that he owed it to his company to assume a position of strict neutrality:

ATCHISON, TOPEKA, & SANTA FE RAILROAD CO.
LAW DEPARTMENT.

GEORGE R. PECK,
General Solicitor

TOPEKA, KANSAS, May 17, 1883

HON GEO. W. GLICK
Governor

DEAR SIR—

I have sent telegram—copy enclosed—to Mr. Sutton at Dodge City. Shall be glad to do anything in my power to aid in restoring quiet.

Yours
G R PECK

The telegram Peck had sent to Mike Sutton read:

ATCHISON, TOPEKA, & SANTA FE RAILROAD CO.
LAW DEPARTMENT.

Telegram via R. R. Line

GEO. R. PECK,
General Solicitor.

TOPEKA, KANS., May 17, 1883

M. W. SUTTON
Dodge City,

Parties will not return to Dodge. Considering your relation to the Company and our large interests at Dodge City I think you should hold yourself aloof

from both parties to the existing troubles. Do everything you can to allay the excitement, and to prevent any hostility to the company.

GEO. R. PECK.²⁷

In the afternoon of May 17 Governor Glick began to receive telegraphic reports from Adjutant General Moonlight. Unfortunately the governor's answers have not been preserved. Moonlight's first wire arrived in Topeka at 2:25 P. M.:

To Gov. G. W. GLICK:

Luke Short to return alone to settle up private business within ten days or until official release of his bond for McCarty and his own bond in city case. All parties agree hereto.

THOMAS MOONLIGHT, Adj. Genl.

L. E. DEGER, Mayor

GEO. T. HINKLE, Sheriff

Five minutes later a second wire arrived:

To Gov. GLICK:

Short can be protected from public attack but not from private assault. The agreement gives safety. Is best for all concerned and only safe course.

THOS. H. MOONLIGHT.

The adjutant general sent his final wire which arrived in Topeka at 9:06 P. M., May 17:

To Gov. GEO. W. GLICK:

Short has a right to come to his home. There will be no open riot or assault. The sheriff will do his duty but cannot protect against private attack. This is Short's danger. The agreement secures Short publicly and privately. It will be the beginning for reconciliation & harmony will follow. I implore you to accept this beginning and time will do the rest. The Sheriff is earnest but should excitement continue he cannot secure men to do his bidding. I again implore you to advise Short to return on the agreement. All his friends say so and they ought to know. I leave for home in the morning unless you order otherwise. Let me know.

THOS. MOONLIGHT.²⁸

The *Ford County Globe*, May 22, 1883, had this to say about Moonlight's visit:

COL. THOMAS MOONLIGHT, the Adjutant General of the state, was in the city all day Thursday, to ferret out, if possible, the late trouble in our midst, and we believe on his return, will show to the governor that the people of our fair hamlet are not half so bad as they were represented to be through the press of the east. In fact, he made diligent search and inquiry, irrespective of persons, cliques and combinations, and impartially listened to all who had anything to relate concerning the trouble that is supposed to exist. We know not what his report may be, but we feel confident that he will do justice to our people and that he will in a great measure refute many of the very exaggerated reports that have been spread broadcast over the land, concerning the insurrection of our inhabitants. Justice is all we want and all our people can reasonably ask for.

On May 20, 1883, the Topeka *Commonwealth* published a letter from an anonymous Dodgeite refuting the statement published in the *Capital* on May 18 and signed by Mayor Deger and officials of Dodge City. Though much of the letter was merely a rehash of the pro-Short position, some new material was introduced:

THE FACTS IN THE DODGE CITY MATTER.

REPLY TO CAPITAL ARTICLE OF MAY 18th.

DODGE CITY, KAN., May 18, 1883.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH:

It is an old saying and a true one that "Might makes right," and judging by the affairs in Dodge City we almost believe the "old saw." The article in the Topeka Daily Capital of Friday, May 18th, signed by the mayor and city officers, but publicly fathered by A. B. Webster, misrepresents entirely the affairs in our city. All who live in Dodge City and know the ins and outs of its business know that this feud originated in the jealousy of Webster against the Long Branch saloon, kept by Harris & Short. Webster, as mayor, having shown himself tyrannical and overbearing, found it was impossible for himself to be re-elected. He therefore imported a man who lived outside of the city, an old friend of his from Hays City, named L. E. Deager. Deager is an old "compadre" of Webster's, and well understood for years to have been his tool. The election resulted in favor of Deager, owing to the importation of illegal railroad votes by M. W. Sutton, the railroad attorney, who is a nephew of Webster, assisted by Drake, a self-constituted guardian of railroad voters. . . . [The paper here repeated the alleged agreement between Deger and Bond & Nixon concerning the operation of dance halls and the difficulty between Short and Hartman.]

A delegation picked and chosen by the Webster faction, headed by Captain Deinse, their chosen judge at the late city election, and composed of twelve men are now visiting Governor Glick on free passes furnished by the A. T. & S. F. railroad, through M. W. Sutton, local attorney of said railroad company. Some of this committee don't live in or own a cents worth of property in the city. The cowardly attack on Mr. Harris in the said article has caused much comment. His large interests here in cattle and other business, his living here for seven years, his never having been charged with violating the law, make prominent citizens feel and say that the Capital article is venomous, scurrilous and unfair. It is stated in the Capital article that all his interests in Dodge City is a \$400 house. It is well known and of record in the state that he is vice-president of Dodge City Bank and owns one-fourth interest in the same. He is also the owner of one-half of the well-known C. O. D. brand of cattle [Chalkley Beeson owning the other portion] and holds a large stock of bonded whisky in Kentucky, and could not wind up his affairs in six months without sacrificing thousands of dollars. He represents more wealth than all the signers of the Capital article combined.

Mr. W. F. Petillon, who is stigmatized and abused as a shyster from Chicago, is a man who came here with his family on account of their health and this climate. He has been here about six years, and has spent more money here than he has made. He is an active, energetic and aggressive politician and believes what he believes very strong. A democrat-dyed in the wool and always takes a strong stand for his friends. This, of course, makes him enemies,

and bitter ones, and the cowardly charge of his malfeasance in office of destroying certain bonds in the McCarty case. The facts in the bond business are as follows: McCarty was found guilty by the jury on Friday evening, and on the same day a motion for a new trial was made by one of his attorneys, and a bond was also given by McCarty and approved by the judge, J. C. Strang, and the bond was kept by the judge and not filed with the clerk. On Monday the motion for a new trial was argued and overruled at 5:30 p.m. The court then adjourned until 7:30 p.m., at which time on the call of the case Mr. Gryden one of McCarty's attorneys, announced that he was unable to find McCarty. The court immediately took a recess, and deputy sheriffs were started to hunt McCarty.

Mr. Petillion during the recess of the court and while the hunt for McCarty was going on, happened in the office of M. W. Sutton, where he met Judge Strang and M. W. Sutton. Judge Strang asked him for the McCarty bond. Petillion told him he did not have the bond, and never had seen it. Then Judge Strang said, "I handed the bond to Sutton to-day, and he (Sutton) said, 'I threw it on your table while you were making out jurors' certificates and it fell at your elbow.'" Petillion then told them it was a careless trick, as he had not seen it. Judge Strang, Sutton and Petillion then went to the court house and searched for the bond and failed to find it. This is the statement of Petillion, which will be sworn to if necessary. . . .

A LOVER OF JUSTICE AND LAW.

In the *Daily Kansas State Journal*, Topeka, May 23, 1883, Luke himself replied to the same Topeka *Capital* article of May 18, and applied the tar brush with vigor:

SHOTS FROM SHORT.

TOPEKA, KAN., May 21, 1883.

Editor State Journal:

I hope you will be obliging enough to give me sufficient space in your valuable paper to refute the malicious statement contained in the Topeka *Capital* of the 18th inst., under the caption of "Plain Statement" coming from Dodge City. It must be apparent to all those who have any direct knowledge of the circumstances that brought about the recent state of affairs at Dodge, that the article referred to was written for the purpose of justifying the parties who participated in running me away from the town; as not one word of truth appeared in the statement, which was unquestionably written by an adviser and principal director of the mob, and who is too cowardly to openly identify himself with them.

I simply refer to Mike Sutton, he who has been playing the part of "Judas" in this matter all through. He endeavors in his carefully prepared statement, which he had signed by all the city officials, to show that it was a fight between the city authorities on one side and the gamblers thugs, thieves and prostitutes on the other, which I denounce as a base, malicious falsehood, at least so far as my side of the question is concerned. Myself and Harris have never championed the cause of thieves, thugs and prostitutes since we had a business in Dodge City, which is more than can be said of those who have opposed us. They have published the lying article for the purpose of blackening the reputation of Mr. Harris and myself, in order to vindicate their own cowardly and

dastardly acts. They speak of Harris not having any interest in the city, and that he only owns one little house, worth \$400. To this I will say that he bought this insignificant little house and paid for it and did not obtain it as the writer of the "Plain Statement" obtained his, by jobbing and swearing a poor unfortunate creature into the penitentiary, as he did, in order to get possession of his little homestead.

They speak of Mr. Harris being a man without character and that he is living in an open state of adultery with a prostitute, which is an infamous lie, and I will venture to say that there is not a man in Kansas who knows Mr. Harris but will say that he is an honest and an honorable man, and a good citizen, and can buy and sell every man whose name appears on that official list. As to his living with a prostitute, I consider that a rather broad assertion to make and consider such things his own private affairs and no body's business. I can say however that if the accusation is true it is nothing more than what Sutton, Webster, Diger, Chipman, Hartman, and others of that outfit have done in the past, and are doing at present. Webster abandoned his family for a prostitute, Nixon did the same, and there are only those who cannot get a prostitute to live with, who have not got them, and it is a conceded fact by all who have any knowledge of Dodge, that all the thieves, thugs and prostitutes who have been in the town in the past two years have been directly and indirectly connected with the city government. These assertions I am prepared to prove in any court of justice in the world.

They go further on and state that I am a desperate character, and that not long since I murdered an old grey haired man in Arizona and that I have been run out of nearly every country I have lived in. Which is as infamous as it is false, as there is not a civilized country under the face of the sun that I can not go to with perfect safety, excepting Dodge City, and there is no law to prevent me from living there, nothing but a band of cut throats and midnight assassins, who have banded together for the purpose of keeping all those out of the place who are liable to oppose them at the polls, or offer them opposition in their business.

As to my murdering an old grey haired man in Arizona I was tried in a court of justice for any offence I committed there, and the records will show that it was a fair and impartial trial, and that I was honorably acquitted. The delegation who came here to see the governor, and who claim to represent the moral element of the town, was principally composed of tramps, who do not own a single foot of ground in the country, and never have, and I want to specially refer to the two leading spirits and spokesmen of said delegation, the Rev. Mr. Collins, and Capt. Dinst,—one an itinerant preacher, who by his peregrinations, through charitably disposed committees manages to eke out a miserable existence, and who, on the eve of the last municipal election at Dodge, sold the influence of his congregation and his own, for fifteen dollars; the other, Cap. Dinst, it is positively asserted by the most reputable citizens of Dodge City, was engaged in robbing a safe at the flouring mills owned and operated by one H. F. May. He is a man wholly without character, and cannot get employment of any description with any responsible parties.

They further maliciously and unjustly assail Mr. Pettilon because he had the temerity to visit the governor in my behalf, and in behalf of justice. They accuse him of stealing a bond, which he did not do, and which he is prepared to prove he did not do, as he never had the bond in his possession. It is a

fine accusation for such a man as Mike Sutton to make against such a man as Pettilon.

There is not a responsible man in Ford county that believes Pettilon stole the bond, but there is not an honest man in the county but believes Sutton would steal a bond or anything else that he could get his hands on, and they base their opinions on his past record as an official of the county. Every inhabitant of the county knows that not over eight months ago he resigned his position as county attorney in order to accept a two thousand dollar fee to defend one of the most cold blooded murderers that ever appeared in any court of justice. He knew that by resigning he could defeat the ends of justice, as the man whom he had appointed in his stead was wholly incompetent to conduct a successful prosecution and the result was an acquittal and a red-handed murderer turned loose upon the world to repeat his crime. This man was not run out of town or molested by the city officials, who are so loud in their vaunted pretensions of justice.

They state in their article that I attempted to assassinate one of their policemen, and that I fired at him from a place of concealment, which shows it to be a lie on its face, for had I done as they say I did, it would be an easy matter for them to convict me, and they would only be too glad to do so had they the evidence to warrant a conviction, but on the contrary they knew their policeman attempted to assassinate me and I had him arrested for it and had plenty of evidence to have convicted him, but before it came to trial they had organized a vigilance committee and made me leave, so that I could not appear against him. And this is what they call justice and the law abiding element clearing out the lawless characters. If it be true, it is a sad commentary on Kansas justice and those who are supposed to execute the law.

I am invited to return on a pledge given me that I can remain for a period of ten days, and that during that time I will not be in imminent danger of being murdered, but that should I persist in remaining after the allotted time, they then would not be responsible for any personal safety. A very liberal concession on their part I must admit, but I will say for their benefit that I have no desire to accept their terms. I would be afraid of meeting with the fate General Canby met with when he accepted the invitation extended to him by the Modocs. I would sooner trust myself in the hands of a band of wild Apache Indians than trust to the protection of such men as Webster, Nixon and Diger, with Mike Sutton, in the background to perfect the plans of my assassination. When I return, it will be when they least expect me, and it will not be in answer to any invitation which they may extend to me.

In conclusion I will say that they may be able to keep me out of Dodge City by brute force without the sanction of law, but there are many towns in America that I will keep them out of, or make them show a valid cause for remaining.

Respectfully,

LUKE SHORT.

After both sides had relieved themselves verbally, the maneuvering began. On May 21 Bat headed west but went beyond Dodge. Luke traveled to Caldwell. The *Dodge City Times*, May 24, 1883, told of Bat's passing:

Bat Masterson went west Monday night, passing this city on the cannon

ball train. Some of the citizens of this place went on the train but they could not gain access to the sleeping car which contained the redoubtable Bat. No one in Dodge wants to offer Bat any harm so long as Bat offers no harm himself. The country has been anticipating some fearful things judging from the promulgation of the proposed movement of a notorious gang. But the denouement is just as the people of Dodge City anticipated. We suppose however, few people believed the statements in the Kansas City papers about the proposed action of the gang. And the chief shall flee unto the mountains of Colorado, where the lion roareth and the whangdoodle mourneth for its first born.

Of Luke the Caldwell *Journal*, May 24, 1883, said:

Luke Short, about whom the fuss at Dodge City was kicked up, arrived here on Monday. Mr. Short is a quiet, unassuming man, with nothing about him to lead one to believe him the desperado the Dodge mob picture him to be. He says the whole trouble arose from business jealousy on the part of Webster, Nixon and others. As to his plans he has nothing to say, but he is determined to take all legal measures possible to secure his rights.

For the next few days, until May 31, 1883, the Dodge City troubles simmered down. Then, at 3:00 P. M., this telegram heralded the re-eruption:

TO GEO. W. GLICK, GOVt.

Can you send Col. Moonlight here tomorrow with power to organize company of militia? I have ample reasons for asking this which I will give to Col. Moonlight so that he can communicate them to you.

GEO. T. HINKLE,
Sheriff.²⁹

The "ample reasons" were probably embodied in the person of the celebrated individual mentioned in this *Ford County Globe* item of June 5, 1883:

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.

The Topeka *Daily Commonwealth* of June 5, 1883, reported the impending battle:

MORE TROUBLE AT DODGE CITY.
SHORT AND HIS FRIENDS ORGANIZING FOR A
RAID ON THE TOWN—THE LIVELY TIMES
COMING IF THE PLANS ARE SUCCESSFUL.

It appears that there is to be more trouble at Dodge City and less talk than has been indulged in, if the news from there and the indications mean anything. The military organization under the name of the Glick Guards, which was effected a few days ago, is largely composed of men who are friends of Luke Short or enemies of the city administration of Dodge, and so great has been the objection since it was organized that Adjutant General Moonlight has issued an order suspending the organization for the present.

From a gentleman who came in from the west yesterday, we learn that an arrangement has been made for Short's return to Dodge, but that he cannot return peaceably, no matter how willing some of his old enemies may be. He does not trust them himself and will not come back without his friends, and so surely as the two forces meet there will be blood shed. Such is the opinion of men in Dodge and out of that town who should know whereof they speak. All the parties are tired of the life they are forced to lead on account of this trouble and want to end it. When they leave their places of business it is with six-shooters strapped upon them and eyes on the lookout for a hidden enemy. One man prominent in the late trouble said, "I can stand it no longer. It worries the life out of me, and I'm going to sell out and leave."

The rumor that Short intends to return with friends is confirmed by the following, which comes direct to THE COMMONWEALTH, and is reliable.

SHORT'S SCHEME.

—June 2

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH:

Masterson, Wyatt Earp, and all the sports in the country, held a meeting at Silverton and decided to take Dodge City by storm. Short is at Caldwell but will meet the party at Cimarron, 18 miles west of Dodge, perhaps Sunday night or soon after. Horses will be taken at Cimarron and the whole party will rendezvous at Mr. Oliver's, two miles west of Dodge. Doc Holliday and Wyatt Earp are now secretly in Dodge City, watching matters. When the time for action comes a telegram will reach them worded as follows: "Your tools will be there at _____," giving the time agreed upon. The plan is to drive all of Short's enemies out of Dodge at the mouth of the revolvers.

This information is correct. I have it from undoubted authority, and h--l will be to pay at Dodge City soon. I think Gov. Glick has an intimation of it, but am not certain. . . . I write this so you will know all about it when the time comes, and can write intelligently."

As if to still further confirm the report, we learn that Earp and other friends of Short were registered at Kinsley on Sunday at the eating house. They probably left Dodge for further consultation with friends and are preparing to carry out the plan outlined above.

LATER.

About 9 o'clock last night it was rumored on the street that a fight had already begun at Dodge City and that Gov. Glick had information of it. A reporter called upon the Governor at once and found him in bed, unable to see visitors. Adjutant-General Moonlight was in the adjoining room and said no information had been received. He stated that the city and county authorities were amply able to take care of themselves and had not asked for assistance. The state could not interfere until they made application for help or said they were unable to preserve the peace. The sheriff has the custody of the arms belonging to the state and under ordinary circumstances ought to be able to take care of the city.

General Moonlight said he had no doubt there would be a fight between the factions, but that he had no information concerning any at that time.

The difficulty in obtaining news from Dodge is well known to our readers, but we hope to keep them posted and shall endeavor to do so.

The adjutant general, too, by this time was becoming a bit disgusted. In a letter to the sheriff he said:

June 4th, 1883.

MR. GEO. T. HINKLE,
Sheriff Dodge City,
Kans,

MY DEAR SIR;

Upon a petition (which was embraced in Special Orders No. 7) signed by 42 of your citizens, and a dispatch from yourself of May 31st, a company of militia was ordered organized, and a copy of the order furnished you. The Governor believed that it was your desire, and the desire of the good people of Dodge City, to possess themselves of a military organization for frontier protection, and as the arms and accoutrements were in Dodge City, the company was ordered mustered into service by Major [Harry E.] Gryden. Today a dispatch was received from Mayor Diger, Geo. M. Hoover, R. M. Wright and Fred Singer acting Sheriff, to stop organization of company on account of excitement.

The Governor desires the peace and quiet of Dodge City and the protection of all her citizens, and cannot understand the various changes of opinion and action among the citizens, as some who signed the petition sign the dispatch. However believing that it might be better to defer the organization for the present, the Governor so telegraphed you, as also Major Gryden, and Mayor Diger and others who signed the dispatch. I have always believed that you could convince the citizens of your county that they were injuring themselves by the bickerings and dissensions that have lately taken place, and have also believed that you could keep and maintain the peace; and the Governor desires me to convey to you this faith and trust in you, and that the arms and accoutrements of the State will be safe in your hands—

The cattle men will soon begin to throng your streets, and all your citizens are interested in the coming— It is your harvest of business and affects every citizen, and I fear unless the spirit of fair play prevails it will work to your business injury. Every man has his friends be he great or small, and I cannot but believe that there will be trouble unless the spirit of proscription ceases to prevail in the council of the city government— I write to you frankly knowing your people and knowing the elements engaged on both sides and being particularly desirous for the welfare and success of Mayor Diger, knowing his people as I have for a long time, I ask you to convey my feelings to Mayor Diger in this respect and wish upon you all a conciliatory policy for a house divided cannot well stand.

I am with much respect

THOMAS MOONLIGHT
Adjutant General.³⁰

The *Commonwealth* was correct in stating that Earp and Luke Short had met in Kinsley on Sunday, June 3. The *Kinsley Graphic*, June 7, 1883, reported they had been in town:

Luke Short, Earp and Petillon were in Kinsley last Sunday and took the afternoon train for Dodge City, where they expect to be joined by Shotgun Collins and Bat Masterson. Unless the authorities of Dodge back down we may expect some lively news from that city this week.

The big news broke and the *Ford County Globe*, June 5, 1883, prophetically sized it up with this simple statement: "Luke Short returned to the city Sunday afternoon, and we believe he has come to stay."

By the evening of the day following Luke's return, Sheriff Hinkle despaired of peace settling over the town. In a telegram to Governor Click he said:

I think it impossible to prevent a fight but we will try to arrest and lock up every one engaged in it. We stopped all gambling today. An agreement was made allowing Luke Short to return to Dodge City on condition he would send his fighters out of town which he has failed to do. I think a fight imminent.³¹

A special dispatch to the *Leavenworth Times*, June 5, 1883, explained Hinkle's reference to the prohibition on gambling:

GOING FOR GAMBLERS.

A POSITIVE PROCLAMATION.

THE DODGE CITY GAMBLING HOUSES CLOSED BY ORDER OF MAYOR DEGER—
THE ALLEGED CAUSE OF THE ISSUANCE OF THE ORDER.

DODGE CITY, Kan., June 4. [Special]—Mayor Deger to-day issued a proclamation in which he ordered the closing of all the gambling places. This action on the part of the mayor was brought about by the failure of Short's friends in fulfilling the compromise agreed upon, which was to the effect that Short should return peaceably and that several hard characters here, in his interest, should leave town. Their failure to leave to-day caused the issuance of the proclamation. As soon as the proclamation was issued every gambling place in the city was promptly closed, and have remained closed until this hour. Whether the trouble will end here, it is hard to determine.

On the night of June 5, 1883, Maj. Harry Gryden wired the adjutant general: "Everything here settled. Parties have shook hands across the bloody chasm. A number of men with a record are here but all is lovely."

Gryden's telegram was received in Topeka at 8:23 A. M., June 6, 1883, just two minutes before this telegram of an entirely different nature, addressed to Governor Click:

Our city is overrun with desperate characters from Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and California. We cannot preserve the peace or enforce the laws. Will you send in two companies of militia at once to assist us in preserving the peace between all parties and enforcing the laws.

GEO. T. HINKLE, Sheriff

L. E. DEGER, Mayor

N. B. KLAINÉ, Post Master

GEO. S. EMERSON, Councilman

F. C. ZIMMERMAN

Hon. R. M. WRIGHT, Co. Commissioner.

The governor wired back: "Moonlight will go there on first train. Keep me fully advised of the situation." Moonlight wired militia major Harry Gryden: "Keep peace at all hazards—will be at Dodge tonight—meet me."

Twenty minutes after the adjutant general boarded the noon train for Dodge City this telegram was received by Governor Click:

The difficulty is all settled. Shorts fighters have left town. I am satisfied we will not have any more trouble.

GEO. T. HINKLE,
Sheriff.³²

Events were happening so quickly that the *Daily Kansas State Journal*, June 7, 1883, had difficulty keeping up with them in a single article:

A HOWL FOR HELP.

THE CITY OF DODGE SURGING TO THE FRONT AGAIN WITH ITS SENSATION.

Trouble at Dodge City is not over with yet. A call came to Governor Click this morning, for assistance. It was signed by the sheriff, Mayor [omission] Bob Wright and others. They fear an outbreak from Luke Short and want militia to protect them. Adjutant General Moonlight went down on the noon train and will arrive there at 12 o'clock to-night. No action is to be taken by the governor, until he is heard from, further than that Sheriff Hinkle has been ordered to keep the peace. He has fifty Winfield rifles in his possession and one thousand rounds of ammunition. The general took a supply of ammunition with him, and if it becomes absolutely necessary, troops will be ordered at once to Dodge City. When Moonlight gets there and learns the true situation he will probably make the fur fly, one way or the other. Yesterday evening, an agreement was made between both factions at Dodge, that they would drop their differences and declare peace.

Short and his friends are there, and were parties to the compact. Short went back home Monday evening, by invitation of the citizens on condition that he give \$1,000 bonds to keep the peace, which was done, and a man who is in this city now, that has stood steadily by him through the whole difficulty went his security. In an interview with him, the JOURNAL reporter learns that Short has proposed to act white this time, but the other side broke its pledges and is to blame—in fact has been from the start. A few hot headed officials, backed by half the gambling and sporting fraternity undertook to run the other half out, and the break is now having its reaction. They have found the game one that two can play at. The renewed hostilities this morning seem to be of a more serious nature than at any previous time, and the antagonizing element is sufficiently alarmed to want the aid of military interference and protection. There seems to be a general opinion, now very frequently expressed here, that a few of the ring leaders ought to be allowed to fight and kill each other off if they want to.

THE VERY LATEST.

Governor Click received the following dispatch this afternoon: [the Hinkle wire announcing the settling of difficulties was reprinted here].

Those who have watched the row all along, are inclined to believe that this is no indication as yet that trouble is over. Another call for the "milish" is expected by tomorrow morning.

Bat Masterson told of his triumphant entry into the town now

bursting with brotherly love in a letter which was partially reprinted in the *Daily Kansas State Journal*, June 9, 1883:

MASTERSON'S MUSINGS.

AMONG OTHER THINGS FROM DODGE "BAT" MASTERSON TELLS THE SITUATION.

All information from Adjutant-General Moonlight indicate that the war at Dodge City is actually over and peace has been declared sure enough. Luke Short, however, comes out on top as usual, and is again sporting in the playful sunlight beneath his own vine and fig tree.

Of the situation, as it is now, Hon. W. B. Masterson, ex-sheriff of Ford county, writes in a letter to his friends here as follows, under date of June 6th:

"I arrived here yesterday and was met at the train by a delegation of friends who escorted me without molestation to the business house of Harris & Short. I think the inflammatory reports published about Dodge City and its inhabitants have been greatly exaggerated and if at any time they did 'don the war paint,' it was completely washed off before I reached here. I never met a more gracious lot of people in my life. They all seemed favorably disposed, and hailed the return of Short and his friends with exultant joy. I have been unable as yet to find a single individual who participated with the crowd that forced him to leave here at first. I have conversed with a great many and they are unanimous in their expression of love for Short, both as a man and a good citizen. They say that he is gentlemanly, courteous and unostentatious—'in fact a perfect ladies' man.' Wyatt Earp, Charley Bassett, McClain and others too numerous to mention are among the late arrivals, and are making the 'Long Branch' saloon their headquarters. All the gambling is closed in obedience to a proclamation issued by the mayor, but how long it will remain so I am unable to say at present. Not long I hope. The closing of this 'legitimate' calling has caused a general depression in business of every description, and I am under the impression that the more liberal and thinking class will prevail upon the mayor to rescind the proclamation in a day or two."

Although the dove of peace had settled on Dodge City—gently, as is wont with doves—the news, nevertheless, took several days to reach all portions of the state. The Kansas City (Mo.) *Evening Star* did not have it on June 7:

KILLERS AT DODGE.

THE FAMOUS BAND ARRIVE THERE AT LAST.

The much talked of band of noted killers who were to congregate here and accompany Luke Short, the exile, back to Dodge City, Kas., are in part at least, at that place now. Advices from there state that Luke Short, Bat Masterson, Charley Bassett and Doc Holliday at present hold the fort and that trouble is liable to ensue at any moment. Mr. Bassett was here for quite a time and with Col. Ricketts at the Marble Hall. He is a man of undoubted nerve and has been tried and not found wanting when it comes to a personal encounter. But Masterson and Doc. Holliday are too well known to need comment or biography. A notice has been posted up at Dodge ordering them out and, as they are fully armed and determined to stay, there may be hot work there to-night.

By June 8 the Topeka *Daily Commonwealth* was reporting everything serene, in Dodge:

ALL QUIET AT DODGE.

DODGE CITY, June 7.—Adjutant General Thos. Moonlight has been here for the past twenty-four hours and has succeeded in effecting an amicable settlement between the warring factions. He will leave for Topeka to-night. The Short faction are in the ascendancy, so to speak, but are peaceably disposed. There is no danger of trouble. The organization of the militia company, which some days ago was stopped by the governor, will be perfected and the commissions of the various officers will soon arrive; so says Col. Moonlight.

On June 10 Bat and Wyatt Earp left Dodge headed west. Upon their going Mike Sutton probably felt he could now return to his place of business, so said the Larned *Optic*, quoted in the *Ford County Globe*, June 12, 1883:

MIKE SUTTON, my lord is an exoduster from Dodge. On the return of Luke Short and his friends, it didn't take Mike long to arrive at the conclusion that Kinsley was a much healthier locality, and that town is now his abiding place. Net [Nelson Adams] sends greetings to Mike, and a notification that Larned is quarantined against him. When Dodge becomes too hot for Mike Sutton h--l itself would be considered a cool place—a desirable summer resort.

In another column the *Globe* right unneighborly went on:

As soon as Bat Masterson alighted from the train on his late arrival into this city Mike Sutton started for his cyclone building on Gospel Ridge, where he remained until a truce was made.

In the same issue, June 12, 1883, the *Globe* thus summarized this so-called "Dodge City war," an event that was apparently destined to go down in history as a war to preserve the rights of "singing ladies," *i. e.*, until the above related facts could be assembled:

Our city trouble is about over and things in general will be conducted as of old. All parties that were run out have returned and no further effort will be made to drive them away. Gambling houses, we understand, are again to be opened, but with screen doors [probably ornate oriental type door shields designed to obscure the view from one room to another rather than fly screens] in front of their place of business. A new dance house was opened Saturday night where all the warriors met and settled their past differences and everything was made lovely and serene. All opposing factions, both saloon men and gamblers met and agreed to stand by each other for the good of their trade. Not an unlooked for result.

The mayor stood firm on his gambling proclamation, but as his most ardent supporters have gone over to his enemies, it will stand without that moral support he had calculated upon to help him in enforcing it. We have all along held that our mayor was over advised in the action he has taken and had he followed his own better judgment, and not the advice of schemers and tricksters who had selfish interests at stake, and not the best interests of this community, he would have fared much better. No one knows this now any

better than himself. He has freed himself from that cropped-winged moral element and stands on the side of the business interests of Dodge. . . .

The *Globe*, June 12, 1883, also said, with what seems a bit of pardonable pride:

Within the past week the city had more distinguished visitors and more ex-city and county officers in it than we ever saw together at any one time. It was a regular reunion of old-timers. They all appeared to have some say about our late trouble and felt a deep interest in the future prosperity of our city.

The Dodge City *Times* struck a discordant note by listing the visitors as Shot Gun Collins, Black Jack Bill, Cold Chuck Johnny, Dynamite Sam, Dark Alley Jim, Dirty Sock Jack, Six-toed Pete, and Three Fingered Dave.³³

Before Bat and Wyatt left town the group gathered for a now historic photograph (*See between* pp. 80, 81). The *Times*, June 14, 1883, recorded the event:

The photographs of the eight visiting "statesmen" were taken in a group by Mr. Conkling, photographer. The distinguished bond extractor and champion pie eater, W. F. Petillon, appears in the group.

Just as Adjutant General Moonlight had promised, the local militia unit was commissioned and given the name "Click Guards." Within its ranks were both former pro-Short and pro-Deger men. Truly, the Dodge City war was over. The captain of the unit was Pat Sughrue and the second lieutenant was James H. Kelley, both Short adherents. The surgeon, Dr. S. Galland was a former Deger man. In the ranks could be found Neil Brown, C. E. Chipman, W. H. Harris, W. F. Petillon, Luke Short, I. P. Olive, and William M. Tilghman.³⁴

In August Luke had the police judge of Dodge City arrested. Possibly some remaining hard feelings of the troubles of May and June were the reason. The *Times*, August 23, 1883, reported:

ARRESTED.

Police Judge Burns was arrested and brought yesterday, before Justice Cook, on complaint sworn out by Luke Short, in which he is charged with misconduct in office and the collection of illegal fees. Judge Burns has incurred the enmity of those who unfortunately come under his official jurisdiction. He has spared no one, having inflicted heavy fines upon every one brought before him for violation of law.

There is a certain clique in this city that feel the legal halter drawing tighter and tighter, with an ultimate tightening of grasp never to be loosened. The law is coming down upon indecent conduct and illegitimate traffic, and the handwriting is so plain that some means must be used to thwart the swift and impending justice. The arrest of Judge Burns will not accomplish the

purpose desired. On the contrary, law-breakers will feel the full power of justice. Threats of assassination will not deter the administration of the law.

Luke and his friend Bat Masterson journey to Fort Worth, Tex., in November, 1883. The Dodge City *Times* article reporting this has been reprinted in the section on Bat. Luke had sold his interest in the Long Branch as had his partner, Harris. The *Ford County Globe*, November 20, 1883, carried their notice of dissolution:

A CARD.—We take this opportunity in informing our numerous patrons and friends that we have this day sold out our interest in the Long Branch saloon and billiard hall to Mr. [Roy] Drake and [Frank] Warren, who will continue the business and are authorized to collect and receipt for all accounts due us. Any accounts against the late firm will be settled by us. Thanking past patrons for their many favors shown us, and trust the new firm may receive a like generous treatment at their hands.

W. H. HARRIS.

November 19, 1883.

LUKE SHORT.

Perhaps Luke had seen opportunities in Texas and decided to transfer his operations to that locale. In another column the *Globe* had said:

Luke Short came up from Texas during the past week, spending several days here, during which time he sold his interest in the Long Branch and returns to Fort Worth, Texas, accompanied by W. B. Masterson.

On December 28, 1883, Luke returned to Dodge for a visit. The *Globe*, January 1, 1884, reported:

Luke Short and Chas. E. Bassett returned to the city last Friday looking well, and show that they have been kindly treated by their friends in the east. They will remain here until after the holidays.

Luke's friend, W. F. Petillon, now editor of the Dodge City *Democrat*, merely said in his issue of December 29, 1883: "Ex-Sheriff Bassett and Luke Short are in town, both looking as if the Missouri Sunday law agreed with their corporosities." The *Democrat*, May 10, 1884, again mentioned that Luke was in town: "Luke Short is here from Fort Worth. He will remain until after the arrival of St. John and Campbell [ex-Governor John P. St. John and A. B. Campbell, ardent prohibitionists], as he is anxious to meet these learned gentlemen." Perhaps the last was written with tongue in cheek!

Along in the summer of 1884 Luke decided to sue the city of Dodge for throwing him out in 1883. Petillon announced the action in the *Democrat* of August 9, 1884: "Luke Short has now sued this city for \$15,000 damages for the trouble he was put to some-time ago. Summons was served on our Mayor [no longer Larry

Deger but now George M. Hoover], while at Larned last Monday." The city employed the county attorney to represent it in the case:

The city council have employed county attorney Whitelaw to appear for them, in the case of Luke Short against Dodge City, pending in the Pawnee county district court, and have agreed to pay him \$250 retainer, and \$740 additional if he wins the case, or reduces the judgment asked for to \$500. Mr. Whitelaw agrees to furnish any counsel he may need to assist him in the defense.³⁵

The case was eventually settled out of court.

The next time Kansas newspapers carried the name of Luke Short they were announcing his final days on earth. Luke, with his wife and his brother, Young Short from Kiowa, Barber county, checked in at the Gilbert hotel in Geuda Springs, Sumner county, about August 25, 1893. Geuda Springs was at that time a renowned health resort, its springs reportedly containing health-restoring minerals. Luke was suffering from dropsy.

The springs did not help Luke, however, and in less than a month he was dead. The Geuda Springs *Herald*, September 8, 1893, recorded his passing:

Luke Short died at the Gilbert this morning of dropsy. The remains were embalmed by W. A. Repp today and will be shipped this evening to Ft. Worth, Tex. The remains will be accompanied by the wife and two brothers of the deceased.

The Dodge City *Democrat*, in its parting salute, September 16, 1893, went overboard when it said: "Thus ends the life of one of the most noted and daring men in the west."³⁶

1. In 1877 the Long Branch saloon, on Front street, was owned by D. D. Colley and J. M. Manion. Chalkley Beeson and W. H. Harris owned the Saratoga five or six doors east of the Long Branch. About March 1, 1878, Chalk Beeson purchased from Robert M. Wright the building in which the Long Branch was located, possession to be "in a few weeks." Colley and Manion moved one door west into the Alamo saloon which had been operated by George M. Hoover, and H. V. Cook.

The Alamo was actually a sample room and billiard hall run in conjunction with Wright, Beverley & Co.'s mercantile store next door west. The Alamo should not be confused with George M. Hoover's wholesale liquor house at No. 39 Front street, just east of the Long Branch.

Strangely, as these changes were made the saloon names stayed with the building, instead of following the prior owners.—See Dodge City *Times*, December 22, 1877; March 2, 1878.

2. *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, March 20, 1883. 3. *Ibid.* 4. Dodge City *Times*, April 5, 1883. 5. Both ordinances were published in the official city paper, the Dodge City *Times*. 6. See, also, the Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, May 2, 1883. 7. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 8. *Ibid.* 9. *Ibid.* 10. See, also, Kansas City (Mo.) *Evening Star*, May, 1883; Kansas City *Journal*, May, 1883; Topeka *Daily Capital*, May, 1883; Topeka *Daily Kansas State Journal*, May, 1883. 11. Luke was confused; May, 1883, began on Tuesday. 12. "Governors' Correspondence," *loc. cit.* 13. *Ibid.* 14. *Ibid.* 15. *Ibid.* 16. *Ibid.* 17. *Ibid.* 18. See, also, Topeka *Daily Kansas State Journal*, May 12, 13, 1883. 19. "Governors' Correspondence," *loc. cit.* 20. See, also, Kansas City (Mo.) *Evening Star*, May 15, 1883. 21.

"Governors' Correspondence," *loc. cit.* 22. *Ibid.* 23. *Ibid.* 24. Dodge City Times, May 17, 1883. 25. See, also, letter of Felix P. Swembergh to Gov. G. W. Glick, May 17, 1883, in "Governors' Correspondence," *loc. cit.* 26. "Governors' Correspondence," *loc. cit.* 27. *Ibid.* 28. *Ibid.* 29. *Ibid.* 30. "Correspondence of the Adjutants General," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 31. "Governors' Correspondence," *loc. cit.* 32. *Ibid.* 33. Dodge City Times, June 7, 1883. 34. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1883. 35. *Globe Live Stock Journal*, Dodge City, November 25, 1884. 36. For a fuller report on the life of Luke Short, see William R. Cox's *Luke Short and His Era* (Doubleday, Garden City, N. Y., 1961).

SINGER, FREDERICK

(1852?-——)

Fred Singer was another Dodgeite, in a long list, who held positions at nearly every level of governmental police responsibility. He had been a township constable before he was appointed under sheriff of Ford county by newly elected Sheriff George T. Hinkle on January 12, 1880. Singer was apparently well thought of in Dodge for the *Ford County Globe*, January 20, 1880, called him "a straightforward, honest man" and added "we trust he may never give anyone cause to speak otherwise of him."¹

Hardly had Singer entered upon the duties of his new office, however, when he came down with a severe case of diphtheria and was temporarily replaced by Ed Cooley. By February 10 the under sheriff was again on his feet and tending his duties.²

Fred Singer was probably 27 years old when he was sworn as under sheriff. The 1880 United States census, enumerated in Dodge township on June 6, listed him as being 28 years old, his wife Lula was 18. He was born in Wales, she in Missouri.

The first year of the Hinkle-Singer reign was a quiet one, most of their duties consisting of delivering prisoners to the state penitentiary at Leavenworth. The newspaper notices telling of these trips have been reprinted in the section on Hinkle.

On April 6, 1881, Fred Singer was appointed city marshal of Dodge. He and his assistant, Tom Nixon, were to replace Marshal Jim Masterson and Assistant Neil Brown whom the new city council did not see fit to retain.³ One of the marshal's first performances which were reported in the local papers was printed in the *Ford County Globe*, May 3, 1881, and was somewhat less than the glamorous image in the minds of most latter day Western fans: "Marshal Singer was seen headed for the City Pound on the 1st inst., having a hog by the ear and a dog by the extreme appendage."

The new marshal also held a position on the county police force, and about the first of May traveled to Pueblo, Colo., to receive a prisoner, a railroad man, with the legendary name of John Henry. The Dodge City Times, May 5, 1881, reported:

John Henry, a railroad employee, was arrested last summer on a charge of

grand larceny, but was discharged on a want of insufficient testimony. He was lately rearrested in Wyoming territory, by Deputy U. S. Marshal C. B. Jones, and the prisoner was brought to this city last week from Pueblo by Deputy Sheriff Fred Singer. John Henry made his escape from the train while in the temporary charge of a guard, but was soon recaptured. A preliminary examination was had and the prisoner was bound over. It is said sufficient evidence has been collected to warrant conviction.⁴

Another railroad man was arrested by Singer on May 16. The *Globe*, May 17, 1881, told of it:

Marshall Singer, on last night took in Charley McCollum, fireman on the switch engine of this city for relieving a brother railroad man of seventy-five dollars in cash and a gold watch and chain, which robbing occurred some time during the night. The watch and chain as well as a portion of the money was in possession of aforesaid individual, who is now awaiting his preliminary in the county jail.

Dodge City, now almost nine years old, was emerging from its days as a frontier village into the status of a full fledged city. At least it had reached the place where it was thought that the police should wear conforming uniforms. The *Ford County Globe*, May 31, 1881, said: "City Marshal Singer and Assistant Nixon came out in the standard uniform of navy blue last week, and their appearance is like that of metropolitan officers." And the *Times*, May 5, 1881, remarked: "Who says Dodge City isn't 'tony?'"

Still another railroader was the accidental victim of the marshal's marksmanship on July 22, 1881. The *Dodge City Times*, July 28, recounted the story:

Joseph McDonald was shot by Marshal Singer Friday night last and died three hours afterward. The circumstances which led to the shooting are as follows: The woman to whom Nate Hudson willed \$3,000 sent word to the marshal that three men were prowling around her house, and from their suspicious actions she believed they were trying to rob her. Marshal Singer obeyed the woman's request, and when near the premises, in a thick growth of sunflowers, was commanded to halt by McDonald, the latter raising his arm horizontally, as though in the act of firing. The marshal apprehended some danger from this movement, and not knowing whether the man had a pistol or not, raised his weapon and fired, the shot striking McDonald in the land and passing into his right side, causing death in three hours. The wounded man remarked that his brother shot him. He gave no account of his wandering in the vicinity of the woman's premises.

McDonald was in the employ of the railroad company, and in company with another man came down from Syracuse on Thursday, the day previous to the shooting. He was in questionable company on that day, though this circumstance had no bearing on the shooting, but there is an impression that robbery was the design. Marshal Singer's quick forethought and knowledge of frontier pistol practice, prompted him to make defense when halted in the darkness and almost hid from view of the person who commanded him to halt. The ball entering the hand and striking the right side at a direct angle would in-

dicate that McDonald held his hand in the position ascribed by the marshal.

A coroner's jury was summoned and an inquest held over the body. The verdict was justifiable homicide.

The deceased was 23 years of age. The body was sent to Topeka, where the parents of the unfortunate young man live.

At the inquest held over McDonald's body, Marshal Singer had testified:

I am city marshal of Dodge City; was sitting in front of Peacock's in a chair between 11 and 12 o'clock. A little Mexican came and asked me to take a walk. I said certainly I will go. Started with him and got about half way over to Johnson's blacksmith shop; while we were walking together he said that May Ingram had been looking for Tom Bugg [a deputy sheriff] but did not think she had found him; that some parties had been prowling around Sarah Ratzell's house, and that she thought they were going to rob her. The Mexican said I had better go and get a gun. I told him no, that it was not necessary. We then went over to Mrs. Woodard's house, near Johnson's shop, where Sadie Ratzell was; Sadie and Tom Bugg were sitting on the porch when the Mexican and myself got there. I said to Sadie to come into the room that I wished to speak with her. Asked her if she had any money there; said no, that she had deposited it in town. Mrs. Peacock had before told me that the said Sadie had \$875 in her trunk, and she was mighty foolish for keeping it there. I said to Sadie as she had a good deal of money and intended leaving very soon that she had better take only enough to defray expenses and take a check for balance, and then draw the same through some bank wherever she might be. Afterwards we walked out on the porch; I sat down on the porch; I believe she sat in a chair; I sat there about five minutes; I saw a man walking back of Johnson's shop, going northeast; I walked out to see who it was; I got within about thirty feet of him; he started out in the weeds and turned and threw his hand out, just as if he was going to shoot, and said, "Stand!" He said it very emphatically. When he threw up his hand and commenced to say the word I drew out my gun, and fired. I know Geo. Early [McDonald's companion] as one of the two fellows that I ordered out of town. The other fellow wore eye-glasses, and was fined in the Police Court.

Tom Bugg testified:

I am deputy sheriff; I was notified by Dutch Jake that May Ingram was looking for me. Jake said that May Ingram wanted me to go to the house where Sadie Ratzell was stopping; that two or three men had been around there since early after dark. Went up to the brick store with Brick Bond, thence to the dance hall, and from there to Johnson's house, on the corner; left Brick Bond at the last named place, when I went to the house and dwelling of Mrs. Woodard. We staid there about twenty minutes, when Bond left. I remained sometime afterwards. Mr. Singer and the little Mexican came after Mr. Bond had left. After Mr. Singer came I went with Mrs. Woodard over to Andy Johnson's house, while Mr. Singer remained at the house of Mrs. Woodard. I was gone with her four or five minutes before I returned to the place where I had left Singer. On my return I thought I heard some one going between Johnson's blacksmith shop. I popped between the two buildings, thence to

Mrs. Woodard's porch. When I stepped on the porch referred to I heard some one say, "Halt!" or, "Stop!" A shot was fired immediately thereafter; the flash made everything dark. I then went in the direction of the firing; met Fred Singer, and asked him if some one had shot him, answered no; "I think I have shot some body." Asked him who, said he did not know. I then went to Mrs. Woodard's and got a match, returned to the man that was shot, lit some matches, turned him over and asked him his name and where he was shot, and he said through the breast and that his name was McDonald. Myself and others took him to the restaurant and from there to the southeast room of Hudson's dance hall. The man upon whom this inquisition is being held I identify as the man that was shot; saw one man moving near Mrs. Woodard's house in a suspicious manner about three-quarters of an hour before the shooting took place.⁵

After the shooting of McDonald, Marshal Singer apparently created no news, for the town's newspapers gave him little notice until his announced resignation was published in the November 1, 1881, issue of the *Ford County Globe*. The *Dodge City Times*, November 3, 1881, said:

Fred Singer has resigned the office of City Marshal, and Mayor [A. B.] Webster has appointed B. C. Vandenberg to the position. Mr. Singer made an energetic and attentive officer. He was always on duty, and faithfully discharged his trust. Fred gave up the office in order to engage in more profitable business.

The work Singer chose was saloonkeeping. The *Times*, November 3, 1881, ran this ad:

OLD HOUSE—Fred Singer has taken charge of the "Old House," lately occupied by Mr. Webster. Fred is an excellent caterer to the taste of thirsty people. His place will be a popular resort in Dodge City. The Brower Bros. have opened a restaurant in the "Old House" and a "square meal" on the European plan may be had by the hungry and fastidious visitors.

Singer still held his county commission and a few months later he was called upon to arrest a soldier at Fort Dodge. The man was not to be found, according to the *Dodge City Times*, June 1, 1882:

A soldier broke open the city prison and liberated a fellow soldier confined there. A warrant was issued for the arrest of the soldier, and under-sheriff Singer and Marshal Vandenberg went down to the Fort to arrest the man, but he was either concealed or had flown. It was said he had deserted.

After a group of festive Kearny county cowboys had gaily shot up the Santa Fe's eastbound No. 6, at Lakin on October 18, 1882, Undersheriff Fred Singer rounded them up with the aid of a Ford county posse. Kearny county came under the undersheriff's authority since, being unorganized, it was attached to Ford for judicial

purposes. The *Ford County Globe*, October 24, 1882, described the crime and the capture:

DESPERATE DOINGS
OF A PARTY OF COW-BOYS AT LAKIN.
THEIR CAPTURE BY A DODGE CITY POSSE.

When train No. 6, due in Dodge City at 12:45 p. m., pulled up to the depot last Wednesday, the coaches presented the appearance of having undergone a heavy seige, the north windows of the entire train being completely demolished, while the side of the cars underneath was perforated with numerous bullet holes, the result of an attack on the train by a party of cow-boys at Lakin, the particulars of which are as follows:

Frank Meade, who had been in the employ of the railroad company for some time past as night operator at Lakin, was discharged on Monday of last week, for drunkenness and general cussedness, and in company with a trio of friendly cow boys proceeded to drown his troubles in an overdose of conversational fluid. On the same day the party attended the funeral of a deceased cow-boy at Deerfield and while there attempted to board the engine of a freight train, culminating in a fight with engineer Norton, in which the cow-boys and operator were badly worsted. The following morning the four returned to Lakin, vowing to shoot Norton on his next trip west, and for that purpose, armed with Winchesters and six-shooters kept a close surveillance over all trains arriving from the east, but failed to discover their man, as he had been notified of their intentions, and in consequence changed off at Garden City and returned to Dodge.

Wednesday morning, train No. 6 due at Lakin about 10 o'clock, was detained some twenty minutes in consequence of a broken draw-head. While the train men were repairing the damage, the friends of Meade mounted their horses and charged up and down the depot platform in veritable cow-boy style, whooping and yelling in demoniac glee, discharging their arms at the coaches, all of which were well filled with passengers, and clubbing in the windows with their revolvers. Four bullets entered the coaches, while dozens were imbedded in the wood work underneath the windows. A lady whose name we failed to learn was severely cut about the face by the smashing of a window at which she was sitting. The citizens of Lakin were completely terrorized and powerless against them, as they were known to be heavily armed and desperate men.

The facts of the attack were at once forwarded to Superintendent Nickerson who telegraphed Sheriff Hinkle to have a posse in readiness to proceed to Lakin by a special train immediately after the arrival of No. 6 at Dodge City. Upon receipt of the telegram, with the promptness characteristic of Ford county officials, Under Sheriff Fred. Singer and posse, consisting of Brick Bond, Al. Updegraff, Tom Bugg, R. G. Cook, Joe Morgan, Jack Marshall, Henry Smith, Ed. Bower, Charles Dowd and O. D. Wilson, all heavily armed; M. W. Sutton, representing the railroad company; Station Agent Graves, and Frank Wandress, representing the *GLOBE*, boarded the special, and immediately after the arrival of No. 6, took their departure for Lakin. The train was in charge of Conductor G. W. Stover; engine 25, Harry Forges at the lever. The run from Dodge City to Lakin, seventy-two miles was made in one hour and fifty five minutes, including a stop at Pierceville for water.

Upon arriving at Lakin, several horses were discovered tied in front of a store immediately in the rear of the depot, and as the posse left the car and made a run for the horses, two cow-boys made their exit from the building and with drawn revolvers attempted to mount the animals. But they were too late, for a dozen Winchesters in the hands of men who never failed in bringing a desperado to terms, were frowning upon them from every side, and considering discretion the better part of valor, they gracefully acquiesced to the command of "hands up" and were taken in charge of by the officers. Their names are John Rivers and Peter Corder, their occupation herders, and this, we are told, is the first affair of the kind in which they have been interested. When captured each had in his possession a six-shooter. They were taken into the waiting room of the depot, shackled together and guarded by a detachment of the posse.

At this juncture Tom Bugg, who had been in search of Meade, the operator and supposed instigator of the difficulty, emerged from the pump house with his trophy by the ear. Meade had been in a state of semi-oblivion throughout the day by quaffing too freely of what the law forbids, and gave himself up without any resistance.

Upon inquiry, it was ascertained that the ringleader of the party, John Cass by name, was quartered in a house of ill-fame about a mile west of the depot, and Messrs. Singer, Bond, Updegraff and Morgan mounted the only available horses in the place and started in quest of their man, who they had been informed would not be likely to surrender without a fight, as he is considered the most reckless man and best shot in that section. They were discovered by the desperado when about a hundred yards from the house, and he at once mounted his horse and galloped toward the north, giving them a parting shot or two as he scampered over the prairie. The quartette of officers gave hot pursuit and returned the fire of the fugitive with a will. The chase was kept up for a mile or more with a rapid exchange of shots, when a well-directed shot from one of the officers crippled the horse of Cass in such a manner as to make him worthless for a long chase. Cass thereupon abandoned his horse and sought shelter in a dug-out about a mile north of the depot, and as he had shown himself as a man of superior fighting calibre, and was well armed, a consultation was held to consider the best means of dislodging him without endangering the lives of any of the officers. The dug-out was then surrounded and a brisk fire opened upon it, during which the horse of Cass, which was grazing in front of the dug-out door, was shot by the officers and rolled over dead.

As "a man from Texas" is no man without his horse, Cass gave up all hopes of escape at the death of the animal, and displayed a flag of truce through the door of the dug-out, following it himself a moment later. With hands up and under cover of the rifles, he advanced toward the officers, was safely corraled and searched. Besides the regulation Winchester and six-shooter taken from his person, there was fished from the depths of his saddle-bags a quart of Lakin fire-water, which in itself is quite a formidable arsenal, as we can vouch for its accuracy at forty yards or even less. During the running fight, Mr. Singer twice cut the fringe from Cass' buckskin leggins, while he in return came within an inch of taking off one of Mr. Singer's ears, and with another shot attempted to decrease the proportions of Al. Updegraff's nasal appendage, which he missed by only a hair's breadth. Cass is the "bad man" of the party, and it is rumored, with a strong ground of probability, that he is one of the

parties implicated in the murder of Marshal Meagher at Caldwell early last spring.

The prisoners were given a preliminary examination before Justice Dillon, who bound them over in \$1,500 each to the February term of the district court to answer to the charge of assault with intent to kill. Immediately after the hearing the prisoners were taken to the train, brought to Dodge City, and quartered in the county jail where ample time will be afforded them of dwelling on the vicissitudes of western life, and repenting the act which will in all probability place them for several years to come where the dogs won't bite or the pesky fleas annoy them.

Notwithstanding the fact that the merchants of our city keep constantly on hand a well assorted stock of arms, ammunition and ready made coffins, Dodge has proved to be, under the present municipal administration, not only a law-abiding but a law preserving community. Her officers are ever ready to protect the lives and property of citizens or corporations, which fact is fully appreciated by the railroad officials in their selection at all times and under all circumstances of Dodge City men for work requiring the administration of law and the capture of fugitives from justice.⁶

On February 17, 1883, Singer and Deputy Sheriff H. P. (or Charles) Myton delivered eight prisoners to the penitentiary.⁷ A couple of weeks later they journeyed south to capture one Jack McCarty who was soon to die from small pox. The Dodge City *Times*, March 1, 1883, stated:

Under Sheriff Singer, Deputy Sheriff Myton and Jos. Morgan were the parties who went after McCarty, but they abandoned him, and the remains were taken charge of by Tom McIntire, who brought the body to 5-mile Hollow, south of Dodge, where he buried the remains. The city authorities forbade the bringing of the body through the city. A simple board indicates the burial spot.

As a police officer Singer had a part in the famous "Dodge City war" of 1883. The small role he played has been covered in the section on Luke Short.

Fred Singer was being mentioned as a candidate for sheriff as early as August, 1883. At that date, long before any nominating conventions had assembled, it was generally known that Singer and Patrick F. Sughrue would battle for the important office.⁸ As election time neared the fight became heated, possibly because of the troubles, of the preceding spring for Singer was of the Deger faction and Sughrue was of the Short crowd.

On November 6, 1883, the day of the election, the regular edition of the *Ford County Globe* came out with two stories designed to injure Singer at the polls. The first had to do with his attempt to arrest Jack McCarty last winter:

ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY

OF THE OPPOSITION'S CANDIDATE FOR SHERIFF.

When McCarty was lying sick at a ranch south of Dodge City, Sheriff Singer, Mr. Chas. Myton and Jas Morgan were sent out to capture McCarty, under a promise of a three hundred dollar reward, made by the Kaiser of the Board of County Commissioners. A promise they had no more right to make them than the writer of this article, but the reward was paid and Ford county tax payers will have to pay their part of it. It may be a matter of news to some of our tax payers to know that the said Board of County Commissioners are personally liable for the said reward.

To return to our story, when Mr. Singer and his two assistants arrived at the ranch, thinking that discretion would be the better part of valor, halted, and the lady living at the ranch was hailed, and asked whether the said McCarty was there, she answered yes; they then asked her whether there were any guns in the house; she answered, plenty of them. They also asked her whether she thought that McCarty would make a fight, she said he would to a certainty. They, the posse, then told the lady of the house that if she would go in the house and would succeed in getting all the guns outside of the house, so that they could capture McCarty without taking any chances at all, they then would give her one hundred and fifty dollars, which would be half of the whole reward which they were to receive. She agreed to the said proposition and went to the house and put all the guns on the outside of the house, and the posse then had an easy capture, as McCarty was then lying on his death bed.

After they received the reward they must have forgotten their promise to the lady in question, as they still owe her the half of the said reward. If any one doubts the truth of the above, the lady is in town and will gladly make an affidavit to the above statements. A man or a party of men who would break their word to a woman under such circumstances will deserve defeat as an aspirant for any office.

The other was of a similar nature:

ONE OF FRED SINGERS OFFICIAL ACTS

AS A DEPUTY, UNDER SHERIFF HINKEL.

About three years ago, Singer and an assistant went down to Mrs. Brown's ranch, on Bear creek, (the place generally known as the soldier's grave,) for the purpose of arresting the notorious thief and bandit of the plains, named Jim O'Neill, (they succeeded in making the arrest,) but through the influence of Mrs. Brown, his mother, and the magical influence of about one hundred dollars, paid to Singer and his assistant, the redoubtable Jimmy was allowed to pack his grip and depart in peace. This is another bit of evidence as to how the sheriff and his deputies in the past few years have done their duty.

Apparently the items had the desired effect for Sughrue defeated Singer 488 to 343.⁹

Though he had been defeated at the ballot box evidently Singer was continued as under sheriff while Hinkle remained in office. On December 19, 1883, he, with John Meagher (Mike Meagher's brother) and the marshal of Trinidad, Colo., captured a suspected

murderer. The *Caldwell Journal*, December 27, 1883, reported the story:

ED. HIBBARD CAPTURED.

John Meagher, sheriff Singer, of Dodge, and City Marshal Kreager, of Trinidad, returned from Chautauqua county last Saturday with Ed. Hibbard, alias Ed. Lee, charged with the murder of a man near Trinidad, as stated last week.

The officers left this city Wednesday, went to Grenola, where they procured a team and started for the home of Hibbard's parents, near Wauneta, a small town about eight miles from Cedarvale. Arriving at Wauneta about 3 p. m., they went into the village store, which they found full of people, and Ed. standing by the counter, behind the stove, surrounded by a throng, to whom he was relating his western adventures. The officers knew him at a glance, and sheriff Singer at once stepped up to Ed. and taking him by the hand, said: "How do you do, Ed? I want you." Ed. reached for his revolver with his left hand, but by this time Meagher had him covered with a six-shooter, and he quietly submitted to being hand-cuffed, led out, and put into the wagon. In less than three minutes from the time the officers entered the store, they had their man and were on their return trip. Ed. claimed he did not know what he was arrested for, but at the same time requested the officers not to tell the people anything about it.

Shortly after passing Cedarvale, the party were overtaken by Hibbard's mother, who wanted to know by what right they were taking her son off in that manner. Ed. told her it was all right, the strangers were his friends, and that he would be back in a couple of weeks. This was satisfactory to his poor mother, and the party proceeded on their way, arriving here at the time above stated.

While at Cedarvale, on their return, a constable of that place stepped up to Meagher and told him that Hibbard was a hard case, that he, the constable, had carried a warrant against him for four years on the charge of horse stealing. It seems that about four years ago Hibbard left suddenly and went to Texas, where, it is stated, he killed a man. Thence he drifted to Colorado, where he ran across his uncle, stopping at his uncle's ranch until he killed the old man.

On being searched after his arrest, \$105 in money was found upon his person, all that was left of the \$1,100 taken off his victim, an old account book, with several leaves torn out, and the name "Reynolds" written on the inside of the cover. The writing was so worn that the initials could not be made out, but the name is supposed to be the name of the man killed.

Saturday afternoon Messrs. Singer and Kreager started for Trinidad with their prisoner, and he is ere this safely locked up in the jail at that place. There can be no doubt as to his guilt, and according to the laws of Colorado, he will suffer the penalty of his crime.

The *Dodge City Times*, December 27, 1883, reported that Singer had taken the prisoner on west:

Under Sheriff Singer left Monday [December 24] for Colorado with the prisoner Hibbard, who was arrested in the southeastern part of the state. Fred is an excellent officer, and does his duty faithfully.

With the end of the Hinkle sheriffship Fred Singer returned to private life judging from the 1885 Kansas state census which listed him, March 1, as a 32-year-old merchant.

On July 31 he and Mysterious Dave Mather were in Topeka, staying at the Windsor hotel.¹⁰ By September 1 he was again mentioned as a deputy sheriff. The Dodge City *Democrat*, September 5, 1885, told how he prevented a kidnapping:

A HALF-BLOWN ABDUCTION.

A bold attempt to abduct a child was made last Tuesday morning. The particulars, as we learned them, are as follows:

About three weeks ago Harry Logue, a well known gambler and general "rustler" of this place, parted from his wife. They had one child and he wanted it, and had threatened to kill her if she did not give it up. Last Tuesday morning he procured a rig and drove to the house where his wife was living. He went in and snatched the child from its mother's arms while she was in bed and ran out to the buggy, jumped in and started off south at a pace that astonished the natives. Mrs. Logue followed, screaming at every breath, calling on the people to get her baby. Deputy sheriff Fred Singer happened to be passing on a horse and immediately gave chase. He overhauled the gentleman just as he was driving on the bridge, and made him turn around and wend his way back amid the jeers of the populace.

It was an affecting sight when the babe was given into its mother's arms. She was wild with joy and hugged and kissed the innocent cause of all this excitement to her heart's content.

Half the population was out to see the chase, and all expressed their sympathy for the unfortunate mother, and all were glad when she got her child.

A month later Fred Singer was appointed deputy U. S. marshal for the district. "This was quite a compliment," said the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, October 6, 1885, "and the result of one of the finest endorsements ever sent out of this county. Everybody who is acquainted with Mr. Singer knows he will make a good officer." Singer's appointment was effective October 1.¹¹

In another month, however, Singer was apparently replaced by H. B. Bell who was appointed about November 5, 1885.¹² No reason has been found for Singer's short term of office.

Singer was once again named marshal of Dodge City on September 23, 1886, by A. B. Webster. The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, September 28, 1886, noted the change in officers: "Mayor Webster on last Thursday morning made a change in the police force, removing Marshal [T. J.] Tate and Policeman [J. A.] Marshall, and appointing Fred Singer marshal and Nelson Cary assistant." Singer served until shortly after Mayor Webster's death, resigning May 10, 1887.¹³

Singer was, in January, 1889, one of several former Dodge City

police officers involved in the county seat fight in Gray county. The complete story of the street battle in which they were engaged will be told in the section on William M. Tilghman.

1. *See, also, Dodge City Times*, January 17, 1880.
2. *Ford County Globe*, February 10, 1880.
3. *Dodge City Times*, April 7, 1881.
4. *See, also, Ford County Globe*, May 3, 1881.
5. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1881.
6. *See, also, Dodge City Times*, October 19, 1882.
7. *Ford County Globe*, February 20, 1883.
8. *Dodge City Times*, August 16, 1883.
9. *Ford County Globe*, November 20, 1883.
10. *Globe Live Stock Journal*, August 4, 1885.
11. *See, also, Dodge City Democrat*, October 3, 1885; *Dodge City Times*, October 8, 1885.
12. *See the section on H. B. Bell*.
13. *Globe Live Stock Journal*, May 17, 1887.

(To Be Continued in the Summer, 1962, Issue.)

The Annual Meeting

THE 86th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in Topeka on October 16 and 17, 1961.

As a feature of the state centennial year, a special meeting was scheduled for Monday evening, October 16. Dr. Clement M. Silvestro, of Madison, Wis., director of the American Association for State and Local History, spoke on "Activities and Aims of Local Historical Societies." Following Dr. Silvestro's address, John W. Ripley of Topeka presented "A Night at the Nickelodeon," including episodes from a Pearl White silent movie and several song slides. Refreshments and an open house followed the program.

On Tuesday morning, for the fourth consecutive year, a public meeting was held for persons interested in local historical societies. Papers were presented by three representatives of such organizations: Elmer E. Newachek of the Fort Larned Historical Society, Mrs. Jesse C. Harper of the Clark County Historical Society, and William E. Koch of the Riley County Historical Society. Dr. Silvestro offered comments and suggestions. Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary, presided.

The session for the Society's board of directors was held concurrently with Pres. George L. Anderson presiding. First business was the report of the secretary:

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 17, 1961

At the conclusion of last year's meeting the newly elected president, George L. Anderson, reappointed Will T. Beck, Wilford Riegle, and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee. Members holding over were Charles M. Correll and Frank Haucke.

The death of Mr. Lillard on July 6, 1961, was a serious loss to the Society. Although his health had not been good for some months, he was up and around and his unexpected death came as a shock to hundreds of friends and associates. To this Society, which he served as president in 1939-1940, as a director since 1928, and as a member of the executive committee since 1930, he was a quiet and unassuming friend, a man who could always be called on to help when assistance was needed.

Mr. Lillard's place on the executive committee was filled by the appointment of Alan W. Farley of Kansas City.

The Society suffered the additional loss of four other members of the board of directors since the last annual meeting. Miss Mary Maud Smelser, a member of the staff of the University of Kansas library for 50 years, died at Law-

rence, October 26, 1960. She played a major part in building the library's Kansas room into the state's second largest depository of Kansas source material.

Thomas H. Bowlus, Iola banker and philanthropist, died December 17, 1960. In 1927 he established the Thomas H. Bowlus fund with the Society, the income from which has been used to further our program.

Dr. Joseph C. Shaw, Topeka physician, died February 25, 1961. During the many years that he held a membership in the Society, Doctor Shaw took an active interest in the work of the organization.

W. Marvin Richards, one of Kansas' foremost educators, died July 10, 1961, at Emporia. He was perhaps most widely known for his text books, *Four Centuries in Kansas* and *The Kansas Story*, both written in collaboration with Bliss Isely.

APPROPRIATIONS AND BUDGET REQUESTS

The state's centennial year began with a flourish, as far as the Society was concerned, with the formal opening of the new museum galleries on Sunday, January 29, Kansas day. More than 1,200 visitors toured the display areas, which had just been finished as part of the large-scale remodeling of the second and third floors of the Memorial building. A few weeks later the new auditorium also was turned over by the contractors, and the most far-reaching modernization the old building has ever undergone was finally completed.

Another long-awaited improvement will be the installation of a new elevator in the empty shaft at the east end of the lobby. Contracts have been awarded, and long before the next annual meeting the work should be finished, including the enclosure of both elevator shafts.

The memorial to Kansans who participated in the campaigns before Vicksburg was formally dedicated at Vicksburg June 17, 1961, with Alan W. Farley, special representative of Governor Anderson, giving the dedicatory address.

Budget requests for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, were filed with the state budget director in September. The two new staff positions asked for in last year's budget, a maintenance engineer and a director of field services, were not approved, and the request has therefore been repeated. The maintenance engineer position is considered essential to the proper operation and care of the expensive heating and air-conditioning machinery which was installed as part of the remodeling. The field representative, if the Society is allowed to employ him, will open new avenues of service and new opportunities for acquiring historical materials for the state.

Requests for capital improvements include repetitions of proposals from previous budgets, chiefly replacement of the old glass stack floors with steel; and installation of a suspended ceiling in the main gallery of the museum. Otherwise, operating costs are expected to remain at about the same level as in recent years.

PUBLICATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

The Kansas Historical Quarterly, now in its 30th year, has been dressed up for the centennial in four-color covers, each issue specially designed. So many favorable comments have been received that the plan will be continued for another year. Inside, there have been more pages, and several articles have dealt with themes relating to the state's hundredth anniversary. More than 2,600 copies of each number are distributed regularly to members of the Society, and to schools and libraries.

In order that part-time staff member Louise Barry might have something of a break from her arduous and monotonous chore of indexing the many Society publications now being issued, she was encouraged to proceed with a long-planned series of articles now appearing in the *Quarterly* under the title, "Kansas Before 1854." Obviously more non-Indians were crossing these plains before Kansas came into being than any of us imagined. Not as many as use today's turnpike, of course, but so numerous that Miss Barry now has the proverbial bear by the tail and can't let go. Although her work on the *Comprehensive Index* to the *Quarterly* series is currently suffering, she is uncovering some amazing new material. For example, in all the years your secretary has been around this place it has been commonly accepted that the first white child born in Kansas was Napoleon Boone, son of Daniel Morgan Boone, and that this event took place at the Kaw agency in present Jefferson county on August 22, 1828. Miss Barry is now proving beyond doubt that the honor belongs to one of the Benton Pixley children born at Mission Neosho during its years of operation in present Neosho county in 1824-1829.

It is hoped that the *Quarterly* series of articles on "Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters" can be completed by late 1962. Already magazines such as *American Heritage* and *The Saturday Evening Post* have taken note of the findings therein.

The Historical Society *Mirror*, published every two months, continues to serve as a close link between the staff and members of the Society. It is now approaching completion of its seventh year of publication.

Kansas publishers apparently still find hundred-year-ago items interesting, judging from the number of Kansas newspapers which print them. These articles are compiled and sent out each month to the newspapers of the state, and the project will be continued as long as it seems to serve a useful purpose.

Last month members received a special publication, a bibliography of Civil War materials held by the Society, which was compiled by Eugene D. Decker, assistant archivist, as part of the work toward the master's degree in history which he received from Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, in June. It was published as part of the series, *Emporia State Research Studies*, and through the courtesy of Dr. William H. Seiler, under whose direction Mr. Decker worked, copies were made available to the Society for distribution to its members.

The text for a historical marker on the Battle of the Spurs, to be erected by the State Highway Commission on US-75 north of Holton, was written this year, and two others, on the discovery of helium at Dexter, Cowley county, and on Osawatimie—the John Brown country, are now being prepared.

Two books issued by the Society as part of the centennial observance have been well received. *Kansas: A Pictorial History*, a book of 319 pages, with some 800 pictures, was published jointly with the Kansas Centennial Commission in February. Almost simultaneously Robert W. Baughman's *Kansas in Maps* appeared, a beautiful volume of 104 pages which was published by the Society through the Baughman Foundation. Both books were handsomely designed and printed by the McCormick-Armstrong Company of Wichita.

Another book originating from the Baughman Foundation, *Kansas Post Offices*, containing 256 pages, is just off the press. Advance copies are today available for your inspection, and orders may be placed by those interested.

ARCHAEOLOGY

The Society's archaeological program, over the past year, has continued to be involved with salvage operations in several of the new reservoirs being constructed within the state. Under the cosponsorship of the National Park Service, excavations were carried out in the Milford and Council Grove reservoirs and preliminary surveys were begun in the Elk City and Cheney reservoirs. The purpose of the program is to locate and sample at least a small part of the prehistoric remains which will be lost or destroyed when the reservoirs are filled. The Society appraised the John Redmond reservoir early this year and sites were selected for future investigations.

The Milford reservoir received the major attention in June and July when the Society's archaeologist, Tom Witty, and a crew of seven worked for eight weeks on two sites. At the first, the floor of a small earth lodge was uncovered and the village refuse area sampled. A date of A. D. 1175 \pm 150 has been obtained by radio carbon techniques for this site. The second site investigated had been the location of a series of small hunting camps. These camps, due to repeated flooding and silting, were buried one atop the other to a depth of seven feet. The lower camps may date back several thousand years.

On completion of the Milford excavations the crew moved to the proposed Council Grove reservoir for another two weeks of work during the first half of August. Some six sites were tested to determine which would be of sufficient interest to warrant full scale excavation in the future. These sites were camps, villages, and a burial mound. They represent a time period probably from 500 to several thousand years ago.

With completion of the Memorial building remodeling, the archaeological section for the first time has its own quarters. These are a combination office-laboratory and a large storage room for archaeological and ethnological materials. A recent addition to these collections was the donation of four re-constructed pottery vessels and several bone tools by George Jelinek of Ellsworth. Mr. Jelinek collected these materials from sites in central Kansas.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

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

<i>Source</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Agriculture, Board of	Statistical Rolls of Counties	1954	607 vols.
Attorney General	Correspondence and briefs concerning water use rights	1927-1944	1 box
Insurance Department . . . *	Annual statements	1953-1957	2,209 vols.

(* To be microfilmed, and originals destroyed.)

A report from the Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, was received, as was a report on the Old Age and Survivors Insurance program of the state for 1960, prepared by the Accounts and Reports division of the Department of Administration.

Mrs. Aden W. Lowry, Sedan, has given a collection of papers from the United States land offices at Fort Scott and Humboldt. Included is correspondence, 1857-1864, and miscellaneous papers concerning fiscal matters for the same period. The latter includes monthly and quarterly statements of accounts, fee statements, and abstracts of register receipts. In addition, there are

two volumes of disbursing agents' accounts, 1857-1873. This has been interfiled with similar material from these two land offices already on file in the archives. The 1961 legislature passed a law which states that counties wishing to destroy records more than 20 years old must obtain the approval of the Historical Society before doing so. As a result of this legislation, which the Society believes is foresighted and wise, several inquiries have been received from county offices. As yet no records have been transferred to the Society but those of possible permanent historical value can now be reviewed by the state archivist and the Society's collection of county archives may be substantially augmented in the future.

LIBRARY

The work of the library has again shown a sharp increase, part of it due to centennial activities. There were 2,998 queries on Kansas subjects, 1,619 genealogical inquiries, and 1,059 on general subjects, a total of 5,676. This is an increase of nearly 20 per cent over the preceding year.

Ten years ago it was necessary to add a third cataloger-reference librarian to the staff in order to keep the work up and continue to provide the quality of service that has done so much to make the Society one of the foremost institutions of its kind. This year's figures represent a work load more than 75 per cent greater than that of 10 years ago. Unless there is a decided slacking off next year it will be necessary to request a fourth professional position on the library staff, since the librarians now spend so much of their time in helping patrons and answering correspondence that the basic work of accessioning, cataloging, and performing other essential technical functions has fallen hopelessly behind.

Correspondence, for example, has almost doubled in the past five years. Inquiries covering a wide range of subject matter were received this year from 480 Kansans and 623 residents of other states and foreign countries, a total of 1,103 letters many of which require lengthy research to provide adequate answers. Loan file material totalling 347 packets was also sent out.

The output of the clipping department has been little short of astounding. This year, in addition to the seven daily newspapers which are regularly read and clipped, 14 other dailies were read and clipped for one year, another was checked for two-and-a-half years, and the year's issues of 14 weeklies, plus 460 miscellaneous single issues and 20 centennial editions, were read and clipped. In addition to this prodigious feat, 5,399 clippings were prepared and mounted, while ten old clipping volumes and 160 single pages were remounted. Such a quantity of work has been possible only because of the skill and experience of Mrs. Grace Menninger, who is in charge of this work. A part-time assistant helped her during part of the year.

Library collections have been enriched this year by the addition of many books, pamphlets and compilations in the local history field. Worthy of note are those from Franklin, Lane, Meade, Sheridan, and Smith counties, and from the cities of Abilene, Arkansas City, Cawker City, Cherryvale, Douglass, Great Bend, Harper, Hillsdale, Hutchinson, Leavenworth, Milford, Munden, North Lawrence, Oswego, Russell, and South Haven. Other worthwhile accessions included a number of church histories, centennial cookbooks, librettos and scores of centennial songs, pageants and programs, among them "The Kansas Story," and histories of various civic organizations.

In addition there have been several generous gifts of books and family records. The Woman's Kansas Day Club, which annually donates historical research papers, turned in school histories that when bound amounted to five volumes. Judge Walter G. Thiele gave a collection of Chautauqua programs and handbills from the town of Washington. Mrs. Leland H. Schenck donated a collection of books dating from 1809 to 1844 that belonged to the Rev. Robert Simerwell and constituted the first library of the Pottawatomie Baptist Mission. The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Kansas presented a microfilm copy of the ancestral papers of all members, past and present. Money to purchase books as a memorial to the late Mrs. Harold Cone, Topeka, was given by the Shawnee County Historical Society, the Margaret Dunning chapter, Daughters of American Colonists, and the Topeka Town committee of New England Women. Monetary gifts from the Kansas Society of the Sons of the American Revolution and the Polly Ogden and Margaret Dunning chapters of the Daughters of American Colonists made possible the purchase of microfilm to complete the 1850 federal census of New York. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Helm contributed funds for the purchase of other census records on microfilm.

Several authors and compilers donated family genealogies, among them Mrs. Robert Steele, Mrs. W. H. Keller, and Mrs. Henry A. Humphrey. Copies of theses were received from their authors, Harold M. Heth, Jr., Robert E. Starbury, and Joseph F. Murphy. Mr. Heth's was written under a grant from the Mueller Scholarship Foundation established by Col. and Mrs. Harrie S. Mueller of Wichita. Through the courtesy of the University of Kansas 19 other theses were borrowed for microfilming. More detailed reports on these accessions, and on the books and other printed items produced during the centennial year, will be made in the annual listing of library accessions to appear in the Summer issue of the *Quarterly*.

Library accessions, October 1, 1960-September 30, 1961, were:

Bound volumes

Books

Kansas	262	
General	577	
Genealogy and local history	189	
Indians and the West	79	
Kansas state publications	25	
Total		1,132

Clippings	17	
Periodicals	313	

Total, bound volumes	1,462	
Microcards (titles)	75	
Microfilm (reels)	59	

Pamphlets

Kansas	760	
General	480	
Genealogy and local history	52	
Indians and the West	12	
Kansas state publications	818	
Total, pamphlets		2,122

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

Sixty-four cubic feet of personal papers were added to the manuscript collections during the year.

Mrs. Merritt L. Beeson, Dodge City, gave a manuscript volume containing progress reports by W. W. Follett and Stuart Henry, with exhibits, on the Eureka canal in western Kansas. The documents are dated July, 1896.

A collection of the late Robert Billard's papers, received from his estate, includes letters from his brother, L. Phil Billard, one of Topeka's pioneer aviators who was killed in France in 1918. The Billard family settled in the Topeka area in 1854 and figured prominently in the city's history.

Verna Cooley of Toulon, Ill., has given approximately 500 letters addressed to her mother, Mrs. Anna M. Cooley, 1891-1950, by managers of her farm lands in Lincoln county. The letters contain detailed reports on weather, soil, crops, and marketing.

Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, gave papers relating to the re-enactment on February 22, 1961, of the raising of the 34-star flag at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on February 22, 1861, by Abraham Lincoln. Rolla Clymer of El Dorado portrayed Lincoln.

Newell A. George, Kansas City, representative from the second district, 1959-1961, has given some of his papers from Washington; and Wint Smith, Mankato, representative from the sixth district from 1947 until his retirement this year, deposited 20 file cases of records. These are valuable additions to the Society's growing collections of personal papers.

Materials to be added to his papers already filed at the Society have been given by former congressman Clifford R. Hope, Garden City. The newly acquired papers filled 11 transfer cases and six letter files. Researchers have made extensive use of this large and valuable collection.

Medical records of J. E. Love, M. D., who practiced in Whiting, Jackson county, 1882-1937, have been given by Mrs. Murry Meador, Holton. The collection consists of 35 small volumes containing notes on calls, prescriptions, births, accounts, vaccinations, and miscellaneous matters pertaining to his practice.

Francis W. Moses of Conway, Ark., has given letters and diaries of his father, Webster W. Moses, who served as a member of Co. D, Seventh Kansas Volunteer cavalry, during the Civil War. The material covers his years in service. Also in the collection are letters of Mrs. Webster Moses, written to her husband during the war years, and letters of her brothers, Robert, George, and Welcome Mowry, all Civil War soldiers.

John W. Snyder, Pasadena, Calif., sent negative photostats of 10 pages of the records of the Union Squatter Association of Monrovia, Atchison county, for 1857.

Waldo E. Koop, Wichita, lent for microfilming the Sedgwick county jail calendar, 1886-1907.

Through the generosity of Mrs. Raymond Millbrook of Detroit, the Society has been able to place an order for microfilm copies of the extensive Fort Hays records in the National Archives. These records consist of letters, telegrams, orders, and circulars for the period 1866-1889.

Other donors included: Russell E. Bidlack, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Mrs. Clara E. Boyce, Long Beach, Calif.; Mrs. Lynn R. Brodrick, Marysville; Welton D.

Brown, M. D., Nichols, N. Y.; George W. Browne, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Marguerite Bullene, Topeka; California State Library, Sacramento; Mrs. George Caragonne, Houston, Tex.; John W. Carrothers, San Francisco, Calif.; Mrs. T. C. Carter, Tonkawa, Okla.; C. J. Chandler, Wichita; W. G. Clugston, Topeka; Charles Darnell, Wamego; Hubert Dawson, Wichita; Mrs. John S. Dean, Jr., Topeka; Mrs. Mary H. Dean, Albuquerque, N. M.; Mrs. Frank G. Drenning, Topeka; Mrs. John E. DuMars, Topeka; Mrs. Wade Ferguson, Parsons; William B. Fletcher, Downs; Fortnightly club, Topeka; Mrs. Morrill Fowler, Topeka; Mrs. Rachel Fudge, Wichita; Henry W. Gaffney, Newark, N. J.; Mrs. J. V. Griffin, Topeka; Mrs. H. W. Harbaugh, Phillipsburg; Victor E. Hawkinson, Leonardville; William C. Hoad, Ann Arbor, Mich.; T. F. Hobble, Needles, Calif.; Alva E. Home, Topeka; Mrs. C. C. Isely, Topeka; the *Kansas City Star*; Mrs. Erwin Keller, Topeka; Robert H. Kingman, Topeka; D. D. Leahy, Pratt; Mrs. M. E. Lee, Walker, Minn.; W. H. Lieurance, Topeka; Mrs. Aden W. Lowry, Sedan; Mrs. G. W. McClung, Westminster, Md.; Clyde O. McCrum, Kansas City, Mo.; Roy J. McMullen estate; Mrs. George Middleton, Washington, D. C.; Ottawa County Historical Society; Mrs. Lon H. Powell, Wichita; Lester E. Scales, Topeka; James W. Scoville, Osage City; Dolph Simons, Lawrence; U. Scott Smith, Stillwell, Ill.; Mrs. Fred M. Thompson, Oskaloosa; Marcia E. Tillman, Little Rock, Ark.; Mrs. R. J. Toth, Chula Vista, Calif.; the Rev. Charles Trent, Topeka; Elmer Wagner, Topeka; Mrs. Chester Woodward, Topeka.

MICROFILM DIVISION

In the past 12 months the microfilm division has produced more than 206,000 photographs, nearly 184,000 of newspapers, 17,000 for the library, and the balance for the archives and manuscript divisions. Negatives sold totaled 3,900.

Newspaper microfilming projects included the *Columbus Advocate*, April 1, 1897-March 5, 1936, and March 2, 1942-November 29, 1945; *Galena Republican*, January 19, 1883-December 26, 1930; *St. Paul Journal*, April 27, 1872-December 31, 1953; *Osage County Chronicle*, Lyndon and Burlingame, January 18, 1872-May 29, 1919; *Burlingame Enterprise*, October 10, 1895-December 30, 1920; *Barber County Index*, Medicine Lodge, December 16, 1880-December 31, 1931; *Columbus Courier*, July 8, 1875-October 2, 1902; *Industrial Advocate*, Augusta and El Dorado, August 7, 1890-October 17, 1913; and the *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, Leavenworth, Lawrence, May 1, 1863-December 28, 1892.

Shorter runs of newspapers microfilmed included the *El Dorado Democrat*, *Belle Plaine News*, *Sedan Times-Star*, *Elk City Enterprise*, *Greeley News*, *Larned Tiller and Toiler*, *La Harpe News*, *Bird City News*, *Hiawatha Herald*, *Hiawatha Journal*, *Hiawatha Dispatch*, *Mapleton Press*, *Galena Miner*, *University Daily Kansan*, *Lawrence*, *Elk City Globe*, *Elk City Star*, *Bloom Booster*, *Lakin Herald*, and a San Francisco paper, the *Alaska Appeal*. Work is now in progress on a run of the *Council Grove Republican*.

MUSEUM

The museum's previous attendance records were left far behind this year, as 90,911 visitors were recorded. This is an increase of nearly 26,000 over the former record. As usual, many school and scout groups took advantage of the program of guided tours, and teachers made special efforts, as part of their centennial observances, to bring their classes in.

On Kansas day, January 29, the Society opened three new galleries on the

second and third floors, made possible through the remodeling already mentioned. In the Military Hall on the second floor 16 cases display uniforms and other articles showing the participation of Kansans in the nation's wars. Individual cases feature the careers of such famous Kansas military leaders as Gens. James G. Blunt, Frederick Funston, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Adm. John E. Gingrich. Other exhibits include a document case, military uniform case, Civil War paintings, and displays of cannon and other weapons.

The adjoining room, once a part of the old auditorium, is devoted to the agricultural history of the state. The story is told through the use of six display cases, a tool display panel, and a reproduction of a farm yard, made realistic by the incorporation of part of an old barn, in which machinery and tools of the late 1800's occupy most of the space.

Another new room on the third floor is now the Indian Gallery. Here 17 cases depict the cultures of Indian tribes in Kansas from prehistoric times. Most of these cases were moved from the old gallery on the fourth floor, but two new ones have been added, one on the Wichita Indians and the other presenting an archaeological view of various cultures represented in the Kansas area.

Removal of the Indian Gallery from the fourth floor made possible the addition of a woman's section in that area. Nine cases now display hats, shoes, fans, china, and silverware, and other items of interest to feminine visitors. A large built-in case, with mannequins dressed in elegant costumes of the late 19th century, has attracted much attention.

Centennial activities have kept the museum staff busy on several outside projects. Stan Sohl, director, and several of his assistants worked with Mrs. Frank Haucke and the Centennial Commission in designing and building displays for the history trailer which toured the state during much of the year. As of September 30 nearly 84,000 persons had visited this trailer. Another centennial project sponsored by the Society was the building of a general store for the World Food Fair held in Topeka June 13-25. Items in the store, of course, were not for sale, but penny candy was available and many youngsters—and oldsters, too—bought horehound drops, licorice sticks, red hots, and other old-fashioned goodies. More than 55,000 visitors were attracted to the store, and it was so well-received that it was used again in September at the Mid America Fair, when another 33,000 came to see it.

This year, for the first time, the Society sent a display to the State Fair at Hutchinson. The theme, naturally, was the centennial, and 17 panels were used to point out major events in Kansas history. Attendance at our Hutchinson display totaled over 42,000.

The museum also prepared a special display, including nine panels, a large table setting, and other objects, for the Centennial Antique Show held in Topeka late in September.

Special appreciation must be expressed to the Shawnee County Historical Society and John W. Ripley for their contribution to the new look on the fourth floor by arranging for the complete renovation of the Topeka-built Great Smith automobile. It has been restored to its original appearance, as shown in the manufacturer's catalog, by putting down the top, giving it a coat of bright red paint, and redoing the brass radiator and trim until they sparkle like new.

The Woman's Kansas Day Club, which has done so much for the museum in past years, again made a major contribution by contributing funds for the purchase of a special and beautiful carpet for the Victorian parlor. Another

exceptional gift was a donation by the Kansas Council of Women for the purchase of two specially made and amazingly lifelike mannequins for the costume case in the woman's section.

There were 185 museum accessions during the year, totaling 1,637 items.

Important donations were general store items by Mrs. Frank Haucke, Council Grove, Kratzer Brothers, Volland, and Mrs. Earl G. Radenz, Topeka; military uniforms of Adm. John E. Gingrich, decorations and a dress sword, by Mrs. John E. Gingrich of New York City; school books and globes used in the Pottawatomie Baptist Mission school (near Topeka), 1848-1859, by Mrs. Leland Schenck, Topeka; a goblet collection, Reginaphone and other items, by Dr. Omer L. Sharp, San Fernando, Calif.; household items, by Charles Darnell, Wamego; and an eight-place table setting of antique amber wild flower glassware, by C. W. McCampbell, Manhattan.

One of the prize items of the year, donated by Philip O. Lautz, Topeka, was an Edison "presentation" phonograph bearing a plaque which reads: "Presented to Limon L. Ott by Thomas A. Edison." Other valuable gifts were a Cherokee Indian rifle presented by Mrs. Ira E. Harshbarger, Loveland, Colo.; a Sharps buffalo rifle from George Jelinek, Ellsworth; and a collection of firearms from Milt Tabor, Topeka.

The list of donors this year is long, and the Society is deeply appreciative of their thoughtfulness and generosity. In addition to those already mentioned, the following have also contributed to the growth of a great museum: Gov. John Anderson, Jr., Topeka; Etta Bailey, Topeka; B. B. Baker, Seattle, Wash.; Annie Barnes, Topeka; Leslie H. Barnes, Valley Falls; Bill Bishop, Topeka; Forrest R. Blackburn, Topeka; W. A. Blackburn, Herington; Eugene Brownlock, Osawatomie; Marguerite Bullene, Topeka; Maj. and Mrs. A. C. Bux, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. B. J. Bux, Meriden; R. M. Campbell, Council Grove; Capper estate, Topeka; Don Catron, Topeka; C. J. Chandler, Wichita; Eileen Charbo, Topeka; Mrs. Lillie Narron Chilson, Payson, Ariz.; W. H. Christenson, Carbondale; Mrs. E. C. Copping; Timon Covert estate, Madison; Dr. Irvin Lloyd Cowger, Topeka; Emma B. Crabb, Topeka; Dr. J. A. Crabb, Topeka; Roy J. Crabb, Independence, Mo.; Mrs. George Crawford, Topeka; Crosby Bros., Topeka; Clarence Cutshaw, Denver, Ark.; Mrs. Ralph DeHaven, Topeka; L. G. DeLay, Oakley; Mrs. Mildred H. Drenning, Topeka; Mrs. A. J. Dince, Portland, Ore.; Mrs. Augusta Dixon, Topeka; Gov. and Mrs. George Docking, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. George A. Dyche, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Martha Engert, Manhattan; Dr. Newell O. Feeley, Topeka; Mrs. Wade Ferguson, Parsons; Earl Fickertt, Peabody; Mrs. Fred Fitch, Pittsburg; Mrs. Lucille E. Fogerty, Topeka; Mrs. Stella D. Foster, Topeka; Mrs. Fred Garwood, Olathe; Edward Geer, Topeka; Mrs. Lawrence Graf, Wheaton; Mrs. Charles Green, Hutchinson; Mrs. Mildred McMullen Green, Agra; Willard S. Hall; Colby Hamilton, Topeka; Alfred Hartig, Delphos; Bill Hautz, Alta Vista; Mrs. Scott Henninger, Topeka; Mrs. Chester Herrin, Abilene; John L. Hixon, Atchison; Margaret McCoy Huffman, Topeka; Mrs. Hugh A. Hope, Hunter; H. W. Hushler, Topeka; Louis and Emma Jacoby, Agra; Ellen M. Jones, Larned; Herman Jonzen, Topeka; Kansas Centennial Commission; Stan Kaufman, Topeka; Mrs. Erwin Keller, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. F. O. Kelley, Topeka; E. V. King, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kingman, Topeka; L. W. Kington, Topeka; Ed Langsdorf, Topeka; Albert Legnon, Pittsburg; David D. Lehay, Jr., Oakley; Gertrude Lewis, Topeka; Mirel Loomis, Parsons; Mrs. Aden W. Lowry, Sedan; Bruce Luetje, Topeka;

Mrs. Edna Wood Lysaght, Mission; C. A. McAdams, Albuquerque, N. M.; Mrs. Vernon McArthur, Hutchinson; Mrs. Jack McClesky, Topeka; Kenneth McCoy, Topeka; Clyde O. McCrum, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. George T. McDermott, Topeka; Helen McFarland, Topeka; Frank McGrath, Topeka; Nelle Drake McGrath, Holton; Terry McKensie, Topeka; Charlotte McLellan, Topeka; Mrs. D. H. McQueen, Wakarusa; Ralph Mangold, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Murry Meador, Holton; Mrs. Grace Menninger, Topeka; E. A. Metcalf, McAllen, Tex.; Janis Miller, Topeka; Mona Milliken, Topeka; Mike Mills, Topeka; Mrs. Joseph W. Murray, Lawrence; Mrs. W. C. Nelson; Oregon Historical Society; Frank Parker, Topeka; A. W. Ray estate, El Dorado; Stewart Rayfield, Topeka; Mrs. Harry Rhodes, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Richmond, Topeka; S. F. Roberts, Tecumseh; Rock Island railroad; Perry R. Rokey, Topeka; Capt. Joseph F. Rogers, U. S. N. R., New York, N. Y.; Daniel Rowlinson, Topeka; Tony J. Scharz, Great Bend; Paul R. Shanahan, Topeka; Albert Sharp, Topeka; Shawnee Mission Museum; Waddell Smith, San Rafael, Calif.; Mrs. F. A. Smutz, Manhattan; Joseph W. Snell, Topeka; Mabel L. Snell, Topeka; Arthur Sodenstrum estate, El Dorado; Stanley Sohl, Topeka; Auswell Stauffer, Holton; Dick Sticklein, Topeka; Mrs. Jacob Grant Stuhler, Topeka; Judge Walter Thiele, Topeka; Marcia E. Tillman, Little Rock, Ark.; U. S. Post Office, Topeka; H. C. Vangampolard, Topeka; Frank E. Walsh, Topeka; Jim Walsh, Wheaton; G. C. Wegele, Holton; Viola Wendel; Mrs. Ben F. White, Bonner Springs; Don White, Hickman Mills, Mo.; Mrs. H. E. Wickman, Topeka; Julius L. Wikus, Topeka; Mrs. Herb Wilson, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Mrs. Albert Winter, Topeka; Mrs. L. E. Womer, Agra; Mrs. Chester Woodward, Topeka; Otto Wullschleger, Frankfort; Veda Wyatt, Garnett; Mrs. Mildred Yocum, Topeka; Max Yoho, Topeka; Harlan W. Zachman, Topeka.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISION

Over 12,400 searches in census and newspaper volumes were made by the staff of the newspaper and census division in serving 6,080 patrons who visited the department, and in answering 4,388 requests received by mail. This is an increase of almost 2,000 searches and 800 patrons over the previous year. A total of 3,601 certified copies of census and newspaper records was furnished.

The division arranged for the photostating of numerous articles from newspapers and for the microfilming of several longer runs of newspapers at the request of patrons. Several lengthy searches were undertaken, including one for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration which involved the use of over 1,000 newspaper volumes.

Materials used by patrons and staff during the year included 16,434 census volumes, 7,887 bound volumes of newspapers, 6,296 single issues of newspapers, and 3,360 microfilm reels.

Most Kansas newspaper publishers continue to send their current issues to the Society. Fourteen publishers are also sending microfilm copies. Newspapers currently received include 55 dailies, seven triweeklies, 15 semiweeklies, 308 weeklies, and 109 published less frequently. Of these, 159 are school, religious, fraternal, labor, industrial, trade, and miscellaneous periodicals; the remaining 335 are regular newspapers. Eleven out-of-state newspapers are received.

The Society's file of bound volumes of Kansas newspapers increased by 516 during the year to a total of 59,199. The total of out-of-state bound volumes

is now 12,037. With the addition of 487 reels this year, the collection of newspapers on microfilm is now 8,403 reels.

All newspapers on microfilm have been moved to the new microfilm reading room on the second floor.

Older newspapers acquired by purchase this year are: *Kansas Messenger*, Baldwin, January 1, 8, 1859, Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2; the Fort Scott *Bulletin*, five scattered issues in 1862 and 1863; and microfilm copies of the following: Leavenworth *Daily Times*, May 3, 1858; *Kansas Daily Ledger*, Leavenworth, February 24, 1858; *Kansas National Democrat*, Lecompton, July 30, 1857; *Kansas Leader*, Minneola, February 24, 1858; *L'Etoile Du Kansas*, Neuchatel, nine issues in 1873; Palmetto *Kansan*, February 24, 1858; *Sumner Gazette*, May 15, 1858; and *Kansas Settler*, Tecumseh, March 3, 1858.

Donations of older newspapers included: *National Aegis*, Worcester, Mass., November 2, 1803, by Mrs. C. C. Durkee, Knoxville, Tenn.; *Prairie Owl*, Fargo Springs, August 27, 1885, by Chas. Colvert, Auburn, Calif.; *American Soldier*, Manila, P. I., October 8, 15, 29, November 5, 12, 1898, by D. K. Dick, McLouth; and *Kawsmouth Pilot*, Wyandotte, March 9, 1881, by Alan W. Farley, Kansas City. Other donors of newspapers included: John W. Carrothers, San Francisco, Calif.; Charles Crosby, Topeka; Mildred Drenning, Topeka; Clara Hazing, Topeka; T. F. Hobbles, Needles, Calif.; Mrs. Burton Keller, Topeka; Mrs. Erwin Keller, Topeka; Jennie Owen, Topeka; Earl Vaughn, Esbon; Walter C. Walker, Kansas City; and Fenn Ward, Highland.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

During the year 1,974 photographs have been added to the collection while 97 duplicate, damaged, or otherwise valueless prints have been removed, making a net increase of 1,877. Of these, 980 were gifts, 575 were lent for copying, 347 were made by the Society staff and 72 were transferred from other departments. There are now 570 items in the color slide collection.

In addition to the still photographs accessioned, 46 reels of 16mm. motion picture film were given to the Society. Donors were the Kansas office of the United States Treasury Savings Bond Division, WIBW-TV, the Blue Valley Film Committee, and the Topeka *Capital-Journal*.

Several large groups of pictures were received this year. Among the more important gifts were 158 photographs of Topeka scenes and citizens from the Robert Billard estate, Topeka; 28 views of Kansas towns during the era of the first World War from Donald Hale, Independence, Mo.; 24 pictures of early Sedan and southeastern Kansas historic sites from Mrs. Aden W. Lowry of Sedan; and over 300 views of Kansas people and scenes from the Walter Bonstengel estate, Topeka.

Excellent collections of Kansas photographs were lent for copying by Mrs. Ray Garrett, Neodesha; Paul Gibler, Claffin; the Hutchinson *News*; KAKE-TV, Wichita; the Kansas All Sports Hall of Fame, Topeka; Floyd Souders, Cheney; Mrs. Ben White and the public library, Bonner Springs; and Ford Rockwell and the Wichita Public Library. Three lenders combined to make a substantial contribution to the Society's collection of railroad and interurban pictures—Dave Holberg of Topeka, Allison Chandler of Salina, and Shelby Cambell of Westmoreland.

Demands for copies of pictures in the Society's collection have continued to increase at a phenomenal rate and as in the previous year much of the need can be credited to the centennial of statehood activities. However, requests

from outside the state have increased also, with the National Broadcasting Company, *Life*, *American Heritage*, and *True West* among the most frequent patrons of the collection. Approximately 400 pictures were furnished the National Broadcasting Company's *Project 20* series for the preparation of the "The Real West," many of which appeared in the television production. KAKE-TV, Wichita, also made use of a great many of the Society's photographs on its "Expedition Kansas" programs.

The Kansas Centennial Commission borrowed color slides of historic sites from the Society and produced film strips titled "Kansas—Midway U. S. A." This turned out to be a popular feature which various clubs and organizations over the state used in centennial programs. The Society sent copies of the film strip to 190 such groups during the year, and its own slides were shown 63 times.

One hundred and seven new maps have been accessioned this year, 36 being recent issues of the United States Geological Survey. The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey has deposited 19 aeronautical charts for Kansas and the Kansas Highway Commission has given 20 new county highway maps.

Photostatic copies of eight Indian land survey maps made by Isaac and John McCoy have been obtained from the National Archives, and three maps of the territorial period have been received. A map and accompanying descriptive material of Scott City and vicinity, dated in the 1880's, was given by Ruth Jackson, Sharon Springs. Other donors to the map collection include Robert Baughman, Liberal; Gene Stotts and Joseph W. Snell, Topeka; Charles H. Rehkopf, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. Leon Flint, Lawrence; and E. W. Gilman, Concord, N. H.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Subjects for extended research included: railroad development and town promotion; transportation to the Pacific; Dodge City, Montezuma and Trinidad railroad; taxation of railroad land grants; British settlements in Kansas; agricultural development of the Great Plains, 1870-1955; Kansas agriculture; history of X-ray in Kansas; women physicians; the dairy industry; Manuel Lisa and the Western fur trade; the Price raid; vocational education; Shawnee and Cheyenne Indians; the arts in Kansas, 1860-1865; early Kansas clergymen; the Unitarian church in the territorial period; Baptist missionaries to the Indians; Wanamaker school; Kearny, Rice, Smith, and Wichita counties; history of Lansing; Joseph L. Bristow, Arthur Capper, Boston Corbett, Isaac Goodnow, Klondike Kate, Alf M. Landon, Isaac McCoy, and William A. Phillips.

SOCIETY HOLDINGS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1961

Bound volumes

Books

Kansas	10,799	
General	59,475	
Genealogy and local history	10,586	
Indians and the West	1,716	
Kansas state publications	3,327	
Total		85,903
Clippings		1,323
Periodicals		17,970
Total, bound volumes		105,196

Manuscripts (archives and private papers, cubic feet)	5,781
Maps, atlases, and lithographs	5,604
Microcards (titles)	181
Microfilms (reels)	
Books and other library materials	430
Public archives and private papers	2,302
Newspapers	8,403
Total	11,135
Newspapers (bound volumes)	
Kansas	59,199
Out-of-state	12,037
Total	71,236
Paintings and drawings	1,094
Pamphlets	
Kansas	97,843
General	40,080
Genealogy and local history	3,874
Indians and the West	1,118
Kansas state publications	7,175
Total, pamphlets	150,090
Photographs	
Black and white	38,395
Color transparencies and slides	570
Total	38,965

THE FIRST CAPITOL

Attendance at the First Territorial Capitol on the Fort Riley military reservation increased from 6,994, as reported last year, to 9,492. Visitors came from 49 states, the District of Columbia, and 17 foreign countries.

The year began auspiciously when the Kansas legislature formally convened in the old building February 22 and conducted a short session. Eight bus loads of legislators and their wives, plus other state officials and friends, made the trip, and all seemed to enjoy themselves.

THE FUNSTON HOME

V. E. Berglund, caretaker of the Funston Home since its acquisition by the state, was forced to retire January 1 because of ill health. He was succeeded by L. A. Foster of Iola. Mr. Berglund was conscientious and devoted, and performed yeoman service in improving the property.

Registration was 1,215, with visitors from 22 states and one foreign country, Japan. A flag pole has been erected on the front lawn, and exterminators have directed their lethal sprays at the termites, with what success is not yet known.

THE KAW MISSION

Another successful year can be reported for the Kaw Mission at Council Grove. Number of visitors was 8,161, as compared with 6,038 last year. Nineteen foreign countries, 48 states and the District of Columbia were represented. Indian visitors included representatives of the Kaw, Kiowa, Arapahoe, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Choctaw, and Comanche tribes.

The Society is happy once again to express appreciation to the Council

Grove *Republican*, the Nautilus club, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Council Grove street and police departments for their interest and co-operation.

Articles were donated to the Mission museum by Patricia Allen, Harry Behring, Frank Brieling, Margaret Leitch, Fern Sharp, Theodora M. Smith, Mrs. Albert Ullrich, Harry White, and June Wilkerson.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

The Old Shawnee Mission also enjoyed one of its most successful years, with 11,497 visitors registered. They came from 43 states and 12 foreign countries.

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

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

There have been times, during this centennial year, when it has seemed that staff members would be overwhelmed by the amount of work piled on them. As usual, however, they managed to take care of most requests for service promptly, though in some cases at the cost of accumulating a backlog of house-keeping chores.

A few weeks ago a letter was received from a faculty member and librarian of a neighboring state university. He wrote: "I am constantly amazed at the splendid co-operation I have always received from your organization, and I only wish that more historical societies could match you in this regard. Thanks so much for your help. . . ." The secretary wishes to pass this compliment—one of a number received—on to the members of the staff, who have earned it. Everyone has had a part in making and maintaining the Society's reputation for excellence.

Respectfully submitted,

NYLE H. MILLER, *Secretary*.

After the reading of the secretary's report, A. Bower Sageser moved that it be accepted. The motion was seconded by Frank Haucke and the report was adopted with an expression of appreciation to the staff of the Society.

Mr. Anderson 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 21, 1960, to August 14, 1961.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 21, 1960:

Cash	\$6,024.66	
U. S. bonds, Series K.....	5,000.00	
		<hr/> \$11,024.66

Receipts:

Membership fees	\$1,896.01	
Interest on bonds	165.60	
Interest on savings accounts	103.06	
Gifts	3,095.15	
		<hr/> 5,259.82
		<hr/> <hr/> \$16,284.48

THE ANNUAL MEETING

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Disbursements		\$4,507.85
Balance, August 14, 1961:		
Cash	\$6,776.63	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,000.00	
	<hr/>	11,776.63
		<hr/>
		\$16,284.48

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 21, 1960:		
Cash	\$144.72	
U. S. bond, Series K	1,000.00	
	<hr/>	\$1,144.72
Receipts:		
Interest on bond	\$27.60	
Interest on savings account	4.27	
	<hr/>	31.87
		<hr/>
		\$1,176.59
		<hr/>
Disbursements		\$12.59
Balance, August 14, 1961:		
Cash	\$164.00	
U. S. bond, Series K	1,000.00	
	<hr/>	1,164.00
		<hr/>
		\$1,176.59
		<hr/>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 21, 1960:		
Cash	\$182.37	
U. S. bond, Series K	500.00	
	<hr/>	\$682.37
Receipts:		
Interest on bond	\$13.80	
Interest on savings account	2.75	
	<hr/>	16.55
		<hr/>
		\$698.92
		<hr/>
Disbursements		\$136.00
Balance, August 14, 1961:		
Cash	\$62.92	
U. S. bond, Series K	500.00	
	<hr/>	562.92
		<hr/>
		\$698.92
		<hr/>

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 21, 1960:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$335.95	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,500.00	
		<hr/> \$5,835.95

Receipts:

Interest on bonds (deposited in membership fee fund)	151.80	
		<hr/> \$5,987.75

Disbursements: pictures, maps, newspapers \$86.28

Balance, August 14, 1961:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$401.47	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,500.00	
		<hr/> 5,901.47
		<hr/> <hr/> \$5,987.75

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, 1961, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, including the Memorial building, \$326,394; First Capitol of Kansas, \$4,611; Kaw Mission, \$4,401; Funston Home, \$4,502; Pike Pawnee Village, \$150; Old Shawnee Mission, \$10,675.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. LELA BARNES, *Treasurer*.

Fred W. Brinkerhoff moved that the report be adopted. Standish Hall seconded the motion and the report was accepted.

Will T. Beck presented the report of the executive committee on the audit of the Society's funds by the state department of post-audit:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 13, 1961.

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 21, 1960, to August 14, 1961, and that they are hereby approved.

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
ALAN W. FARLEY,
FRANK HAUCKE,
WILFORD RIEGLE.

On a motion by Father Angelus Lingenfelter, seconded by Mrs. Ida M. Walker, 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 13, 1961.

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: Emory K. Lindquist, Wichita, president; James E. Taylor, Sharon Springs, first vice-president; and John W. Ripley, Topeka, second vice-president.

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

Respectfully submitted,

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
ALAN W. FARLEY,
FRANK HAUCKE,
WILFORD RIEGLE.

Fred W. Brinkerhoff moved that the report be accepted. Kirke Mechem seconded the motion and the officers were unanimously elected.

Mr. Beck addressed the directors briefly, encouraging them to help stimulate local interest in Kansas history and emphasizing the need for greater emphasis on history in school curricula. He also urged more trips to Topeka by school groups so that they might visit the Historical Society.

Kirke Mechem recalled the granting of federal funds to the state in payment for the outfitting and equipping of troops during the Civil War, and the subsequent decision of the legislature to erect the Memorial building as a tribute to veterans of the Civil and Spanish-American wars. He stated his belief that the success of the Society was due in part to the fact that it had a building in which to operate, and expressed satisfaction that the Memorial building was at last being fully utilized.

Mrs. Ida M. Walker reminded the board of the importance of western Kansas history and mentioned Station No. 15 of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express route at her home town of Norton.

Standish Hall recommended that the display of artifacts recovered from Kansas sites by the state archaeologist be exhibited more prominently and in greater quantity.

George Jelinek of Ellsworth, a state representative, thanked the Society for its part in providing legislators with copies of *Kansas: A Pictorial History*.

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 Hotel Jayhawk. About 140 members and guests attended.

The invocation was given by the Rev. Ernest Tonsing, minister of the First Lutheran church, Topeka.

Following the luncheon a group of songs was presented by the Washburn Singers under the direction of Floyd Hedberg.

President Anderson then introduced guests at the speakers' table and at a special table where past presidents of the Society and their wives were seated.

The address of the president then followed. It was titled "Atchison and the Central Branch Country: 1865-1874," and is published on pp. 1-24, of this magazine.

At the conclusion of his paper, President Anderson was presented with a small plaque in recognition of his service to the Society by Emory Lindquist, president-elect.

Dr. Clement Silvestro, on behalf of the American Association for State and Local History, presented awards of merit to the Fort Larned Historical Society and the Kansas State Historical Society which had been voted by the association at its annual meeting in San Francisco on September 1. E. E. Newacheck received the award for the Fort Larned society and President Anderson and Nyle H. Miller received that given to the state Society.

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

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 13, 1961.

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, 1964:

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
Humphrey, Arthur S., Junction City.
Jameson, Henry, Abilene.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.
Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris,
Garden City.
Kaul, Robert H., Wamego.
Lauterbach, August W., Colby.
Lewis, Philip H., 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.
Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
Robbins, Richard W., Pratt.
Roberts, Larry W., Wichita.
Rose, Franklin T., Topeka.
Scott, Angelo, Iola.
Shrewder, Mrs. Roy V., Ashland.
Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Socolofsky, Homer E., Manhattan.
Stanley, Arthur J., Jr., Bethel.
Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Wark, George H., Caney.
Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

Respectfully submitted,

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
ALAN W. FARLEY,
FRANK HAUCKE,
WILFORD RIEGLE.

Motion for acceptance of the report was made by Fred W. Brinkerhoff, seconded by Kirke Mechem. The report was adopted and directors for the term ending in October, 1964, were elected.

The following memorial to Thomas M. Lillard was read by Frank Haucke:

THOMAS M. LILLARD

Thomas M. Lillard, long-time member, officer, and friend of the Kansas State Historical Society, died in Topeka on July 6, 1961. He had served as a member of the board of directors since 1928 and on the executive committee since 1930. He was president of the Society in 1939-1940.

Tom Lillard was born in Bloomington, Ill., July 29, 1881. Following his graduation from Illinois Wesleyan University in 1902 he studied at the Denver University school of law for a year. For another year he worked with an engineering party on the Moffat route through the Colorado Rockies. He then returned to Illinois Wesleyan, where he took a law degree in 1905.

That same year Kansas beckoned the young attorney and he established practice in Burlingame. In 1909 he moved to Topeka, his home for the remainder of his life. Mr. Lillard was appointed assistant attorney for Shawnee county in January, 1913, but resigned in August to become assistant general attorney for the Union Pacific railroad in Kansas and Missouri. He was named general attorney in 1923 and held that position until his death.

Called "one of the most brilliant of the younger generation of attorneys in Kansas," Mr. Lillard was appointed to the state board of examiners in 1928, serving until his resignation 20 years later. He also served as president of the Kansas Bar Association and of the Topeka Bar Association. In 1954 he was a member of the Kansas Territorial Centennial Committee.

Thomas M. Lillard was active in the work of the Kansas State Historical Society for many years and made lasting contributions to the history of our state both as an officer of the Society and as a private citizen. His interest and abilities will be missed by all who knew and worked with him.

Mr. Haucke moved that a copy of the memorial be sent to Mr. Lillard's family and that it be printed in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*. The motion was seconded by Kirke Mechem, and it was so ordered.

Reports of local historical societies were called for. Mrs. V. W. Maupin reported for the Reno County Historical Society and Mrs. Tom Davis for the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society. Wilford Riegle presented a report by Orville W. Mosher, curator for the Lyon County Historical Society.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society as of October, 1961

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1962

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.
Beck, Will T., Holton.
Bray, Mrs. Easton C., Syracuse.
Chandler, C. J., Wichita.
Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.
Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.
Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
Gard, Spencer A., Iola.
Harvey, Perce, Topeka.
Jelinek, George J., Ellsworth.
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.
Sageser, A. Bower, Manhattan.
Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Wilson, Paul E., Lawrence.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1963

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
Baughman, Robert W., Liberal.
Beezley, George F., Girard.
Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell.
Brinkerhoff, F. W., Pittsburg.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
Docking, George, Arkansas City.
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.
Hope, Clifford R., Sr., Garden City.
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.
Ripley, John W., Topeka.
Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan.
Templar, George, Arkansas City.
Thomas, Sister M. Evangeline, Salina.
Townsley, Will, Great Bend.
Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1964

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
Humphrey, Arthur S., Junction City.
Jameson, Henry, Abilene.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.
Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris,
Garden City.
Kaul, Robert H., Wamego.
Lauterbach, August W., Colby.
Lewis, Philip H., 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.
Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
Robbins, Richard W., Pratt.
Roberts, Larry W., Wichita.
Rose, Franklin T., Topeka.
Scott, Angelo, Iola.
Shrewder, Mrs. Roy V., Ashland.
Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Socolofsky, Homer E., Manhattan.
Stanley, Arthur J., Jr., Bethel.
Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Wark, George H., Caney.
Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

Bypaths of Kansas History

TRAVELING THROUGH KANSAS IN 1860

From the *Lawrence Republican*, August 9, 1860.

Some of the fashionable young ladies of the cities would no doubt be somewhat shocked on witnessing the sights that sometimes greet the eye on these Western thoroughfares. For instance, one day this week an ox team passed through this place, and seated on the pole of the wagon, with an "ox gad" in her hands, was a rather pretty and intelligent looking young lady. What do the "phair" ones think of that?—*Auburn Docket*.

OUR CIVIL WAR CORNER

From *The Conservative*, Leavenworth, September 4, 1861.

A big six-footed Secesher, from Missouri, who had heard that Jim Lane was defeated at Fort Scott, came over here yesterday to "lick any d--d Union man in Leavenworth," as he modestly expressed himself. He was unceremoniously kicked out of a public place where he had made his threat, and found his match soon after in the person of one of our shoulder-strikers, of light weight, but a "hard hitter," who administered a sound threshing to him in a shorter space of time than it takes to read this. Mr. Secesh came to the wrong place to "lick" Union men.

A CIRCUS IN JUNCTION CITY IN 1871

From the *Junction City Union*, August 12, 1871.

Tuesday was circus day. Thunder, lightning and rain made things look rather gloomy. The rain, however, did not last long, and though the morning was cloudy the afternoon was quite clear and pleasant. The band paraded the streets. Their instruments needed cleaning; otherwise they would pass very well. The balloon ascension was a leading feature, and was pronounced a success. The circus performance was good, and the entire affair would have been splendid had the opening scene, founded on Byron's famous poem, been omitted. The rendition of Mazeppa was horrible. The equestrian feats of Mr. Cook were truly wonderful. His backward somersaulting through balloons, from the back of his horse, is an excellence attained by few in the profession. The riding of Miss Emma Lake was good. Levi J. North's trained horse is a model. The contortionist performed his marvelous acts in a manner that elicited universal applause. The clown's jokes were new, and appeared to take. The trained dog afforded great amusement. We understand the Hippo-Olympiad afforded general satisfaction.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Biographical sketches of pioneers in the Lebanon area were featured in a series entitled "Glimpse in the Past," by Peg Luke, beginning in the *Lebanon Times*, January 5, 1961.

Joseph F. Carpenter was the author of several articles on the history of Kansas, Osage county, and the Overbrook community, published in the *Overbrook Citizen*, beginning January 26, 1961.

Articles on the notorious Bender family, published in the *Cherryvale Republican* recently, included: an account, as told by Floyd Elliott, of the fate of the Bender family, in the issue of February 1, 1961; and "The Notorious Benders," a three-part article compiled by Mrs. Lewis Rorick, July 5, 12, 19. Another story on the family was printed in the *Topeka State Journal*, July 20.

Histories of Kansas churches which appeared in the newspapers during the past year included: Beloit Presbyterian, *Beloit Gazette*, February 2, 1961; Hoyt Methodist, *Holton Recorder*, February 23; Prairie Home Methodist, Haysville, *Haysville Daily News*, February 24; Soldier Christian, *Holton Recorder*, March 9; Dutch Reformed and Rotterdam Christian Reformed of Downs, *Downs News*, March 16; Meade Methodist, *Meade Globe-Press*, March 23; Evangelical United Brethren, Concordia, *Concordia Kansan and Blade-Empire*, May 4; First Methodist, Goodland, *Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, May 4 and 11; Mayfield Methodist, Clay county, *Clay Center Dispatch*, May 12; St. Mary's, Clifton, *Clifton News*, June 1; Hope Christian, *Hope Dispatch*, June 5; Luray Methodist, *Natoma-Luray Independent*, June 8; Overbrook churches, *Overbrook Citizen*, June 8; Ada Lutheran, near Kackley, *Jamestown Optimist*, June 15; First Methodist, Emporia, *Emporia Times*, June 15; Spring Valley Mennonite, near Canton, *Canton Pilot*, July 13; St. John's Lutheran, Aliceville, *Burlington Daily Republican*, July 21; Courtland Methodist, *Courtland Journal*, August 3; St. John's Lutheran of Lyons Creek, Dickinson county(?), *Herington Advertiser-Times*, August 24, and *Hope Dispatch*, September 7; Zion's Evangelical Lutheran, Beloit, *Beloit Gazette and Call*, September 7; First Baptist, Leavenworth, *Leavenworth Times*, September 8; Stevens Chapel, Rawlins county, *Citizen-Patriot*, Atwood, September 14 and 21; St. John's Lutheran, Oberlin, *Oberlin Herald*, September 28; Enterprise Methodist, *Enterprise Journal*, October 5; Cottonwood Falls Presbyterian, *Chase County Leader-News*, Cot-

tonwood Falls, October 11; Fees Memorial Evangelical United Brethren, Greenleaf, Greenleaf *Sentinel*, November 16; Morganville Methodist, Morganville *Tribune*, November 30; Saltville Presbyterian, Mitchell county, Beloit *Gazette*, November 30, and Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican*, December 7; St. Rose Catholic, Mount Vernon, Kingman *Leader-Courier*, December 1; Hutchinson Universalist, Hutchinson *News*, December 2; St. Matthew's Lutheran, Nortonville, Atchison *Daily Globe*, December 3; Hall Wesleyan Methodist, Ottawa county, Minneapolis *Messenger*, December 7; and Belle Plaine Methodist, Belle Plaine *News*, December 7.

"It's Worth Repeating," Heinie Schmidt's column in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, included the following articles in recent months: "Fort Griffin, Dodge City Trail, Last Cattle Trail," February 4, 1961; "Lone Woman [Alice Chambers] Buried at Dodge's Boot Hill," February 11; "Home Sweet Home in Early Days Old Sod House," February 18; "Colorful Early Trail Ran From Tascosa to Dodge City," February 25; "Early Settlers Pay Price of Kansas Prairie," March 11; Dodge City Gives Senator [John J. Ingalls] Western Welcome," March 25; "Social, School Events Are Pioneer Entertainment," by Dr. Sam Sackett, April 1; "Special Features in Masterson's Early Day Pistol," April 8; "Early Day Remedy, Dodge City's 'Keeley Cure,'" April 15; "Early Kansas Settler Was a Sturdy Pioneer," April 22; "Pioneer Baby [Wilburn Brown] Gives Name to Ghost Town of Wilburn," May 6; "Early Refrigeration From Harvest of Ice," May 13; "Early Pioneer [James H. Crawford] Has Dreams of South Dodge," May 20; "Transport Buffalo Hides on the Rath Trail," May 27; "Block and Bridle Club Honors Pioneer Stockman [James Reid]," June 3; "Colorful Story in Life of Cowboy Marshal [William B. Rhodes]," June 10; "Early Dodge City Character Old Tinkersmith," June 17; "Early Day Mystery in Case of Empty Coffin," June 24; "Sod Synagogue Unique Mark of Old Jewish Colony [Beersheba]," July 1; "Ghost Town in Stevens County . . . Dermot," July 8; "Dodge City's Fighting Mayor 'Old Webb,'" July 15; and "West Kansas Rugged Pioneers Daddy, Mammy Hull," by Lola Adams Carter, July 22, 29.

Articles of historical interest continue to appear regularly in the *Hays Daily News*. Among recent ones were: "Hays Only 94 This Centennial Year But Its History Has Been Turbulent," February 5, 1961; "Hays Had Its Beginning in 1867 With Founding of Town of Rome," February 19; "U. S. Troops Did Little to Allay Fear of Early

Settlers in Hays City Area," February 26; "Wife of Gen. George Custer Wrote Vividly of Flood at Old Fort Hays," March 5; "Slaying of Sheriff Alexander Ramsey Dramatic Episode in County History," March 12; "History of Famed 'Ellis House' Told by Historian [Howard Raynesford] at That City," April 2; "The Hamlet of Humbogen," by Kittie Dale, April 9; "Tall Tales of Short Grass Country Told [by Ida Egger and Kittie Dale]," April 23; "Gold Seekers Travel Through Ellis County," July 6; and "Letters From Old Fort Hays Written in 1867 Discovered by Hays Resident [Gale Teller]," August 6.

Histories of Rooks county townships were published in the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, starting with the issue of February 9, 1961.

Two articles on the history of coal mining in Kansas were printed in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, February 13, 1961: "Memories of Old Coal Camps Linger on," by Harold O. Taylor, and "Earliest Mining in Kansas in 1827."

Brief sketches of pioneer families in the Chapman area appeared in the *Chapman Advertiser* in recent months. Included were the families of George W. Freeman, February 15, 1961; John Nash, March 16; Simeone Levi Graham, April 20; Thomas Howe, June 29; Michael Howe, July 13; Scott E. Poor, July 20, 27; and George Snyder, August 3.

A history of the Point of Rocks ranch, Morton county, by the Rev. R. L. Wells, was printed in the *Elkhart Tri-State News*, February 16, 1961.

On February 26, 1961, the Great Bend *Daily Tribune* printed a history of Fort Hays Kansas State College under the title "FHS History Shows Struggle for Recognition in Kansas." The college museums are described in an article by Dave Webster in the *Tribune*, April 9. A history of the museums, by Myrl Walker, was published in the *Hays Daily News*, April 23.

Among newspaper articles appearing during the past year on the history of the Santa Fe trail were: "135 Years Ago Santa Fe Trail Was Surveyed Through [McPherson] County," in *McPherson Sentinel*, February 27, 1961; "Youth's [Ed Miller] Death Adds Tale to Santa Fe Trail Legends," *McPherson Sentinel*, March 11; "Santa Fe Trail Was First Pioneer Road," *Scott City News Chronicle*, May 11; "Santa Fe Trail Was Road From 'Civilization to Sundown,'" *Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, May 12; "The Santa Fe Trail," by Carrie Breese Chandler, *Chase County Leader-News*, Cottonwood Falls, May 31.

Kansas Historical Notes

Fort Larned was designated a National Historic Landmark by the U. S. Department of the Interior, in February, 1961. Formal dedication ceremonies were held June 18 with Howard W. Baker, regional director, Region Two, National Park Service, and Gov. John Anderson, Jr., among the participants. Other Kansas sites which have been designated National Historic Landmarks include: Hollenberg Pony Express Station, Washington county; Fort Leavenworth; Haskell Institute, Lawrence; and Wagon Bed Springs, Grant county.

Celebrations, including historical pageants, picnics, rodeos, old settlers' gatherings, parades, etc., in observance of the Kansas centennial, were held in many towns and counties of the state, often times combined with observances of local anniversaries. Among these celebrations were: Pleasanton, May 6, 1961; El Dorado, May 29-June 4; Meade, June 5-10; Junction City, June 10-14; Park, Gove county, July 22; Dighton, July 26-28; Haven, August 2-4; Halstead, August 4; Goodland, August 15; Hugoton, August 20-26; and Mound City, August 23.

Frederick L. Thompson, Jr., was chosen president of the Border Queen Museum, Inc., Caldwell, at a meeting of the board of directors, July 11, 1961. Other officers elected were: Louis V. Rains, first vice-president; Walker Young, second vice-president; Jarry Jenista, third vice-president; Doyle Stiles, secretary; Don Stallings, treasurer; and Dr. J. E. Turner, resident agent.

Dedication ceremonies for the oil well Norman No. 1, near Neodesha, as a state monument, were held July 30, 1961. A replica of the original derrick has been erected over the well, the first commercially successful oil well in Kansas.

Current officers of the Harper City Historical Society include: C. C. Zollars, president; Agnes Nye, vice-president; Audrey Murray, secretary; and Lenor Murray, treasurer. The organization recently purchased an old church building in Harper for a museum.

William Selves, Sr., Cottonwood Falls, was named president of the Chase County Historical Society at the September 9, 1961, meeting of the society in Cottonwood Falls. Other officers include: Paul Wood, vice-president; Mildred Speer, secretary; Clint Baldwin, as-

sistant secretary; and George T. Dawson, treasurer. Charles O. Gaines was the retiring president, having served three years.

Mrs. Izil Polson Long was chosen president of the newly organized Wilson County Historical Society at a meeting September 12, 1961, in Fredonia. Other officers include: Mrs. Giles Creager, vice-president; Mrs. Ben Isenburg, secretary; Mrs. Howard Cantrall, membership secretary; Mrs. Alice Knickerbocker, treasurer; and Mrs. Carl Kuntz, Paul Stephens, Don Walters, and Glenn Beal, directors.

New officers elected by the Hodgeman County Historical Society at a meeting September 16, 1961, in Jetmore, included: Bert Brumfield, president; Earl Pitts, vice-president; Nina Lupfer, secretary; and Frances Pitts, treasurer. J. W. Lang, C. L. Hubbell, and Joe Watson were elected directors.

Mrs. Albert N. Ligon, Pittsburg, was chosen president of the Crawford County Historical Society at a meeting of the society in Pittsburg, September 26, 1961. Also elected were: Robert O. Karr, Girard, vice-president; Mrs. R. P. Emmitt, Pittsburg, secretary; Lora Allen, Pittsburg, corresponding secretary; Flora Holyrod, Pittsburg, treasurer; and F. W. Brinkerhoff, Dr. Ernest Anderson, and Harold O. Taylor, directors. Brinkerhoff, the principal speaker at the meeting, discussed the Kansas centennial. Taylor was the retiring president.

The Franklin County Historical Society elected Ben F. Park president; Franklin P. Baker, vice-president; Mrs. J. E. Harclerode, secretary; and Alma Schweitzer, treasurer, at a meeting in Ottawa, September 28, 1961. F. H. Parks was the retiring president. Edgar Langsdorf, of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the principal speaker at the meeting.

Officers of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for 1962 include: Mrs. George W. Cox, Overland Park, president; Mrs. O. N. Eggleston, Merriam, first vice-president; Mrs. Granville Bush, Prairie Village, second vice-president; Mrs. John Cochran, Shawnee, recording secretary; Mrs. Pearl Christ Miller, Merriam, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Roy E. Boxmeyer, Overland Park, treasurer; Mrs. Fred Dear, Overland Park, curator; Mrs. Sarah Lewis, Mission, chaplain; Mrs. Stella A. Smith, Merriam, parliamentarian; Mrs. James Glenn Bell, Merriam, historian; and Mrs. C. D. Cheatum, Merriam, member-in-waiting. Mrs. Tom Davis was the retiring president.

Loren Hahn was elected president of the Lane County Historical Society at a meeting in Dighton, October 2, 1961. Other officers chosen were: Mrs. Raymond Tillotson, vice-president; Mrs. Joe Hanna, secretary; Mrs. Dale Jewett, treasurer; and Robert Jennison, Mrs. H. S. Edmundson, and Raymond Tillotson, directors. A. R. Bentley was the retiring president.

Homer Cardwell was re-elected president of the Republic County Historical Society at the annual meeting of the society October 2, 1961, in Belleville. Other officers chosen include: Gertrude Walenta, first vice-president; Arch Thompson, second vice-president; Madge Dickerhoof, secretary; Anna Baxa, treasurer; Merle Miller, press and publicity; and Anona Blackburn, historian.

The Norton County Historical Society elected officers at a business meeting October 4, 1961, in Norton. Howard Kuhl is the new president; Helen O'Toole, secretary; and Mrs. Gertrude Heaton, treasurer. Raymond D. Bower was the retiring president.

Current officers of the Kiowa County Historical Society are: W. L. Fleener, president; Chester Fankhouser, first vice-president; A. S. Barnes, second vice-president; Mrs. Benjamin O. Weaver, secretary; and Mrs. L. V. Keller, treasurer. The annual Pioneer Party held by the society in Greensburg, October 12, 1961, was attended by over 200 persons.

A. R. Miller is the new president of the Ottawa County Historical Society, elected at the October 14, 1961, meeting in Minneapolis. Other officers chosen were: Mrs. Thomas Swart, vice-president; Mrs. Ray Halberstadt, secretary; Mrs. Ethel Jagger, treasurer; and Mrs. Zella Heald, reporter.

Re-elected for two-year terms at the annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society October 23, 1961, at Talmage, were: B. H. Oesterreich, Woodbine, president; Mrs. Viola Ehram, Enterprise, first vice-president; and Elmer Sellins, Chapman, secretary. Among those speaking at the meeting was Edgar Langsdorf of the Kansas State Historical Society.

The Riley County Historical Society elected Homer E. Socolofsky president at its annual meeting October 28, 1961, in Manhattan. Otto Haller was elected vice-president; Ralph L. Parker, secretary; Mrs. C. M. Correll, membership secretary; Sam C. Charlson, treasurer; and Ward C. Griffing, Mrs. Paul G. Brown, and S. M. Ransopher, directors.

At a meeting October 30, 1961, in Ellsworth, the Ellsworth County Historical Society voted to undertake a campaign to raise \$15,000 for the purchase and furnishing of the Perry Hodgson home in Ellsworth for a museum. Francis Wilson is president of the society.

Officers of the Osawatomie Historical Society are: Alden O. Weber, president; Chester J. Ward, vice-president; and Alma Mullins, secretary-treasurer. A bequest of \$3,000 for the society was included in the will of the late Jessie Remington Willis.

Ward H. Butcher, Coldwater, was elected president of the Comanche County Historical Society at the annual meeting, November 4, 1961, in Coldwater. Melvin O. Parcel, Protection, was elected vice-president; Mrs. Grover Sanders, Protection, secretary; and F. H. Moberley, Wilmore, treasurer. D. Jay Overocker was the retiring president.

Sumner county's observance of the Kansas centennial was climaxed with an 18-scene historical pageant entitled "The Sumner County Story," presented at Wellington, November 7 and 8, 1961. The Sumner County Historical Society elected officers November 20 in Wellington. Harry Jenista, Caldwell, is the new president. Other officers are: Mrs. Paul Sanders, Belle Plaine, vice-president; Mrs. Charles Medley, Caldwell, secretary; Mrs. Elmer Holt, Wellington, treasurer; Mrs. David Heeney, South Haven, historian; Raymond Cline, Conway Springs, public relations; and Carl Earles, Argonia, Don McAllister, Wellington, Roy Frantz, Conway Springs, Charles Medley, Caldwell, David Heeney, South Haven, Millard Ross, Mulvane, and Paul Sanders, Belle Plaine, directors.

Phillip Cooper was elected president of Safari Museum, Inc., at a meeting of members November 8, 1961, in Chanute. M. L. Morton was named vice-president, and E. E. Rosenthal, secretary-treasurer. In addition to these officers, Dr. James A. Butin, Dale Fairchild, Robert Blunk, and Floyd Neff were elected directors. The organization operates the Osa and Martin Johnson Safari Museum in Chanute.

Committee appointments were made at a meeting of the board of directors of the Clark County Historical Society, November 10, 1961, in Ashland. The committee chairmen include: Roy Shupe, membership; Mrs. Robert Seacat, museum; Chester Zimmerman, historic spots and markers; Mrs. Dan Shattuck, programs; Mrs. Fred Kumberg, photography; Mrs. J. C. Harper, book sales and publicity;

Sidney Dorsey, finance; and Mrs. R. V. Shrewder, historical. Rhea Gross is president of the society.

Robert Hanson, Jamestown, was re-elected president of the Cloud County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting, November 30, 1961, in Concordia. Other officers elected were as follows: George Dutton, vice-president; Mrs. Roy Fahlstrom, membership secretary; Mrs. R. H. Hanson, recording secretary; Ernest Swanson, treasurer; and George Colwell and the Rev. Wilfred Hotaling, board members.

The fifth annual meeting of the Missouri Valley Conference of Collegiate Teachers of History will be held March 23, 24, 1962, at Omaha, Neb., under the auspices of the Department of History of the University of Omaha. Among the featured speakers will be Dr. John B. Wolf of the University of Minnesota, and Dr. George G. Windell of the University of Delaware.

The Shields Methodist church, Lane county, published a nine-page historical pamphlet in observance of its 75th anniversary in May, 1961.

Kansas Post Offices is a recently published 256-page book by Robert W. Baughman. Prepared in conjunction with the Kansas Postal History Society and the Kansas State Historical Society, and lithographed by McCormick-Armstrong Co., Wichita, the work includes an alphabetical listing of all Kansas post offices with dates of establishment and subsequent changes, a territorial list, a preterritorial list, a county list with the names of first postmasters, and maps of the region showing the growth, consolidation, and development of counties through the years.

Robert Easton and Mackenzie Brown are the authors of *Lord of Beasts—the Saga of Buffalo Jones*, a 287-page volume published in 1961 by the University of Arizona Press, Tucson.





The Kansas Historical Quarterly

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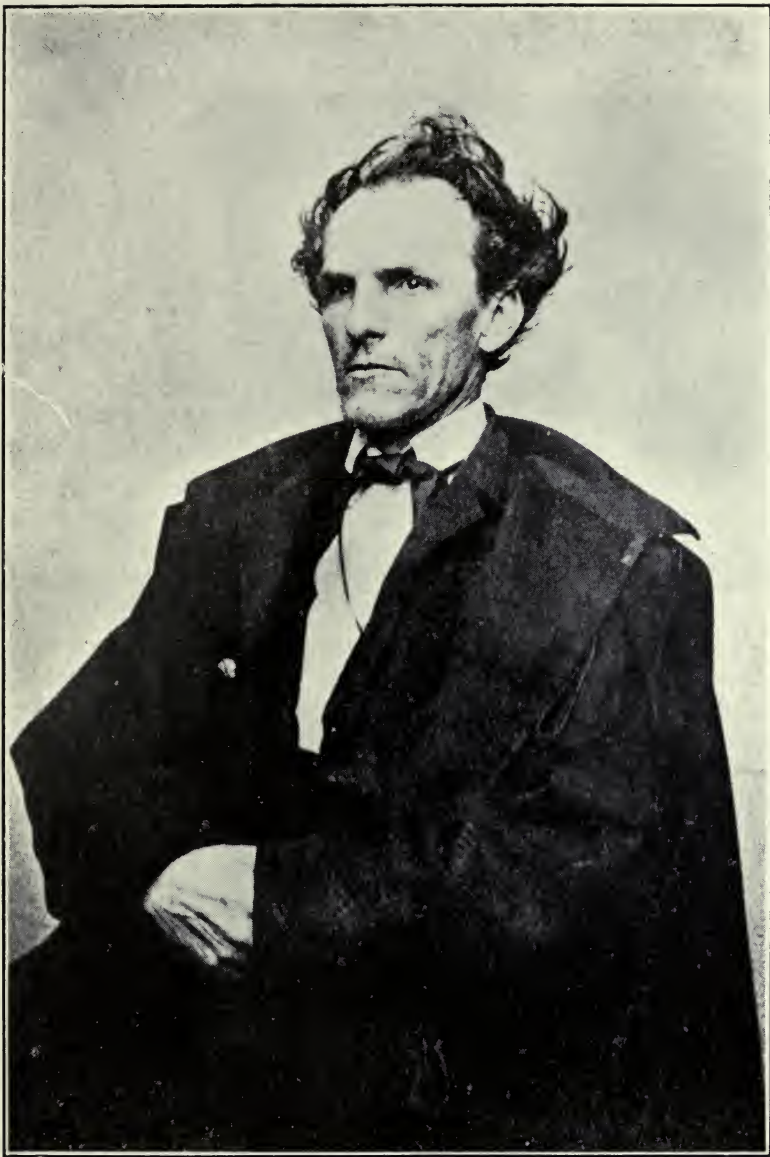
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Second-class postage has been paid at Topeka, Kan.

THE COVER

"Prairie Meadows Burning," a painting by George Catlin. While a Fort Leavenworth visitor in the fall of 1832 Catlin wrote about the prairie fires he witnessed.



JAMES HENRY LANE
(1814-1866)

An early Kansas Free-State leader, Lane was later a brigadier general and U. S. senator before his suicide in July, 1866. He has been described as "the most powerful figure in Kansas political history."



SAMUEL JOHNSON CRAWFORD
(1835-1913)

Governor of Kansas 1865-1868, soldier and statesman, whose appointment of Ross to the senate resulted in a charge of imbecility from a disappointed candidate. Nevertheless Crawford successfully united factions within the Republican party. Even the editor who wrote that "the ball that went through Senator Lane's head, took from the Governor all his brains," soon supported him.



EDMUND GIBSON ROSS
(1826-1907)

Appointed to succeed Lane in the U. S. senate, the celebrated vote by Ross in favor of President Johnson at the impeachment trial caused another Kansas editor to write, "and it came to pass that Kansas made Jim Lane, and Jim Lane made Crawford, and Crawford made Ross, and Ross made an ass of himself." Criticism was bitter at the time but history has vindicated Ross.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Governor Crawford's Appointment of Edmund G. Ross to the United States Senate

MARK A. PLUMMER

EVERY student of American history knows the story of how Edmund G. Ross of Kansas cast one of the critical votes which prevented the removal of Andrew Johnson from the Presidency. Not so well known are the unusual circumstances which led to Gov. Samuel J. Crawford's surprise appointment of Ross to the United States senate on July 19, 1866. The appointment was made available to Crawford because of the suicide of Sen. James Henry Lane who had been the dominant figure in Kansas politics since territorial days. Crawford had been elected governor in 1864 with Lane's approval and Crawford was therefore usually considered a member of the Lane faction. Lane seems to have allowed Crawford to run the state administration as he pleased until the spring of 1866 when the cleavage between President Johnson and the radicals of congress widened into an open split.

Lane had been dependent upon federal patronage to support his position, and he was reluctant to break with the President. Accordingly, he persuaded his followers, including Crawford, to support Johnson, or at least to remain neutral. By May, however, it became obvious that Crawford could not be re-elected in the 1866 election without radical support. Lane called a grand conference of his important followers in Washington for May 26, and it was decided that it would be necessary to adopt a radical platform in the coming election. Crawford immediately returned to Kansas and on June 7 made a public statement which put him squarely in the radical camp. The Lane newspapers began to approve of the congressional plan of reconstruction as opposed to the President's plan.¹

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1. This summary of events is based on the following sources: Ward Burlingame, Leavenworth, to J. H. Lane, Washington, D. C., May 18, 1866, "James Henry Lane Collection," University of Kansas Library; Thomas Carney and J. H. Lane, Washington, to Crawford, New York, May 26, 1866, "Crawford Telegrams," archives, Kansas State Historical Society; Crawford's letter to the citizens of Leavenworth, dated June 7, published in the *Olathe Mirror*, June 14, 1866; Leavenworth *Evening Bulletin*, June 4, 29, 1866; Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1875), p. 439.

Many of the Kansas radicals distrusted Lane and charged that Crawford's fast turnabout had been engineered by Lane only for the purpose of winning the election. Lane made a trip home from Washington in June in an attempt to strengthen his political position. He met with little success and he started back to Washington on June 22. On June 25 it was reported that he was seriously ill in St. Louis and his doctors advised that he return to Kansas. He was taken to the government farm located on the Fort Leavenworth reservation where his brother-in-law, J. W. McCall, and some friends kept constant watch on him, fearing that he was insane. On Sunday, July 1, he slipped away from his friends. Placing a pistol in his mouth, he fired a shot which passed through the roof of his mouth and came out the top of his head. Miraculously, he lived for 10 days before dying on July 11. Thus ended the life of one of the most powerful figures in Kansas political history.²

The death of Lane left a political vacuum in Kansas only a few months before election time. The situation was succinctly described by a heading over a story filed on July 13 by the Leavenworth correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*. It read, "KANSAS POLITICS MUDDLED—PREDICAMENT OF THE GOVERNOR."³ Kansas politics was indeed muddled and Governor Crawford was certainly in a predicament. Lane died less than two months before the scheduled date of the Kansas Republican nominating convention, leaving the party he had dominated since its inception without a leader. If Crawford were to be renominated, he would have to gather some of the shattered pieces of the Lane faction and combine them with other factions to form a new organization. The first available implement was an interim appointment of a United States senator; it could be a cohesive or a destructive tool, depending on its use. Crawford's delicate position was well defined in the *Tribune* article:

. . . Politicians are in a muddle, and are anxiously awaiting the announcement of the appointment of Lane's successor. There are an innumerable amount of candidates in the field. Every man who has ever been a justice of peace or private in a militia company, is a candidate for the United States Senate. The appointment of any man for the time that intervenes between the present and the meeting of the Legislature would have such an effect as to kill him [the governor] politically. It would make a political enemy of

2. The Leavenworth *Evening Bulletin*, June 9, 15, 29, 1866, and the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, June 14, July 5, 1866, were among the newspapers which believed that Crawford's change of heart had been engineered by Lane. Reports of Lane's illness and suicide may be found in the *Topeka Leader*, June 28, 1866; Wilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 439, 440; *Oskaloosa Independent*, July 7, 1866, and the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 12, 1866.

3. *Chicago Tribune*, July 17, 1866.

every one who is an aspirant for that position, and those who expect to be or would accept it if tendered to them. The position in which the Governor is placed by the death of Lane, is one that is unenviable in every respect. Being a candidate for re-election, he must either draw the enmity of every man who desires the place by making an appointment, or he will be charged with sustaining "my [Johnson's] policy" by refusing to appoint in case the Freedman's Bureau Bill is defeated by one vote.⁴

After the Lane funeral, Crawford made a short tour into southern Kansas; perhaps he wanted to escape his Leavenworth, Topeka, and Lawrence "advisors" and collect his thoughts. He returned to Topeka in a few days and began screening candidates for the senate seat. The names mentioned most frequently were those of Gen. James G. Blunt, Crawford's old army commander; John Speer, Lane's faithful friend and a partner with Ross in the Lawrence *Tribune*; the Rev. H. D. Fisher, a pioneer Kansas preacher-politician; and Former Gov. Thomas Carney. Blunt had an initial advantage because of his friendship with Crawford; he had, in fact, accompanied the governor on his retreat to southern Kansas. Speer had the backing of some remnants of the Lane organization. Fisher had powerful church backing and Carney enjoyed the support of a group of influential businessmen in Leavenworth.⁵

On Tuesday afternoon, July 17, Crawford apparently met with John Speer and C. W. Adams, the latter Lane's son-in-law and political associate. Crawford may have promised Speer the nomination, as his enemies later alleged, but news came from Washington the same day which may have relieved the pressure for an immediate appointment. Leonard Smith, a Leavenworth speculator, wired Crawford from Washington: "Congress will adjourn next week—make no appointment." Crawford also must have known by then that the second Freedman's Bureau bill had been passed over the President's veto on the day before, thus relieving much of the anxiety of the Kansas radicals.

On Wednesday, the 18th, Missouri Sen. John Henderson wired from Washington: "We hope to adjourn by the 23rd inst., but may be delayed until the 25th; we shall certainly leave in a few days." On Thursday another telegram came from Len Smith and M. N. Insley, the owner of the Leavenworth *Conservative*, which read: "All Kansas men and our friends in both houses of Congress recommend you not to appoint a Senator now."⁶

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*; Topeka *Tribune*, August 24, 1866; Burlington *Kansas Patriot*, July 28, 1866.

6. C. W. Adams, Lawrence, to Crawford and John Speer, July 17, 1866; Smith, Washington, to Crawford, Topeka, July 19, 1866, "Crawford Telegrams," *loc. cit.*; telegram from J. B. Henderson, Washington, July 18, printed in the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 20, 1866; the Topeka *Tribune*, July 20, 1866, alleged that Speer had been promised the appointment.

The Henderson telegram brought only a brief respite in the feverish activity in Topeka, because Crawford arrived at a decision the following day. He appointed Edmund G. Ross to the United States senate. The appointment in the secretary of state's commission book is dated July 19, but the announcement was not made until the following day. The appointment caught Crawford's friends and enemies alike by surprise. On July 20, a day after the actual appointment, but before the announcement, the *Leavenworth Conservative* and the *Topeka Record* predicted that no appointment would be made because of the pending adjournment of congress. Speer's backers in Lawrence learned of Crawford's intended appointment sometime on the afternoon of the 19th; their telegrams reflect their dismay: "By all means don't appoint E. G. Ross—Speer's appointment would be much more acceptable to the people"; "Give us John Speer or nobody"; ". . . If you appoint Major Ross you will go to Hell in this county"; and from C. W. Adams, "For God's sake don't appoint Major Ross."⁷

Edmund G. Ross was outside the circle of Lane supporters, although he had been John Speer's partner in the Lawrence *Kansas Tribune*. He was a 40-year-old newspaperman with almost no political following or experience. The question then arises: Why did Crawford choose such a man who was not even a candidate for the position? One possible answer is that each of the announced candidates was unacceptable to some faction of the party and Crawford wanted to reunite the party. Speer had been too closely identified with Lane and Johnson; the nomination of Thomas Carney would alienate the Pomeroy faction, because Senator Pomeroy's backers believed that Lane and Carney had been plotting to remove Pomeroy from the senate at the next election; and Fisher was purported to have no strength with the veterans.

Ross on the other hand was acceptable to the radicals because he had denounced Johnson's course of action, he was acceptable to the Pomeroy group because he posed no threat to them, he was a popular veteran of the late war, and the fact that he had been John Speer's partner in the *Tribune*, might win him the support of some of the Lane element. If this was Crawford's line of reasoning, it proved to be correct in all but one particular, Speer was so bitter over his unsuccessful bid for the senate seat that he became one of Crawford's most caustic enemies. Most of the old Lane faction,

7. Secretary of state, "Commission Book," Commission No. 397, archives, K. S. H. S.; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 20, 1866; *Topeka Record*, July 20, 1866; R. W. Ludington, John Hutchings, C. S. Eldridge, Lawrence, to Crawford; "Many Names" in Lawrence to Crawford; C. W. Adams, Lawrence, to Crawford; all telegrams dated July 19, 1866, "Crawford Telegrams," *loc. cit.*

however, fell in line behind Crawford, largely because they had nowhere else to go.

There are other feasible reasons why Crawford may have chosen Ross. Even before Lane's death, applicants and "advisors" began to importune the governor concerning the senatorial appointment. Crawford later wrote that: "some of the applicants pressed their claims with a tenacity of purpose disgusting in the extreme."⁸ Crawford had known Ross since they had served together in the Second Kansas regiment during the Civil War, and he had great respect for him. According to one story, Crawford sent Ross a note asking him to come to Topeka for a conference. Ross approached the governor and began to commend another candidate when Crawford informed him that he had not called him for consultation but rather to tender him the appointment to the United States senate. "We need a man with backbone in the Senate. I saw what you did at [the battle of] Prairie Grove, and I want *you* for Senator."⁹ Crawford later explained the appointment by saying:

I knew him to be an honest, straightforward soldier of sterling worth and unflinching courage; and on that account he was appointed. I had seen him on the field of battle amid shot and shell that tried men's souls, and I knew he could be trusted.¹⁰

Perhaps Crawford became disgusted by the constant harassment of the applicants and decided to choose a man he knew and trusted; a man who had not solicited the position; a man much like himself in many respects. It is doubtful, however, that Crawford lost sight of the fact that the appointment of Ross might be a device through which the party could be reunited and his own renomination secured.

Ross left for Washington on the night of July 19. He was well on his way when the announcement of the appointment was made public the next day.¹¹ The appointment had the desired effect; some of the newspapers representing each of the various factions praised the move. Crawford was criticized for his vacillation, but most of the Kansas newspapers approved of Ross. He was, after all, a fellow newspaperman. The Leavenworth *Conservative* commented: "His appointment was as unexpected by him as it will be gratifying to thousands of faithful Kansas soldiers." This statement came from a paper whose editor had been urging the appoint-

8. Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, 1911), p. 236.

9. This story is taken from Edward Bumgardner, *The Life of Edmund G. Ross: The Man Whose Vote Saved a President* (Kansas City, Mo., 1949), pp. 56, 57.

10. Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

11. Ross was sworn in as United States senator on July 25; congress adjourned three days later.—See *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 4113.

ment of John Speer.¹² The Leavenworth *Times*, the Carney organ, simply reported the appointment and offered no editorial comment. Even the White Cloud *Chief*, perhaps the most radical paper in the state wrote:

We confess, the Governor has shown remarkable sharpness in this appointment. He has gone outside the scrambling politicians, and committed himself to no factions; he has chosen a man whose record is clean, all through, and he has made an appointment to which it is impossible for any reasonable man to take exception.¹³

The Burlington *Kansas Patriot*, another radical paper, conceded that Ross was outside "the Crawford present supporting ring and that's good."¹⁴

If Crawford's enemies were temporarily caught off guard they soon regained their composure. When the attack on Crawford was renewed, it was largely on the basis that Crawford's vacillation in choosing a senator had shown his weakness. Sol Miller, the most humorous writer among the early Kansas newspapermen, wrote that a number of stories had been heard in Topeka concerning the governor's indecision. One story was that Crawford gave the appointment to the Rev. H. D. Fisher and then took it back, whereupon he gave it to John Speer, who rented the best rooms in town for a celebration, but Ross came by and Crawford gave him the appointment. Ross left town immediately.

Another of Miller's stories was to the effect that Crawford lined up W. F. Cloud, Blunt, Speer, and Fisher and played a boy's game called "Spit, Spit, Spot! Tell me who shall be Senator, or I'll smash you on the spot!" but the finger pointed out the window where Ross happened to be passing by and he was made senator.¹⁵ George T. Anthony was even more critical of Crawford's reputed wavering. He wrote that John Speer had been given the appointment but it had been recalled and given to Ross. Then it was decided the wrong man had been appointed and the governor sent an officer with a writ to retrieve the commission. The officer rode so fast he killed several horses and arrived two minutes after Ross had departed by train for Washington. Anthony thought that Ross had a good chance to get to Washington before the officer and become a senator. He was advised not to be careless with his commission. Anthony, who never took half measures, wrote that ". . . the

12. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 21, 1866; J. W. Wright and Ward Burlingame, Leavenworth, to Crawford, Topeka, July 19, 1866, "Crawford Telegrams," *loc. cit.*

13. White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, July 26, 1866.

14. Burlington *Kansas Patriot*, July 28, 1866.

15. White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, July 26, August 2, 1866.

ball that went through Senator Lane's head, took from the Governor all his brains." ¹⁶ John Speer related that the common expression in Topeka before the appointment was: "Well, who is Senator now?" The answer: "If you tell me the last man who saw the Governor, I'll name the promised man." ¹⁷

J. P. Greer of the Topeka *Tribune*, himself a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, wrote a play in honor of the Ross appointment. He called it a "Tragic Comedy." In one of the scenes, Crawford is alone wrestling with the problem of a senatorial appointment; he says to himself: "Hark! I hear in the distance, the rattle of buggy wheels, and the sound of the office hunters bugle. The pressure is getting too great, I must appoint or the importunities of friends may produce an aberration of my mind. . . ." In scene two, the candidates, including Blunt, Cloud, Fisher, Speer, and Ross, are given an audience with the governor, and each utters some platitude indicative of his character. In the third and final scene, the governor has at last made up his mind, he says to his private secretary: ". . . write quickly my appointment of *Mopus* [Ross], he will do my bidding—send him forth by the light of the *moon*, tell him to keep sacred our plans, for the future canvas, and when he gets to Washington, I command that he appear to Andy 'Moses' [Johnson]. . . ." ¹⁸

The day after the announcement of the appointment John Speer wrote an article under the heading "Gov. Crawford's Imbecility and Treachery." Speer had expected to receive the nomination himself and when he learned that his partner in the *Tribune* had been chosen, he was furious. He fired verbal volleys off in all directions, accusing Crawford of being a weak man who owed his political existence solely to Lane. Speer said he could stand the "imbecility" of Crawford, but he could not forgive the greater crime, ingratitude. He contended that a friend of Lane's should have been chosen in memory of that great man. Speer served notice that he would fight the renomination of Crawford: "We have done with him. Let him rest in the obscurity which mingled imbecility and treachery merit. The name ought not to be breathed in conversation. A few days will develop a [new] standard bearer." ¹⁹

The criticism of J. P. Greer, Sol Miller, George Anthony, and John Speer was countered by several newspapers. The Leavenworth *Conservative* continued to support Crawford as did the Junction

16. Leavenworth *Evening Bulletin*, July 21, 1866.

17. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, July 21, 1866.

18. *Topeka Tribune*, July 27, 1866.

19. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, July 21, 1866.

City *Union*. George W. Martin of the *Union*, noting that Crawford had been charged with indecision and vacillation, answered: "He has exhibited none of these traits toward us, while those with whom we daily associate, and who knew the man during all his military career, assure us that he possesses no such characteristics."²⁰ The position of most of the newspapers was to express mild approval of the Ross appointment without commenting on Crawford's alleged "indecisiveness." The editors may have realized that it would not be entirely consistent to criticize the appointment while praising the appointee. They may also have noted that, the jokes about Crawford's indecisiveness notwithstanding, the appointment was made less than a week after Lane's funeral, surely not a long time to consider such an important matter.

Ross arrived in Washington only three days before congress adjourned. During those three days he made no speeches and cast no critical votes. Nonetheless, he was given the political advantage of being the incumbent senator at the next senatorial election. For Crawford, the maneuver proved successful. As the Republican nominating convention neared, the opposition was unwilling or unable to unite and Crawford was renominated for governor on the first ballot by polling 64 of the 82 delegate votes. Crawford had succeeded in temporarily uniting the various factions within the party under his leadership. His appointment of Ross was one of the factors which convinced the radicals that Crawford was "safe," while the former Lane faction, suddenly deprived of their leader, could do little else but follow Crawford.²¹

The Democrats offered no slate for the 1866 election but a Johnson party called the "National Union Party" was organized. James L. McDowell, the Leavenworth postmaster, was named to oppose Crawford in the general election. A pro-Johnson party had no real chance of winning the election in radical Kansas. Crawford was elected by a vote of 19,370 to 8,152 for McDowell.²²

It is interesting to note that the tradition of party regularity was already a strong force in Kansas politics in the 1866 election. A few weeks after John Speer had denounced Governor Crawford's "imbecility" he was bowing to the "superior wisdom" of the "representative men of our state," and announcing his "earnest support to the man of their choice." J. P. Greer admitted in print that the Republican ticket was a "strong one." Sol Miller who had gleefully

20. Junction City *Union*, July 28, 1866.

21. *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 4113; Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, September 6, 1866; Topeka *Tribune*, September 7, 1866; Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 434, 444, 446.

printed a series of jokes about Crawford's indecisiveness now explained that Crawford had always been a radical at heart but he had been misled by Lane. Miller put it tersely: "Lane dead and Crawford all right." Even Anthony, who had written that the ball which went through Lane's head had removed Crawford's brains, agreed to support the Republican ticket.²³

As a result of Crawford's overwhelming victory, he was able to exert some influence over the 1867 legislature which chose two United States senators on January 22. S. C. Pomeroy was elected to the six-year term while Ross was selected to continue to occupy Lane's former seat for a four-year period. During Ross' four and a half years as a United States senator he generally voted with the radicals in opposition to the President. His vote of "not guilty" on the 11th article of the impeachment charge in May, 1868, therefore, came as a surprise to most Kansans, including Crawford. The chain of events which led to Ross' vote, which if reversed would probably have removed Johnson from the Presidency, was humorously summarized by Sol Miller who wrote: "and it came to pass that Kansas made Jim Lane, and Jim Lane made Crawford, and Crawford made Ross, and Ross made an ass of himself."²⁴

23. John Speer in *Kansas Daily Tribune*, September 7, 1866; J. P. Greer in *Topeka Tribune*, September 14, 1866; Sol Miller in *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, September 27, 1866, the report of Anthony's reversal is in the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, September 8, 1866.

24. The voting for the senate seat is described in the *Olathe Mirror*, January 17, 1867. Evidence that Crawford was taken by surprise by Ross' vote on the impeachment charges is found in a telegram from Crawford to Ross, dated May 16, 1868: "My God Ross what does it mean. The Telegraph reports you as having voted against impeachment on the eleventh article. If true, for God's sake and for the sake of your friends and country don't betray the party in casting your votes on the other articles."—From "Crawford Telegrams," *loc. cit.*; Sol Miller's comment was reprinted in the *Olathe Mirror*, May 28, 1868.

The Democratic Party and Atchison: A Case Study, 1880

JAMES C. MALIN

I. THE LOCAL ISSUES

A SUBSCRIBER asked the editor of the *Atchison Daily Patriot*, Democratic, about the position of the Republican party in 1860 on state rights, and about the current position (1880) of both parties on that subject. In reply, the Republican plank of 1860 was quoted, pledging "the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively. . . ." The *Patriot* agreed that this was good Democratic doctrine and as proof quoted from the Democratic national platform of 1880 on "Home rule" and "opposition to centralization . . .," along with the 10th amendment on powers granted to the federal government and reserved to the states. In contrast, the editor attributed to the Republican party of 1880 an assumption that the federal government had power to do "anything and everything, without any reference to any special grant of power."

The Atchison county Republican platform, adopted October 6, 1880, denounced the "Solid South" as a menace to be confronted as in 1861-1864 by a "Solid North." A one sentence paragraph asserted: "This is a Nation, and not a mere confederation of discordant States." The Republican party then resolved on railroads; on "the duty of the Nation to defend its citizens in the enjoyment of their Constitutional rights"; on protection against ruinous foreign competition of American industries "by wholesome legislation"; on the danger to prosperity of a "change" which would "restore to power the forces that have, during the past twenty years, sought in turn to dissolve the Union, to destroy the public credit, to debase the currency, to cripple the manufacturing interest, and to control elections by force and fraud." Much of this platform was the usual campaign buncombe, but certain parts of it fit remarkably closely into the constitutional revolution charged by the *Patriot's* editorial. The American Civil War had in fact decided on the battlefield that "This is a Nation. . . ." and that decision had been accompanied by a psychological revolution that extended to a large part of the

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Democratic as well as the Republican parties as they were reorganized and reoriented following the war. Gen. Benjamin F. Stringfellow of Atchison and Judge Samuel D. Lecompte of Leavenworth had underscored that fact by joining the Republican party in 1868 and justifying their choice on the ground of a candid acceptance of the national decision, that the power of the federal government was determined by expediency, not by the prewar conception of constitutional powers.¹ Subsequently, the 14th amendment had confirmed the battlefield decision by making citizenship national and in line with that fact was derived the Republican resolution: "It is the duty of the Nation to defend its citizens. . . ."

In Atchison county the Democratic party organization included an unusual number of the most prominent citizens of the city and county. Chief among these were William Hetherington, banker, the Everest and the Waggener families, lawyers, and George W. Glick, lawyer and Shorthorn cattle breeder.

The Atchison county Democratic platform, adopted the day following the Republican convention, contained four resolutions; to endorse the national and state platforms, and to restore national honor and dignity that existed under the founders who knew no North, South, East, or West. The second resolution was aimed at what the Republicans had done the previous day:

Resolved, That we look with distrust and dread on that sentiment publicly proclaimed in the platform of the Republican party of this county which has for its object the entire destruction of state lines and which can in the end lead to no other result than the destruction of our Republican form of government and the substitution in its stead of monarchy.

In order to forestall misunderstanding, it is important to warn the 20th century reader that the use of the word monarchy did not mean necessarily the creation of a King. The words "monarchy" and "empire" had meant, in political controversy in the United States, a centralized and despotic form of government in contrast with popular and decentralized government which was called "republican," but which had no reference to the political party of the same name. In using the language of these resolutions, the Democrats were thinking in terminology common to prewar political theory in the United States, especially as it was emphasized by the Douglas concept of popular sovereignty as defending the right of people in local space to govern themselves in all respects, especially at the state level. Furthermore, it did not exclude self-government within subdivisions of the state—counties and towns—or regional

1. James C. Malin, "The Nature of the American Civil War: The Verdict of Three Kansas Democrats," in *On the Nature of History* (Lawrence, Author, 1954).

management of the interests of groups of states under state compacts.²

II. IDENTICAL RESOLUTION ON RAILROADS—BY PARTY AGREEMENT— TO PROMOTE LOCAL INTERESTS

But all this is preliminary to another and related matter which has escaped the attention of historians of the United States. For reasons that were not the subject of explanation or comment both political parties in Atchison county adopted the same railroad plank.

Resolved, That while the railroads of the country should be required, by wholesome laws, to subserve, for fair compensation, the purposes of the people by whose bounty they were in part constructed, yet we should regard as unwise any attempt to select them alone, among the industries of our state, as the subjects for discriminating or adverse legislation. The interests of the people and the railroads ought to be mutual. The railroad corporations of Kansas, on the one hand, ought to be so managed and operated as to protect and build up the interests of Kansas communities and Kansas people and while demanding this of them, the state should treat them fairly and generously, and promote, as far as possible, their development and welfare.

Quite explicit in this common plank, both political parties were pledged to use railroads as an instrument for the promotion of the interest of the state of Kansas as a geographical area and political entity. Furthermore, in order to make the instrument as effective as possible, the state should promote the development of railroads. This mutual or reciprocal obligation was, by inference, to be pursued even at the expense of states and railroads of states adjoining, or of other sections of the United States. Neither political party appeared to equate this policy as "protection" in a sense comparable with the tariff on imports as "protection" of economic interests. The Democrats did not indicate any consciousness of contradiction between their endorsement of the railroad policy as protection and their denunciation of tariff as protection. On the other hand, the Republicans appeared equally blind to the contradiction between their declaration about the United States being one Nation rather than a confederation of discordant states, and their endorsement of the use of the railroads as an instrument for protection and for the promotion of the local interest of Kansas as a state.³

Before turning to the question of Atchison county candidates in

2. James C. Malin, *The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854* (Lawrence: Author, 1953); "Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas, Part One—The Setting of the Stage," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21 (Autumn, 1954), pp. 184-223; "The Topeka Statehood Movement Reconsidered: Origins," in *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial* (Lawrence: The University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies, 1954), pp. 33-69.

3. The problem has been discussed in other contexts in James C. Malin, *The Contriving Brain and the Skillful Hand* (Lawrence: Author, 1955), Ch. 10, "The Nature of National Policy, With Special Reference To the Nature of 'Protection'—Communication, Tariff, Science."

1880, attention is directed to Edgar W. Howe (Ed. Howe, to the people of Atchison), his *Daily Globe*, newspaper, and his remarkable novel *The Story of a Country Town* published privately in 1883. In the columns of the *Globe* were found paragraphs in commentary on local events and people that were grist for the novel of this singular individualist. His own protests against social injustice were as ruthless as the life he was recording. Howe possessed that fatal gift of being an intimate part of the society in which he lived, yet as one detached or outside it, viewing it in all its inconsistencies, contradictions, and sordidness which seemed to violate needlessly the ideals which he thought it should be capable of achieving. During the campaign of 1880, Howe carried at the masthead of the *Globe* under the caption "The *Globe* Ticket for Governor" the slogan: "Anybody to Beat John P. St. John. . . ." His paper could not be classified as Republican, Democratic, or Greenback, and neither could it be called conservative or liberal.

On one point Howe agreed with his neighbors, the *Champion* and the *Patriot*, that the candidates nominated for the legislature should be chosen with a view to what they could do for Atchison: "We have come to regard Legislatures as a body of men trying to induce the State to help particular localities. . . ." Unlike his contemporaries, however, Howe declared that he intended to support "men who are most capable of doing this city good without any reference to Republicanism or Democracy." His contempt for Greenbackers was so complete he scarcely recognized their existence.⁴ After the Greenback convention had done its worst, Howe was doubtful whether that ticket contained any ray of hope:

This is a bad beginning, but we hope it may end well. The Republicans of Atchison county have controlled its politics so long that they have become insolent, and a change is needed to a party that will not repeat Republican mistakes. Occasionally, the Democrats have elected an officer, but it has apparently been his ambition in each instance to be fully as bad as the worst Republican, but no worse. This is not political reform.⁵

An optimistic frame of mind was not easy to maintain for long, however, as the *Globe*, October 4, revealed how mixed local politics had become. Jesse Crall was a delegate to the Atchison county Democratic convention and an alternate to the Republican convention; while N. S. Mitchell, colored, was a candidate for representative in the legislature on the Greenback ticket and a delegate to the Republican county convention.

4. *The Globe*, Atchison, October 2, 1880.

5. *Ibid.*, September 23, 1880.

III. CANDIDATES FOR REPRESENTATIVE: H. C. BRUCE
VERSUS GEORGE W. GLICK

The Republican party was referred to on occasion in the *Globe* by some variation of the formula: "The Majors, Colonels, Captains, Generals, and other military notables of the city, met . . . and organized a Republican club with which to save the country. . . ." ⁶ In connection with county representation in the legislature, political party attention was focused upon the city senatorship and the North Atchison representative. Peculiar circumstances produced this result. The Republican party nominated a Negro, H. C. Bruce, for representative from the North Atchison district. The *Globe*, October 4, had predicted this: "Of course he has no show of either a nomination or election; but the darkies all think so, and they are better Republicans than ever in consequence." The *Patriot*, October 7, put the matter in the form of a question; in a district with a Republican majority of 200: "Will the Republicans elect Mr. Bruce?" But the *Patriot* was concerned about Bruce's ability to promote the interests of the city of Atchison in charter legislation in competition with Leavenworth and Topeka. Bruce was not a lawyer. The same day the *Globe* insisted that:

Bruce is not a representative citizen in any particular. . . . Bruce has proved a failure in whatever he has attempted. . . . He was a failure as a saloon keeper; . . . as a keeper of a grocery store, he was a failure in the position his brother secured for him at Washington. Since his return . . . he has been loafing. The Republican party disgraced itself in nominating him. . . . It is no kindness to them [Negroes] to flatter their ignorance by nominations of this character."

The *Champion*, October 8, insisted that it was only right that the 400 Negro votes should be represented; Bruce was an intelligent man and his brother was United States senator from Mississippi.

In the North Atchison, or fourth representative district, the Democrats had other ideas about who should watch over the interests of Atchison at Topeka. They fixed upon George W. Glick, who had earlier had legislative experience. Besides being an outstanding lawyer, Glick was also a breeder of Shorthorn cattle of the Bates and Booth strains, the dominant or fashionable type, while his fellow Democrat, William A. Harris of Linwood, was among the leading exponents in the United States of the Scotch or Cruickshank strain.⁷ Glick was a man who commanded respect throughout the state irrespective of political considerations. Dismayed

6. *Ibid.*, September 21, 23, 1880.

7. G. A. Lande, *Kansas Shorthorns* (Iola, The Lande Printing Company, 1920), pp. 34, 37, 52, 62, 69.

possibly at what the Republican convention had done in nominating Bruce, the Democratic convention persisted the next day in honoring Glick with the nomination—as the *Globe* put it: “a man of unusual intelligence; a lawyer of recognized ability, and an enterprising and respected citizen. His opponent is a chuckle-headed darkey, without education or intelligence. We wonder if John A. Martin will vote against Glick. . . . If he does, he will prove recreant to his trust as a voter.” The following day the *Globe* reviewed Glick’s political record; in 1876 he had been elected speaker of the house by acclamation in an overwhelming Republican legislature—

. . . solely because he was an able, impartial and educated man. . . . Many of the best laws on our statute books were framed by him, yet the Republicans ask the people . . . to defeat him in favor of a chuckle-headed darkey, who never had an idea above a full stomach, and a shady place in summer, and a warm corner in winter, in his life. To ask the people to vote for Bruce in preference to Mr. Glick is an insult to their intelligence. It is not a question of Democracy or Republicanism, but of common sense.

In another paragraph, further contrast was made: “Were H. C. Bruce’s son a candidate . . ., he would catch the vote of every man who has ever boarded at the Otis or Lindell hotels, for he is a first-class waiter. . . .”

John A. Martin did persist in advocating the election of Bruce, and insisted that no matter what course the Republican party took on the Negro question, the Democrats would use it to beat the Republican party. Howe could see in Martin’s course, however, only “base and bigoted partisanship.” The *Globe* suggested that if it appeared impossible to elect Glick, and Glick withdrew “to save himself the humiliation of being defeated by such a colored man as Bruce, that Uncle Abram Green [colored laundryman] be substituted. . . . Uncle Abram’s reputation is above reproach.”⁸

IV. AARON S. EVEREST, ATTORNEY FOR JAY GOULD INTERESTS, CANDIDATE FOR STATE SENATE

One controversial candidacy appeared not to be enough for one election, so the day after the Republicans had nominated Bruce, the Democratic county convention nominated Aaron S. Everest, Jay Gould’s attorney, for state senator from the Atchison county district. Immediately Howe came to the defense of Everest. Having known the nominee and his law partner, Balie P. Waggener, since arrival in Atchison some three years earlier, Howe appreciated the encouragement they had given him. The most serious thing

8. Atchison *Daily Champion*, October 8, 9, 1880; *Globe*, October 8, 9, 1880; Atchison *Daily Patriot*, October 8, 1880.

Howe had heard said against Everest was that his firm was at the head of the profession:

. . . no man can distinguish himself in any calling without crowding others out of his way, and making enemies. It is largely for this reason that we intend to support Colonel Everest for the State Senator. . . . The principal thing that can be said against Everest by the opposition is that his firm has been employed by Jay Gould. . . . Under ordinary circumstances this fact would be regarded as creditable, and is so accepted by a great many as it is, but the Republicans cannot make much of a club out of it since their convention adopted a resolution declaring that the railroads should not be selected from the substantial interests of the State for unwise and mistaken legislation. We have been assured that Colonel Everest's candidacy has no reference to railroad interests, but in any event he can do nothing more than protect the Gould roads from legislation favorable only to the Santa Fe, a fight in which the people have no interest.

Furthermore, Howe agreed that everything Everest had in the world was invested in Atchison, and it was not sensible to assume that he would destroy that. The nomination was well received by the public, according to Howe, who insisted that men of both parties had participated in the serenade tendered the candidate.

The Democratic *Patriot*, October 8, pronounced the nomination of Everest as "one of the best and most judicious nominations made yesterday. . . ." In reporting the convention, the *Patriot* emphasized the need of an unusually clear-headed senator because, among other things, the question of a new city charter was coming up, Atchison having outgrown its second class status. The *Champion*, October 24, was not disposed to let the matter rest at that, but opposed Everest, not only because he was a Democrat, but because:

Col. Everest is the attorney of the Gould railways, and the people of this county have some matters to settle with that interest. In the settlement of these affairs we ought to be represented by a citizen who has no personal interests that can possibly conflict with those of the community.

We do not wish to make war on the railroads, nor do the people of this county. . . . The people of this county have no complaints to make against the A. T. & S. F. road. They will cheerfully do everything in their power to protect and promote the interests of that corporation. . . .

Also, the *Champion* was explicit that: "We do not propose to wage a personal war against Col. Everest." Col. John A. Martin, the *Champion* owner and editor, insisted he was approaching this situation as a matter of public policy. The following day the *Patriot* replied: "And yet you will indulge in mean and cowardly insinuations." This was pursued the next day: "The mere fact that some railroad occasionally employs him to attend to its legal busi-

ness is no argument against him, and such silly twaddle is the dire extremity of all fruitless electioneering schemes they have used."

A certain blindness induced by political partisanship is notorious. The case against Everest was so clear that even party loyalty should not have been sufficient to deprive the *Patriot* of its critical faculties. But on the other hand, for all of Martin's professed devotion to good public policy on this occasion, two years hence—to be exact, November 17, 1882—the *Champion* was excusing Republican judges who violated the "purity of the judiciary" provisions of the state constitution.

During the remainder of the campaign of 1880, the *Champion* continued its agitation of the grievances of Kansas against the Gould railroads. According to one interpretation, the charter of the Central Branch, U. P., expired in 1880, and the legislature had passed in 1879 the act defining the duration and existence of certain railroad corporations. Upon condition that such railroad corporations, built largely with Kansas aid, accepted the conditions of the general charter law, the doubtful charters would be extended for 99 years from their original date of issue. As soon as Gould gained control of the Central Branch, the general offices were transferred to St. Louis, and those of the Kansas Pacific to Kansas City, Mo. In fact, except for the Santa Fe and one or two small roads, all Kansas railroad companies had "defiantly refused" to obey the law in this matter. The *Champion* was convinced that a move was on foot to amend or repeal both the general offices act of 1874 and the charter act of 1879:

Do these facts explain the reason why Mr. Gould's attorney is put forward as a candidate for the Senate in this county? The Senate, it should be remembered holds office for four years. . . . If the people of this city and county want to retain the power to compel the Gould railways to do justice to them, is it not well to send to the Senate men who can be depended upon to look after their rights and interests alone? Can the attorney of the Gould railway interest in Kansas be depended upon to do this?

The *Champion* desired to treat "the railway interest of Kansas" fairly, "but it does demand that Kansas railways shall be so operated as to promote Kansas interests and build up Kansas towns." If the attempt in the legislature to induce the state to surrender this right of control succeeded, "the people of the State will be at the mercy of its corporations. The corporations will be bigger than the State. . . ."⁹

9. *Daily Champion*, October 28, 1880.

On October 29 the Garfield and Arthur club held a meeting where the principal speaker was W. W. Guthrie. He was antiprohibition, but pointed out that the liquor interests were arrayed behind Everest. He reviewed the railroad situation much as the *Champion* had done, but used different examples. He alleged that the Gould interest had captured the Missouri legislature and was undertaking to do likewise in Kansas, and in congress, the United States senatorship being at stake. Guthrie then turned to personalities and to an exposé of alleged misconduct on the part of Everest prior to his arrival in Atchison. This reacted unfavorably. Also as a matter of policy about charges strictly personal, the *Champion* declined to publish what had been said.¹⁰

On November 1, the day before election, the *Patriot* ran editorial paragraphs to stress its contention that Everest would care scrupulously for Atchison's interest. Also, the point was made that since Everest had been attorney for the Central Branch "not one suit has been brought against it. Every claim for stock killed, for damage by fire, accident or other cause, has been promptly settled without the intervention of courts." Another paragraph denounced the *Champion's* allegation about legislation needed by the railroad relative to its charter: "Such untruthful stuff is silly, but when printed to injure a candidate for an office is dastardly." A half-column editorial was devoted to what the *Patriot* insisted was Guthrie's attack upon Everest's family.

In endeavoring to meet these attacks near the end of the canvass, the *Globe* admitted its sympathies had been with Everest from the first,

. . . but the Jay Gould ghost haunted us so continually that we investigated the matter, and became convinced, from evidence not furnished by Everest & Waggener, that Mr. Gould had nothing to do with Colonel Everest's candidacy. Gould is not fool enough to ask any man to help burn his own town, and if he has a desire to control the Kansas legislature, he cannot do it by electing a single member of the Senate. We have heard of no Gould candidates in any other section, so that this charge . . . [fails].

Howe's main reliance in his defense of Everest, however, was in pressing the comparative or relative types of argument. Guthrie, Everest's rival, had been a railroad attorney, and at the time was legal advisor to the Atchison and Nebraska railroad which was pictured as hostile to Atchison's interests. In this context, the real issue lay in evaluating what each man had done, and could or would do in the future in influencing the conduct of his railroad client. Howe

10. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1880; *Daily Patriot*, October 30, 1880.

charged Guthrie with failure and credited Everest with success, so far as influence was concerned, in keeping their respective clients favorable to Atchison's interest. He insisted that Everest had kept Gould policy from doing greater damage: "We believe that as Everest's influence with Jay Gould increases, Atchison will be in a proportion benefited, and to elect him to the Legislature only puts him in a position to dictate terms to Jay Gould so far as this city and section is concerned." So far as strictly current Gould management was concerned, he insisted that Atchison had little reason for complaint: "Colonel Everest should receive credit for this rather than curses."

Furthermore, Howe pointed out, but without specific details, that John A. Martin, editor of the Republican *Champion* had also received income from Gould at the time of the Central Branch consolidation and had been powerless to prevent it. In this, and in another editorial in more detail, Howe raised the question of how relatively unimportant income from Gould was for Everest. He attributed to the law firm of Everest and Waggener a total income for the past year of \$24,000, but only \$2,000 of this had been received from Gould. Of course, the point to these figures was to convince the voters that under such circumstances Gould could not own Everest, and the loss of Gould fees could not be in any case a controlling factor in Everest's conduct.¹¹

In dealing with Guthrie's campaign to discredit Everest on private grounds, Howe was most aggressive. Apparently a whispering campaign was active some days prior to Guthrie's speech at which he made the charges about Everest's earlier private life. Howe predicted that the exposé would prove harmless to Everest, but challenged Guthrie for withholding his specifications: "Why don't Guthrie shoot his wad?" Only then, Howe pointed out, could Everest defend himself. Afterwards, Howe's prediction appeared to have been confirmed, and Howe emphasized that the *Champion* had refused to print "the slanderous stuff. . . ." ¹²

The fourth newspaper in Atchison, at the time of the campaign of 1880, was the Greenback-Labor *Public Ledger*, a weekly, launched August 19 and suspended October 30, after publishing nine numbers. On the major issues pertinent to this study it was really worthless, and Ed Howe was its most scathing critic. The party's local platform only endorsed the national and state platforms and candidates and appealed to voters of all parties for support. The

11. *Globe*, October 22, 1880.

12. *Ibid.*, October 25, 27, 30, 1880.

Greenback-Labor candidate for the fourth representative district was N. S. Mitchell, a Negro barber, and for the city senatorship, Jesse Piggott, a farmer. Apparently both declined or withdrew. The party then proposed to place Everest's name on its ballot for senator, a move that precipitated an internal revolt.¹³ The candidate for county attorney, L. P. Barnes, withdrew his name as candidate and stated publicly his reasons—"Because the Greenback-Labor party of this county, contrary to all its professions and principles, has agreed to put the name of A. S. Everest in its ticket for State Senator, when it is well known that he is the attorney of Jay Gould." Barnes held that resistance to such a system of oppression was the reason the party had been organized. A party official, Howard E. Banes, replied, branding Barnes' public statement as a stab in the back, and defending Everest as the man best equipped to represent minorities in the redistricting of the state at the hands of the legislature.

The election returns favored Everest by a majority of 166 in a vote of nearly 5,000, and Glick by a majority of 29 in a vote of nearly 1,300. On the prohibition amendment, the vote was overwhelmingly in the negative. The *Champion* argued that sentiment in the North against electing a colored man to office was as strong if not stronger than in the South and that Atchison was the first Kansas district to undertake it. The showing Bruce had made, the *Champion* interpreted as evidence that the Republicans generally had stood by their professions. Bruce was quoted in this connection as charging his defeat to the defection of his fellow Negroes who betrayed, not him, but the party. Ed Howe congratulated himself upon having opposed Bruce because of his incompetence rather than his color, because Martin had insisted that God had made Bruce black, and to object to him on that account would have been to find fault with God. In the three years that he had lived in Atchison, Howe insisted he had not known of Bruce having done a day's work. Howe was pleased also with Atchison for the election of Everest and for thus demonstrating its preference for building rather than tearing down.¹⁴

Not only had the *Patriot*, the Democratic organ, been virtually silent about railroads, except in its defense of Everest prior to the election, but it reported only occasionally anything of railroad news during the interval between November 2 and January, 1881, when

13. *Daily Champion*, October 3, 26, 1880; *Daily Patriot*, and the *Globe*, October 26, 1880. The Kansas State Historical Society has five of the nine published issues of the *Public Ledger*.

14. *Daily Champion*, November 2-4, 7, 1880; *Globe*, November 3, 1880.

the legislature convened. The *Champion*, however, pursued the theme of railroad consolidation and especially the influence of the current evil genius of Kansas railroads, Jay Gould. An Atchison railroad man was quoted as saying that within four or five years there would be not over four or five railroad companies in the United States. In Kansas, the editor reminded his readers, within a very few years the Kansas companies had been reduced in number from about twenty to three—the Santa Fe, the Missouri Pacific, and the Burlington and Missouri River companies. The practical effect had been to destroy all competition among them. Thus, north of the Kansas river, except along the Missouri border, Gould roads were in control; the Kansas Pacific, the Central Branch, the Kansas Central, and the St. Joe and Western. South of the Kansas river, the Santa Fe occupied the monopoly position through its control over the St. Louis and San Francisco and the Lawrence and Galveston roads, except for the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf, in the eastern tier of counties, the M. K. & T., and the St. Louis, Kansas and Arizona roads, the last two of which were Gould roads. The third railroad power in Kansas was the Burlington and Missouri River interest which controlled the Gulf and the Atchison and Nebraska roads.

The editorial continued by pointing out that in Missouri, Gould controlled three-fourths of the rail mileage; in Nebraska two companies dominated, the Burlington and Missouri River, and the Union Pacific; and in Iowa three companies were represented, the Rock Island, the Burlington and Missouri River, and the Chicago and Northwestern. From the Atlantic seaboard, four companies controlled, the first three monopolizing all Atlantic traffic with Chicago and St. Louis. As for the future—the very near future—three Atlantic and Pacific systems were predicted; the Gould, the Vanderbilt (New York Central, Santa Fe, and C. B. & Q.), and the Pennsylvania-Southern Pacific combinations. Added to these three, the Baltimore and Ohio company would probably undertake to form a fourth system. Meanwhile:

The country looks on in amazed wonder. Currents of trade are changed, cities are built up or destroyed, individuals are enriched or impoverished, as these vast corporations please. . . . They are the pioneers in the Wilderness and the arbiters of fortune everywhere. . . . Each one of them is a perfect machine, moving with the precision of clock-work, and controlled absolutely in all its parts by one central and dominating will.¹⁵

In contrast with the *Champion's* concern about railroad power, the *Patriot* was silent on the issues until January 12, 1881, on the

15. *Daily Champion*, December 5, 1880.

eve of the opening of the legislature. In comment upon the Farmers' convention meeting in Topeka, the editor insisted he was not advised as to its object, but reports represented that it proposed to "pitch into" the railroads—"If that is true, the convention had better not be held." He did not doubt but there were some aspects of railroad management that needed looking into, but "by calm and thoughtful discussion." The relations of state and railroads was summarized thus:

This State owes much to the railroads. They have peopled our prairies, built up our towns and added wonderfully to the growth of all our enterprises and to the value of all our commodities, and not withstanding they were in a great measure constructed by the bounty of our people, the *Patriot* does not believe they ought to be singled out for discriminating legislation.

It was then that the editor called attention explicitly to what had occurred in the Atchison county conventions in October, 1880, when both the major parties had taken the "correct position" on railroad policy, and without a dissenting voice, adopted the same plank.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART SIX, 1830-1832

1830

¶ Bound for the Rocky mountains on a scientific expedition, Prince Paul of Wuerttemberg, together with two servants, a clerk (H. Crossler), and two American Fur Company hands, left St. Louis December 23, 1829. (See 1823 for the prince's earlier Western expedition.) Journeying across Missouri on horseback, this small party reached Francis G. Chouteau's establishment on the Missouri (within present Kansas City, Mo.) on January 5, 1830; and from that place continued westwardly a few miles, along the Kansas river's south bank, to the Chouteaus' American Fur Company post on the Shawnees' land (in Wyandotte county of today). Commenting on the Missouri "Kansas" border scene, Prince Paul wrote:

. . . the country presented to me a few wooded hills and small prairies . . . clusters of lofty trees intermingled with a few sumach and dwarf oak bushes. The land includes that section of the country lately ceded to the Delawares, Peorias, and Shawnee Indians. . . . Traces of cultivated ground, and the possession of cattle, and even of a few black slaves, already indicate the change which may be wrought in the course of time, and under a free, mild, and pacific government. . . .

Heading for Cantonment Leavenworth, Prince Paul forded the Kansas near the Chouteaus' trading house. ("The ice presented some difficulties to swimming my horse . . .," he noted.) At the military post he found his "old friend" Maj. Bennet Riley, in command.

By February, Prince Paul was at the Council Bluffs. When spring arrived he continued up the Missouri to the American Fur Company post Fort Tecumseh (Fort Pierre). That he reached his intended goal—the Columbia's mouth—seems doubtful, for in the early autumn he was on his way back down the Missouri, in a pirogue, and had passed Cantonment Leavenworth by September 24. On reaching St. Louis he embarked for New Orleans.

Ref: *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (KHQ), v. 16, p. 304; St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, October 7, 1830; *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, February 23, 1831; *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Pierre, v. 19, pp. 463-473. The 1830 federal census shows that Francis G. Chouteau had three slaves (an adult male, an adult female, and a child under 10); and that several other Jackson county, Mo., residents also owned slaves.

¶ Starting from the Rocky mountains late in December, 1829, William L. Sublette and "Black" Harris, with a pack dog train, made a winter journey to St. Louis, reaching that town, apparently, on

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February 11, 1830. Little is known of their trip—presumably they traveled “Sublette’s Trace” which would have brought them from the Platte to the Little Blue and down across Marshall and Pottawatomie counties of today to the Kansas river valley. (Compare with January-March, 1827, Sublette-Harris journey.)

Ref: Dale L. Morgan’s *Jedediah Smith* . . . (Indianapolis and New York, c1953), p. 315; J. E. Sunder’s *Bill Sublette* . . . (Norman, Okla., c1959), p. 84.

¶ BORN: on January 12 Susannah (Susan) A. Yoacham, daughter of Daniel and Rosannah (Campbell) Yoacham, at the Shawnee Agency, in present Johnson county. She was, perhaps, the fourth white child, and second white *girl* born in what is now Kansas.

The Yoachams then lived with Subagent John Campbell (cousin of Mrs. Yoacham). Later they ran a tavern in Westport, Mo. Susan married William J. Dillon; had seven(?) children; and died in December, 1912, at Kansas City, Mo., aged 82.

Ref: May H. (Dillon) Tinker’s April 25, 1916, letter, in a “Remsburg scrapbook,” Kansas State Historical Society (KHi) library; letter by John C. McCoy, August, 1879, in KHi ms. division (McCoy says Yoacham was employed as a farmer for the Shawnees); Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, July 16, 1950 (for an account of Yoacham’s tavern).

¶ Reporting, January 30, on the civilization of the Missouri river Indians, Agent John Dougherty stated:

. . . they have made no advance . . . of agriculture [they know] nothing more than they have perhaps always known . . . to raise in a very rude manner, a little corn, a few beans and pumpkins; and even this confined to a very few, out of the numerous tribes on the Missouri; and as to “education,” there is not a single Indian man, woman, or child, to my knowledge, from the head of the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas river, that knows one letter from another. . . .

[As to] . . . the “condition” of the Indians in Missouri [agency] generally, I can only say, that the Kansas, Ioways, Omahas, Ottoes, and the Yankton band of Sioux, from the diminution and scarcity of game in this country, starve at least half the year, and are very badly clad. The other tribes, who reside higher up the river, and near the mountains, in the buffalo country, live plentifully, and are well clothed.

Ref: 21st Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 110* (Serial 193), pp. 9, 10.

¶ Expanding from its Missouri river posts to compete for the Rocky mountain fur trade, the American Fur Company (Western Department), organized an overland expedition at St. Louis in February.

From a rendezvous at Liberty, Mo., a mounted party of 45, with a good-sized pack train (more than 100 animals), traveled through present northwest Missouri, and southwestern Iowa between March 20 and the end of the month; crossing the Missouri (in a keel boat) to the Fontenelle & Drips trading post at Bellevue (Neb.), eight or nine miles above the Platte’s mouth, on March 31st. A month later, at the end of April, the expedition, headed by Lucien Fon-

tenelle (with Andrew Drips, and Joseph Robidoux) began the journey to the mountains, up the Platte and to South Pass.

Warren Angus Ferris (aged 19) accompanied this party and kept a diary of his experiences (1830-1835) which was the basis of a work he prepared entitled *Life in the Rocky Mountains* (first published in issues of the *Western Literary Messenger*, Buffalo, N. Y., between January, 1843, and May, 1844). His narrative, aside from its merit as an account of fur trade life and of the Indians of the Far West, is notable in that it presents the American Fur Company side of the fur trade "war" of the early 1830's—a "war" which that company won by 1834.

Ref: W. A. Ferris' *Life in the Rocky Mountains* . . ., edited by Paul C. Phillips (Denver, 1940).

☛ The steamboat *Wm. D. Duncan* (see April, 1829) was scheduled to begin regular trips between St. Louis and Franklin, Mo., on March 15; and her operators stated she would go as far as Cantonment Leavenworth whenever quantity of cargo justified the journey.

(At one Fayette, Mo., social event in March a toast was offered "to the captain of the steamboat W. D. Duncan. May his exertions in proving the practicability of navigating the Missouri river be long remembered.")

Another steamboat—the *Globe* (John Clark, master)—advertised a departure for Franklin and Cantonment Leavenworth on March 28, and again, in May, another trip to the same places.

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, March 25, May 20, and October 28, 1830; *Western Monitor*, Fayette, Mo., March 31, 1830.

☛ In March, Boudinot Mission—successor to Mission Neosho (see 1824, 1829) and about 10 miles downriver from its site—was established for the Osage Indians by the Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge and his wife, on the Neosho's east (left) bank near the mouth of Four Mile creek. White Hair's main town was across the Neosho and about two miles westward. (The location of Boudinot is now described as on the S.W.¼ of Sec. 10, T. 29, R. 20 E., some two and a half miles west and north of present St. Paul, Neosho county.)

Nathaniel B. and Sally (Gale) Dodge (formerly of Harmony Mission and more recently of Independence, Mo.) were the principal missionary workers at Boudinot. When Isaac McCoy stopped there in June, 1831, he commented that Dodge "had erected . . . pretty comfortable buildings." During the winter of 1831-1832 the Dodges were on leave in the East. Mary B. Choate, of Vermont, came in the autumn(?) of 1832 to teach the Dodge children. A few Osage pupils also attended her school. But she left in March, 1834, to marry outside the missionary family. In 1835 Boudinot was abandoned by the Dodges who found it unsafe to stay longer, due to Indian troubles not explained. However, William C. Requa (from New Hopefield—see next entry) moved there, probably early in 1836, and occupied the place as "farmer and catechist" till May, when he went East on leave. He may have returned

in the fall, but he abandoned Boudinot either in 1836 or very early in 1837. (See, under 1837, for Hopefield [No. 3], the successor to Boudinot.)

Ref: *Reports of the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions*: 1830 (pp. 90, 91), 1831 (p. 87), 1834 (p. 118), 1836 (pp. 94, 96), 1837 (p. 111); *History of American Missions* (Worcester, Spooner and Howland, 1840), pp. 278, 340, 341; W. W. Graves' *First Protestant Osage Missions* . . . (Oswego, c1949), pp. 211-217; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (Washington, 1840), p. 416; *Missionary Herald*, Boston, v. 27, pp. 46, 287, 288, v. 30, p. 258, v. 31, p. 26. The Dodges (married in 1803) had eight children: (Dr.) Leonard, Philena, Sally, Nathaniel B., Jr., Jonathan E., Samuel N., Thomas S., and Harriet. Some were adults by 1830. How many of them were in "Kansas" during the 1830-1835 period is not known.—See J. F. McDermott, ed., *The Western Journals of Washington Irving* (Norman, 1934), pp. 89, 90.

¶ Early in the spring the missionaries and about 15 Osage families comprising Hopefield Mission (see 1823) moved some 20 miles up Grand (Neosho) river, to a site just below Big Cabin creek's mouth (in present Mayes co., Okla.). By summer, 20 Indian families had settled there.

New Hopefield prospered till 1834 when about a fourth of the Osages there died of cholera, and other illnesses, in the summer and fall. Two adults and four children among the missionary families also were victims. On October 30, 1835, the wife of the remaining missionary, William C. Requa, died. New Hopefield closed late in 1835, or very early in 1836. (See preceding entry for Requa's stay at Boudinot Mission; and see under 1837, for the third Hopefield—which was in present Kansas.)

Ref: Spooner and Howland's *History of American Missions*, pp. 206, 253, 278; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. R. No. 474* (Serial 263), pp. 113-115; Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 202; *Reports of the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions*: 1831 (pp. 88, 90), 1832 (p. 114), 1835 (pp. 96, 97); Grant Foreman's *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), pp. 120, 143.

¶ On April 10 William Sublette's company of 81 mule-mounted men and a "caravan of ten wagons, drawn by five mules each, and two dearborns, drawn by one mule each" (also a dozen cattle for food, and a milk cow) set out from St. Louis for the fur trappers' summer rendezvous in the Wind river valley (of present Wyoming). The route was "nearly due west to the western limits of the State; and thence along the Santa Fe trail about forty miles; from which the course was some degrees north of west, across the waters of the Kansas, and up the Great Platte river. . . ." (See illustration facing p. 176.)

Sublette's notable expedition—the first to take wagons as far as the Rocky mountains—proceeded at the rate of 15 to 25 miles per day, and with no particular difficulty reached the rendezvous on July 16. Partners David E. Jackson and Jedediah S. Smith were there awaiting him, with a sizable collection of furs. (See August entry for the homeward journey.)

A year earlier (see March, 1829) Sublette had, it appears, first made use of a section of the Santa Fe trail (that is, traveled south of the Kansas for a

distance) en route to the Rocky mountains, and at the same time had pioneered the path branching away from the Santa Fe trail northwestward to the Kansas river. Where Sublette forded the Kansas in 1829 (with a pack train) and in 1830 (with wagons) is not on record. But it seems probable his party crossed near the Kansa Agency, for it is known that two years later (*see* May, 1832, annals entries) Sublette's pack train crossed the Kansas in that vicinity, and about a week prior, Captain Bonneville's expedition (with its 20 wagons) had also forded the river near the Agency. (*See* Spring, 1827, annals entry for location of the Kansa Agency.)

From the Kansas crossing, up to the Platte, the expedition traversed "Sublette's Trace"—*see* March, 1827, and March, 1829, entries, and map facing p. 521, in Winter, 1961, *Quarterly*—the future Oregon trail pathway.

Ref: Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-317; Dale L. Morgan and C. I. Wheat's *Jedediah Smith and His Maps of the American West* (San Francisco, 1954), p. 80, and folded Fremont-Gibbs-Smith map; 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 39 (Serial 203), pp. 21-23 (for Smith-Jackson-Sublette letter containing above-quoted statements); Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-86.

¶ A party of 48 men, nominally led by Robert Bean, left the vicinity of Fort Smith, Arkansas territory, May 7, on a trapping expedition to the Rocky mountains.

This trip had been organized and financed by John Rogers, of Fort Smith, and three associates. Each of the adventurers had his own rifle, and two or three pack animals in charge. Among these "trappers" were George and Mark Nidever, Alexander and Pruett Sinclair, Frederick Christ, Jacob P. Leese, Job Dye, and Dr. James S. Craig. (The names of most of the others are known, also.)

Beyond the Cross Timbers (as these men were proceeding across present Oklahoma by way of the Canadian river country—the North Fork, apparently), they had a fight with Comanches. Ten of the party then turned back, while the others changed direction and moved northward. On reaching the Arkansas river (possibly near the Little Arkansas junction, as Craig stated; or higher up, as implied in George Nidever's account), they followed its course. Some days later, in a skirmish with a band of Pawnees, they lost seven horses, and had several others wounded. From this point Alexander Sinclair became the party's leader, by tacit agreement.

Subsequently, in the mountains, three of this party were killed by Indians (Mark Nidever and Frederick Christ in 1830; Alexander Sinclair in 1832, at the battle of Pierre's Hole). A fourth man died in the mountains; some of the party returned to Arkansas territory. A good many eventually settled in California.

Ref: L. R. Hafen's "The Bean-Sinclair Party . . .," in *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 31, pp. 161-171; W. H. Ellison, ed., *The Life and Adventures of George Nidever* . . . (Berkeley, 1937).

¶ From a rendezvous at Blue Springs (Mo.) a large trading caravan departed for Santa Fe around the middle of May. This expedition (unaccompanied by a military escort as in 1829) undoubtedly

was well-armed and efficiently organized. Some of the wagons probably were pulled by ox teams. (Josiah Gregg later stated that oxen were first used by *traders* in 1830.) If so, this journey marked another "first" in Santa Fe *trade* annals (though the military escort in 1829 had pioneered in the experiment with ox teams on the trail). Ceran St. Vrain was one of the merchants, and perhaps the captain(?) of this caravan. It appears that Charles Bent also made this trip. By one report there were 120 men, with 60 wagons. (Josiah Gregg's later-day tabulation for 1830 was 140 men and 70 wagons.) The expedition reached Santa Fe on August 4.

Before the end of October a company of traders had returned from New Mexico to Missouri—reportedly "with less profit than usual."

Ref: *Western Monitor*, Fayette, Mo., March 31, April 7, 1830; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Columbia, May 22, October 30, 1830; Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* (New York, 1844), v. 2, p. 160; *Colorado Magazine*, v. 31, p. 110 (for L. R. Hafen's statement on St. Vrain as captain); David Lavender's *Bent's Fort* (New York, 1954), pp. 123, 124, 383, 385. Conceivably Gregg's 1830 totals covered another expedition in addition to the large caravan. But in view of the 1828-1829 Indian troubles, a small party on the trail in 1830 seems unlikely.

¶ The "Indian Removal Bill," which had evoked bitter congressional debate before its passage, was signed by President Jackson on May 28. This act provided "for the exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the Mississippi river." It was, in the words of Isaac McCoy, "the first efficient step taken by the Government towards settling the policy of colonizing the Indians."

Ref: Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 400; *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America From . . . 1789, to . . . 1845* (Boston, 1854), v. 4, p. 411; Grant Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, c1946), p. 59.

¶ In May, Paul Liguette Chouteau, long-time subagent to the Osages of Neosho river, was promoted to head the Osage Agency (in present Neosho county), succeeding John F. Hamtramck.

In the same month, or in June, Richard W. Cummins was appointed to head the Shawnee Agency in present Johnson county. He succeeded George Vashon who went to the Western Cherokee Agency. (Vashon turned over his accounts to Cummins on July 17.)

(Ref: Superintendency of Indian Affairs, "Records" (SIA), v. 4, pp. 118, 119, 142, v. 29, p. 34; Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), "Registers of Letters Received," v. 2, p. 385.

¶ The Rev. Charles Felix Van Quickenborne visited the Osage Indians (for a third time—*see*, 1827, 1828) in the early summer. Presumably he went to the Neosho river towns, but the tangible evidence of his 1830 journey relates to locations on the Marais des

Cygnés and the Marmaton—sites which *probably* were in present Kansas. A Catholic *Osage Register* contains the record of his three baptisms “Done [on June 8] at the house of Francis D’Aybeau near the banks of the Marmiton river, opposite the place where formerly was the village of the *grand Soldat* [Big Soldier]”; and of three marriages he performed, also on June 8, at D’Aybeau’s house; also of six baptisms “Done [on June 9] at the house of Joseph Entaya near the Marais des Cygnés.”

Most of the persons involved in the three marriages listed below were, according to Van Quickenborne, from good half-breed, or metif (three-quarter) Osage families which had left the Indian towns to commence civilized life. The two witnesses to the marriages—Christophe Sanguinet and Louis Peltier—had been sponsors of baptisms which the Catholic father had performed on his 1827 visit to the Neosho river villages. The ceremonies of June 8, at the Marmaton, were for:

Francis D’Aybeau, *alias* Brugiere (a Frenchman), and Mary (an Osage woman).

Joseph Brown, *alias* Equesne (a Frenchman, son of Stephen Brown and Acile Giguere), and Josette D’Aybeau (a metif Osage girl, daughter of Francis D’Aybeau).

Basile Vasseur (son of Basil Vasseur, Osage half-breed), and Mary (an Osage woman, daughter of Kanza Shinga).

Assuming that Francis D’Aybeau’s house was in present Bourbon county, then his is *the first recorded marriage in what is now Kansas*.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan’s *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), v. 1, pp. 193, 194; Osage Mission records, v. 1 (microfilm in KHi).

¶ Leaders of the small bands of Piankeshaw, Wea, and Peoria Indians living in present Miami and Franklin counties wrote William Clark on July 28 about their troubles:

. . . [we] moved on the lands you gave us [in 1828], and are satisfied with them, and have remained quiet and peaceable with all our neighbors; but now . . . we are in trouble . . .; our neighbors, the Kansas, infest us constantly; they beg every thing from us, and what we do not give them, they steal from us; they are now commencing on our corn fields; we can not lay a hoe or an axe down, but what they steal it, and strip our horses of all our bells.

. . . our friend Campbell [Subagent John Campbell] came this spring, and broke ground enough for us to make plenty to live upon, and our crops are good. . . the Osages—they do not trouble us much now; they would not let our women gather pecans last fall, they drove them away, and told them that the land was theirs. . . .

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), p. 115.

¶ Partners Jedediah Smith, David Jackson, and William Sublette, with a company of 50 to 70 men, left the Wind river valley (Wyo.) on August 4 for St. Louis. Their outfit included the 10 pioneer

wagons (now loaded with furs), the same mule teams which Sublette had taken to the Rockies in the spring and summer, also a large number of horses and mules, four of the cattle, and the milk cow which had made the journey from Missouri. (*See* April annals entry.)

The homeward route was "over the same ground nearly as in going out." A large number of the mountain men, with the wagons, reached St. Louis on October 11. But the arrival of "Messrs. Smith and Jackson" on October 7 had been reported and it appears the party may have separated into detachments on the latter stage of the march, with "Smith and Jackson" perhaps moving down the *north* side of the Kansas (possibly beginning a divergent route at the Kansa Agency).

On the way to Missouri, Jedediah Smith wrote a letter (to a brother in Ohio) dated September 10, at "Blue River, fork of Kanzas, 30 miles from the Ponnee [Republic?] Villages," and later added a postscript after he overtook the letter on September 22 "at the Kanzas Fairry, 30 miles from Cantonment Leavenworth." (The operator, and location, of this Kansas river ferry have not been identified. *See* January, 1831, entry.)

Smith, Jackson and Sublette (in a letter of October 29 to the secretary of war) commented that the round trip with wagons, made with "ease and safety," proved "the facility of communicating overland with the Pacific ocean"; and stated that from the South Pass (where their wagons had stopped) to the Columbia river was an "easier and better" pathway than east of the mountains. (*See*, under 1832, Bonneville's expedition—the first to take loaded wagons over the Continental divide.)

Ref: Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-317, 320, 322, 343, 431; Jedediah Smith's letter of September 10, 1830, in KHi ms. division; 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 39 (Serial 203), pp. 21-32; Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89; and *see*, KHQ, v. 5, p. 366, for Isaac McCoy's journal entry of October 22, 1830, mentioning his party's crossing the wagon train's trail.

¶ In the fore part of August (after August 7 and before the 16th), at Cantonment Leavenworth, head men of the Otoes, Omahas, Iowas, Sacs, Delawares, Shawnees, and Kickapoos (of western Missouri) assembled for a peace council at Agent John Dougherty's request. Co-operatively, the Indians pledged amity and friendship.

Ref: "Dougherty Collection," in KHi ms. division (in a typed copy of Dougherty's March, 1832, report).

¶ Maj. William Davenport, Sixth U. S. infantry, became commanding officer at Cantonment Leavenworth in the latter part of August. (He replaced Maj. Bennet Riley.)

An August, 1830, visitor at the post, recalled many years later—in August, 1879—that half a dozen or more white *families* were then at Cantonment

Leavenworth including those of Major Davenport, Indian Agent John Dougherty, Subagent R. P. Beauchamp, Dr. Benjamin F. Fellowes, U. S. A., and Alexander G. Morgan (post sutler).

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 5, p. 347; *SIA*, v. 6, p. 91; John C. McCoy letter, August, 1879, in *KHi* ms. division. That Fellowes was at the post in 1830 is doubtful. He was an army officer from March 2, 1833, to May 30, 1839; and Maximilian says Fellowes was on the upbound *Yellowstone* in 1833 (*Thwaites*, v. 24, p. 114).

¶ In mid-September Maj. Stephen W. Kearny, of the Third U. S. infantry (who had married Mary Preston Radford, stepdaughter of William Clark, on September 5, near St. Louis), and his bride arrived at Cantonment Leavenworth. (They were at the post over the winter—leaving in March, 1831, when Kearny's orders called him elsewhere.)

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 16, p. 401; D. L. Clarke's *Stephen Watts Kearny* . . . (Norman, 1961), p. 47.

¶ Throughout September a surveying party headed by Isaac McCoy—a party which included his sons Rice and John C., two chainmen (Congreve Jackson and Albert Dickens), three hired hands, an interpreter, and a nine-man military escort—was at work in present eastern Kansas north of the Kansas river. By October 2 these surveyors had run the lines of the Delaware Indians' general reserve, and marked out the bounds of Cantonment Leavenworth. (*See map facing p. 177.*)

In the course of accomplishing these tasks, McCoy entered "Kansas" on August 21, at the Shawnee Agency; moved northward to the cantonment on the 28th (accompanied by Delaware chief John Quick); departed on September 1 for the Kansa Agency (some 37 miles southwest); visited Chief White Plume (two miles to the northwest) on the 3d; and on September 6 (not far west of present Topeka) "arrived at the Kansas land, and commenced . . . surveying where their eastern line crossed Kansas river." (*See*, under 1826, Langham's Kansa survey.) From that point the line was run northward to ten miles beyond the northeast corner of the Kansa reserve (or, to the northwest corner of the Delaware reserve); and from there McCoy proceeded to Cantonment Leavenworth's vicinity to survey the post's boundaries. They were completed on October 1. (*See*, under October, for McCoy's Delaware "outlet" survey.)

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 5, pp. 339-361 (for Isaac McCoy's 1830 journal covering the above period of survey); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), pp. 430-440 (for Isaac McCoy's 1831 report on his 1830 Delaware lands survey); *Kansas Historical Collections (KHC)*, v. 4, pp. 302-305 (for John C. McCoy's account of the survey).

¶ About 100 Pawnee Republic Indians arrived at Cantonment Leavenworth on September 22, "from their village on the Republican Fork of the Kansas river."

Agent John Dougherty had sent for a few of their head men to visit him to talk about the Kansa, whose recent horse-stealing raid had violated the peace between the two tribes; and to win the Pawnees' consent for a survey of the Delaware "outlet" (the north line of which would pass near their country).

By way of entertainment, the Indians performed the "Discovery Dance" on the evening of the 23d. The council was held next day. Among those attending were Surveyor (and Baptist missionary) Isaac McCoy, and "venerable old" John Quick (second chief of the Delawares). Principal speaker for the Pawnee Republic band was the head chief Capote Bleu (Blue Coat)—described by an unidentified onlooker [probably 2d Lt. Philip St. George Cooke] as the "best looking Indian" he had ever seen, "his manners are actually fine, a man of natural grace and dignity. . . ." The Pawnees gave consent for the survey; and Dougherty advised them concerning their relationship with the Kansa.

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, October 7, 1830; *KHQ*, v. 5, pp. 357, 358.

¶ Early in October, at Cantonment Leavenworth, Isaac McCoy (and his sons Rice and John C.) prepared to survey the north line of the Delaware "outlet" (a 10-mile-wide strip of land north of the Kansa reserve—see map facing p. 177—which, by terms of the 1829 treaty, was to provide the Delawares access to western hunting grounds). "At the garrison we refitted," wrote McCoy, "the number of soldiers being increased to 15, who, together with a Kansas interpreter, who joined us 26 miles west, and an interpreter for Pawnees, Ottoes, and others who joined us 92 miles west, made our whole company 23."

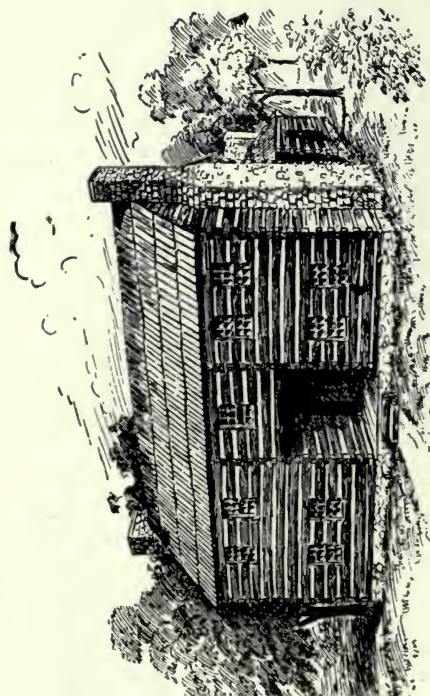
The "outlet" survey began at a point about 46 miles northwest of Cantonment Leavenworth (in what is now northern Jackson county). McCoy's party, on horseback, reached that spot on October 13, and then set a course *due west*. It was a "remarkably dry" season—"an uncommon drought had prevailed throughout that whole region" McCoy later reported. After October 14, when a prairie fire "swept away the grass on both prairies and woodlands . . ." the journey was made with some difficulty. Grass for the horses could rarely be found and the animals failed rapidly. Winds carrying dust and sand, as well as smoke and ashes from the burned prairies, added to the travelers' discomfort.

On October 22 the expedition crossed the Mon-e-ca-to, or Blue Earth (Big Blue) river; reached the Pa-ne-ne-tah, or Pawnee (Republican) river on the 29th; crossed it next day (near present Clifton). On November 5, the north line of the "outlet" having been run 150 miles west, the survey was terminated at a point in southeast Smith county of today—"on the top of a ridge west of Oak creek, not many miles from the present town of Cawker City." "We stopped," McCoy reported, "about forty miles within the region abounding with buffaloes, elks, antelopes, &c." "The country is habitable thus far," he wrote in his journal.

Heading homeward (on November 6) down the Solomon (called "Nee-pa-holla"—water on the top of a hill—by the Kansa), McCoy and some of his party took time to visit the great natural curiosity now known as Waconda (or Great Spirit) Spring (about two and a half miles southwest of present



The Smith-Jackson-Sublette expedition (81 mounted men, and "caravan of ten wagons, drawn by five mules each, and two dearborns, drawn by one mule each"—the first wagons to go as far as the Rocky mountains), which William L. Sublette piloted across "Kansas" in the spring of 1830 (see p. 170), as portrayed 100 years later by Artist William H. Jackson. The scene is the departure from St. Louis. (From water color in Oregon Trail Museum, Scotts Bluff National Monument, Neb., courtesy National Park Service.)



The 1830-1839 log mission, in present Wyandotte county.
 Sketched (from a description) by C. P. Bolmar.

SHAWNEE
 METHODIST
 MISSION
 and
 Its
 Founders
 (See November,
 1830, annals.)



The Rev. Thomas
 Johnson
 (1802-1865)



Mrs. Thomas (Sarah Davis)
 Johnson
 (1810-1873)

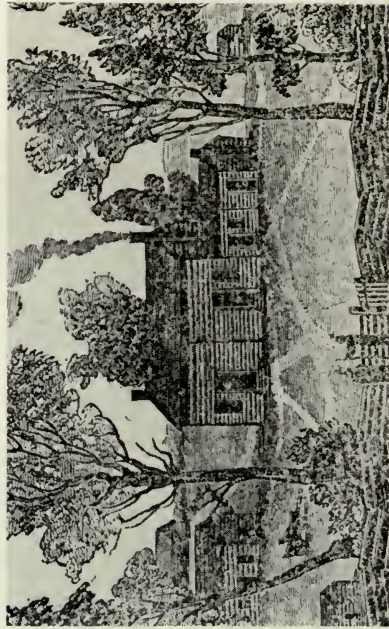


The Rev. Isaac
 McCoy
 (1784-1846)



Dr. Johnston
 Lykins
 (1800-1876)

SHAWNEE
 BAPTIST
 MISSION
 and
 Its
 Founders
 (See July,
 1831, annals.)



The mission premises, 1830's, in present Johnson county.
 Woodcut, from a contemporary sketch.



A Charles Bodmer painting (1833) of the Steamboat Yellowstone on her third voyage to the American Fur Company's upper Missouri trading posts. The Yellowstone's first journey—in the spring of 1831—had opened a new era in boat travel on the upper Missouri. A painting of the Yellowstone (departing from St. Louis in 1832) was made by Artist George Catlin.

Cawker City). To the Kansa it was "Nee-woh-kon-da-ga"—Spirit Water. Moving southeastwardly, the expedition left the waters of the Solomon and crossed to "Nishcoba" (now Chapman) creek, followed it for a time, then turned east to the Republican, and on November 13 camped on the point of land where that river and the Smoky Hill join (near present Junction City, on the Fort Riley reserve). After crossing the Republican, McCoy's weary party, with nearly worn out horses, moved on down the north side of the Kansas river, and on November 19 arrived at the Kansa Agency (in south Jefferson county of today). Isaac McCoy reached the Shawnee Agency (present Johnson county) on November 21.

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 5, pp. 339-377 (especially pp. 361-377) for Isaac McCoy's journal of the 1830 Delaware surveys; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), pp. 430-440 for Isaac McCoy's comprehensive report covering the 1830 Delaware surveys, the character of the country traversed, the state of the Kansa Indians, with recommendations for improving their lot, and lengthy descriptions of such landmarks as the Indian mounds (near Cantonment Leavenworth) and the Great Spirit Spring (present Mitchell county); *KHC*, v. 4, pp. 304-306 for John C. McCoy's account; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 404-412.

¶ **MARRIED:** 2d Lt. Philip St. George Cooke (aged 21) of the Sixth U. S. infantry, and Rachel Wilt Hertzog, of Philadelphia, on October 28, at the Cantonment Leavenworth quarters of Agent John Dougherty and his wife Mary (Hertzog) Dougherty (sister of the bride), by the Rev. Mr. Edwards.

This was *the first wedding of record in present Kansas in which both bride and groom were white persons.* (See Van Quickenborne's June 8, 1830, ceremonies for earliest recorded "Kansas" marriages.)

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, November 11, 1830; *KHQ*, v. 22, pp. 97-103.

¶ In October about 100 of the Delaware Indians living on James' Fork of White river in southwestern Missouri, led by their aged principal chief William Anderson, began the journey to a reserve set aside for them west of the Missouri, north of the Kansas river (and north of the Shawnees). (In late August and early September Chief John Quick had inspected and approved the reserve lands, after making a brief tour with Surveyor Isaac McCoy.) By mid-November Anderson's party had established a settlement in present Wyandotte county several miles west of the Kaw's mouth. Many more Delawares had arrived by December 3d. Agent R. W. Cummins wrote on that date:

"Since the arrival of Chief Anderson, the balance of the Nation except those that are on a hunting Expedition, and a few that are still left on Jame's Fork of White River fifteen or twenty they say, *past my Agency a few days agoe* to the Lands allotted to them on Kansas River. I have not as yet been able to ascertain the precise number, they say about four hundred in all. . . . The principal part of them that are here, are old Men, Women and Children."

Treaties of August 3, 1829 (with the Delawares of Sandusky river, Ohio),

and of September 24, 1829 (with the Missouri Delawares), had implemented the land cessions and removal of these Indians. The latter treaty had described the Delawares' reserve and had specified, additionally, an "outlet" to western hunting grounds. Also by its terms the government agreed to provide assistance in moving; farming utensils and tools to build houses; a year's provisions after removal; a grist and saw mill (within two years); an annuity increase from \$4,000 to \$5,000; and 36 sections of the relinquished Missouri lands were to be set aside to provide funds to educate Delaware children.

On September 22, 1831, Chief Anderson wrote the secretary of war: "I inform you that nearly all our nation are on the land that Government has laid off for us; and I hope . . . that before many years the balance of my nation, who are now scattered, some on Red River and some in the Spanish country, will all come here on this land. We are well pleased with our present situation. The land is good, and also the wood and water, but the game is very scarce."

Ref: SIA, v. 6, pp. 65, 66, 81; KHQ, v. 5, pp. 343, 344, 350, 356, 376; C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 303-305; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), p. 438 (for an Isaac McCoy statement), p. 599 (for Chief Anderson's letter).

¶ In November the Rev. Thomas Johnson and the Rev. Alexander McAlister (Methodists from Missouri) visited the Shawnee Indians and obtained the permission of Fish's (William Jackson's) band to begin a mission among them. It is said that by December 1 the Rev. Thomas Johnson (aged 28) and his bride Sarah T. (Davis) Johnson (aged 20) were established at the chosen site—on a wooded bluff, not far from the Chouteau brothers' Kansas river American Fur Company post. (By present-day description, this first Shawnee Methodist Mission's location was three-fourths of a mile southeast of Turner, Wyandotte county, on the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 24, T. 11, R. 24 E.)

On January 13, 1831, Richard W. Cummins (Shawnee agent) wrote that "Mr. Johnson is at this time making arrangements, and I think shortly after the winter breaks will have the school in operation." He also noted that "the managers of the institution intend instructing the Indian children the arts of Mechanism as well as that of literature." The extent of the Johnsons' missionary efforts during the winter of 1830-1831 is not known. It is thought that the large building (a two-story double log-house, with rooms about 20 feet square) which was to be the Shawnee Methodist Mission headquarters for eight years, was completed by the spring of 1831. (See illustration *between* pp. 176, 177.)

Except for a suspension in the latter half of 1831 (when a smallpox epidemic temporarily scattered the Indians), the Methodists' school and mission flourished and prospered. In 1839 the site in present Wyandotte county was abandoned for another near the Missouri line, in what is now Johnson county, where an

enlarged Indian manual labor school was built—a school which was in operation till 1862.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 161-174, v. 12, p. xiii (for the mission's location), v. 16, pp. 187-197 (for Turner monument dedication, 1917); *SIA*, v. 6, p. 96 (Cummins' letter, 1831); Martha B. Caldwell, comp., *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission* . . . (Topeka, 1939), especially pp. 8-32, 111.

¶ A short-lived Kansa Methodist Mission was established on December 19 when the Rev. William Johnson (aged 25, brother of Thomas) opened a school at the Kansa Agency. (He had reached that place earlier in the month, to make his home with Daniel M. Boone's family.)

As early as April, 1830, the Rev. Alexander McAlister (presiding elder of the Cape Girardeau, Mo., district) had corresponded with Agent M. G. Clark, and Boone, on the subject of a Methodist school among the Kansa. And in November (from the 19th to the 21st?) McAlister and Johnson had visited the agency to select a site. Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy, in his capacity as U. S. surveyor, had met them there—and noted the fact in his journal on November 20.

Missionary William Johnson, on June 26, 1831, reported:

I opened a school in a room which the agent invited me to occupy; but for three months the weather was so extremely cold that I did but little, there being but few children in a situation to attend school. [The nearest Kansa village was more than 20 miles upriver.] At the close of the winter, we prepared a school house, which I now occupy with a small school ["of about ten Indian and six or seven white children"]. We have preaching every Sabbath, but there are few who understand the English language well enough to be profited by hearing. . . . [I have] no suitable interpreter . . . [I] apply all my convenient time to study of their language. I have formed a vocabulary of about 600 words. . . .

This is a large and needy field of labour. There are about 1,500 souls in the Kansas tribe. . . . I view them on the threshold of destruction. . . .

In July, or August, 1831, William Johnson left the Kansa Methodist Mission to attend meetings in Missouri. (Before his departure he had converted some of the Boone family, but no Indians.) He returned to the mission, apparently, for part of the winter of 1831-1832, but then abandoned the field till the fall of 1835.

Ref: William Johnson's letters of June 26 and August 30, 1831, reprinted in *KHC*, v. 16, pp. 227-229; also, *ibid.*, v. 1-2, p. 276, v. 9, pp. 160, 161, 193, 194 (for McAlister), and v. 16, pp. 237, 239, 240; *KHQ*, v. 5, p. 375 (for McCoy); *SIA*, v. 6, pp. 78, 79 (for M. G. Clark letter of November 21, 1830); Spooner & Howland's *History of American Missions*, p. 543.

¶ Near the Kaw's mouth—where Kansas City, Mo., subsequently developed—these were the residents as listed in the 1830 federal census (so far as can be determined from the Jackson county, Mo., entries): Francis G. Chouteau, Calice Montardeau, Francis Tremblé, Pierre Revalette, Louis Roy, and James H. McGee.

Chouteau had settled there in 1826, and with him had come French trappers and voyageurs employed in the Chouteaus' fur trade activities. When Father Joseph A. Lutz (*see* August, 1828, annals) was briefly a resident at the Kaw's mouth in the latter part of 1828, he noted the "little community of nine families" there. Other Frenchmen—besides Chouteau, Montardeau, Tremblé, Revalette, and Roy, above—known to have been in the vicinity prior to 1830 (and already mentioned in these annals) were: Gabriel Philibert, Clement Lessert, and "Grand Louis" Bertholet. The McGee family arrived in 1828, apparently.

James H. McGee (in November, 1828) was the first to enter a land claim in the bounds of present Kansas City, Mo. (when a land office opened at Franklin, Mo., that year). Others who made land entries in "Kansas City" in 1831 and 1832 were: Joseph and Gabriel Philibert, Louis ("Grand Louis") Bertholet, Gabriel Prudhomme, Francis G. Chouteau, Clement Lessert, Oliver Caldwell & H. Chiles, W. B. Evans, Calisse Montardeau, Pierre La Libertie, Louis Roy, and William Gilliss.

Ref: U. S. census, 1830, Jackson co., Mo. (as abstracted by Mrs. H. E. Poppino, 1956); W. H. Miller's *History of Kansas City* (1881), pp. 12, 13 (for land entry list); G. J. Garaghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City* . . . (Chicago, 1920), p. 32 (for Lutz).

1831

¶ In January, it is said, Moses R. Grinter (a Kentuckian, aged 21) began operating a Kansas river ferry, from a site on the *north* bank within the Delaware reserve. (This was three to four miles above, and across the river from, the Chouteaus' trading post and the newly-founded Shawnee Methodist Mission, in what is now Wyandotte township, Wyandotte county, on the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28, T. 11, R. 24 E.)

For lack of tangible evidence, the date and circumstances of the founding of Grinter's ferry cannot be stated with certainty. According to one account young Grinter arrived in present Kansas in 1828, as a soldier at Cantonment Leavenworth; another says he came from Bardstown, Ky., in 1831. Both versions indicate he was "appointed" by the government in January, 1831, to run a ferry. This suggests an arrangement between Cantonment Leavenworth officials and the Delawares for travel through the Indians' lands, and transportation across the Kansas river. The first records located for this ferry consist of two items in James Kennerly's May, 1833, list of expenditures in conducting Kickapoo immigrants to their reserve above Fort Leavenworth: "Moses R. Grinter, for ferriage of Indians, four wagons and baggage, across the Kansas river [the amount of] \$38.75," and "Moses Grinter, for ferriage of 5 wagons and teams across the Kansas river [the amount of] \$9.25." In a July 22, 1833, letter, the Rev. Isaac McCoy wrote of a cholera threat which "so alarmed the Delawares, that they removed their ferry boat to prevent travellers from crossing to them." In a July 29, 1833, letter, the Rev. W. D. Smith mentioned that there was, on the Kansas, about 12 miles from the Missouri and two miles from a Shawnee village, "a tolerably good ferry, at which the mail crosses once every week going and returning between the Shawanoe Agency and Cantonment Leavenworth."

Subsequent development of the military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott in the early 1840's brought increased use of Grinter's ferry (sometimes referred to as Delaware crossing; later as the military crossing; still later, as Secondine crossing). Also, a good many emigrants to Oregon and California crossed the Kansas by way of this ferry in the 1840's and early 1850's. Accounts say that James C. Grinter (a younger brother of Moses) assisted as ferryman from late 1849 to about 1855.

See, also, January, 1836, entry for item on Moses Grinter's marriage.

Ref: KHC, v. 9, p. 203n; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 5 (Serial 248), pp. 74, 79 (for Kennerly items); KHQ, v. 2, pp. 264-266 (McCoy item on p. 264), v. 23, p. 178; J. T. Irving, Jr.'s *Indian Sketches*, ed. by J. F. McDermott (Norman, c1955), p. 17 (for Smith item); *Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson, Jefferson and Pottawatomie Counties, Kansas* (Chicago, 1890), pp. 662, 663 (for James C. Grinter); the 1855 census of Kansas, which listed in the 16th district, p. 2, Moses and James Grinter (but not their families); the federal census of 1870 for Wyandotte tp., Wyandotte co., listed Moses R. Grinter as aged 61, a native of Kentucky.

¶ About 50 young Kansa warriors, in late March, made a "bloody and unprovoked" raid on the village of the Republican Pawnees (on the Republican river) and returned home with scalps of nine women and children. Kansa leader Hard Chief and his brother Gray Eyes, who went to Cantonment Leavenworth to inform Agent Dougherty, also admitted that within the "last twelve months" Kansa warriors had taken 14 scalps, and stolen between 20 and 30 horses from the Pawnees.

In a report (April 23), Kansa agent, Marston G. Clark, gave a broader picture of his wards' situation:

The Kansas Indians are at this time as Retched as human beings can well be the sevearity of the winter prevented them from hunting and distroyed nearly all their Horses which rendered them incapable to resume their hunting or packing provisions from the white settlements if they had any thing to purchase with; but that is not the case. They ar[e] roving about on foot beging and stealing both food and horses. . . . There natural disposition drivin on allso by distress they have renued the war with the Pawoneys [and] has lately taken scalps and horses. . . .

Ref: SIA, v. 6, p. 164 (for Dougherty's letter of April 7), and pp. 179, 180 (for M. G. Clark's letter).

¶ Late in March some Wea Indians who had removed from Indiana in the autumn of 1830 and spent the winter "in the Mississippi [river] swamps" joined their relatives (see 1828 and July, 1830, entries) on the Wea and Piankeshaw reserve in present Miami county. About the same time 19 Kaskaskia Indians—the entire remnant (it was stated) of a once-populous nation—reached the village of their relatives, the Peorias, on the Marais des Cygnes in what is now Franklin county. (The Peoria and Kaskaskia reserve adjoined the Wea and Piankeshaw reserve on the west, and both

were immediately south of the Shawnee lands.—see map facing p. 177.)

Agent R. W. Cummins reported that the Wea newcomers were in a starving condition and that he had furnished them with two wagon loads of corn, and some pork. They were, he wrote, too poor to purchase farming tools, but appeared very humble and willing to work.

Ref: SIA, v. 6, pp. 166-168 (for Cummins' letters of April 2 and 3, 1831); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), p. 117; and *ibid.*, v. 5 (Serial 248), pp. 4, 7, 502. In July, 1826, when the Kaskaskias had arrived at St. Louis (en route to a Missouri "home," where they remained till 1831) it was reported that the "whole remnant of that great Nation consists at this time of 31 Soles[!]¹—15 men mixed, 10 women, 6 children."—see *KHQ*, v. 16, p. 14.

¶ Between the 1st and 22d of April, Missionaries Nathaniel B. Dodge (of Boudinot), William F. Vaill (of Union), and Cephas Washburn (of Dwight), made a tour, on horseback, of Western Creek, and Osage settlements.

They went first to the Western Creek (or Muscogee) Indians—departing from Union Mission (in present Mayes co., Okla.) on April 1, and traveling about 25 miles southward. (Some 2,500 to 3,000 Creeks had emigrated from Georgia and Alabama between 1827 and 1831 and settled near the junction of the Arkansas and Verdigris rivers.) The Protestant ministers spent two days among them, and returned to Union on April 4.

On April 6 the three missionaries set out for Clermont's village of Osages—about 25 miles west and a little north of Union. (Young Clermont gave them indifferent treatment.) They returned to Union on April 8, but started next day for New Hopefield (see Spring, 1830, entry) about 20(?) miles northward. (There, they had a better reception.) On April 11 they rode to "La Bett" creek crossing (in present Labette county) 40 miles distant; and next day reached Boudinot (see March, 1830, entry) 30 miles above "La Bett" and on the north side of the Neosho (in present Neosho county).

At White Hair's town (two miles from Boudinot, and across the river) on April 13, the missionaries preached before a good-sized audience assembled at White Hair's house (the chief was absent, however). Two days later they held services at Wasooche's town 16 miles upriver (where they met Agent P. L. Chouteau), and visited other small towns of White Hair's people. On April 16 they rode to the Little Osages' (or Walk-in-Rain's) town—the farthest north Osage village (also in present Neosho county). It was, Vaill reported, ". . . probably larger than either of White Hair's, but not so large as Clermont's."

The missionaries returned to Agent Chouteau's residence (15 miles south, between the two White Hair villages) on April 18, where, after dinner, they spoke before an assemblage of persons—Americans, Frenchmen, Negroes, and Osages—to the number of 50 or 60. They proceeded to Boudinot; and from there, on April 19, Vaill and Washburn set out for Union Mission, reaching it on the 22d.

Ref: *Missionary Herald*, v. 27, pp. 286-289 (for Vaill's journal); J. O. Choules and T. Smith's *The Origin & History of Missions*, 4th ed. (Boston, 1837), v. 2, p. 385.

¶ The American Fur Company's new and handsome *Yellowstone* (the first steamboat to be employed in the mountain trade) left St. Louis April 16 on her initial upper Missouri voyage. She arrived at Cantonment Leavenworth on May 1. Aboard, as a passenger, was Pierre Chouteau, Jr., the Company's Western Department head, on whose orders the boat had been constructed during the winter of 1830-1831. (See reproduction of a Charles Bodmer 1833 painting of this steamboat *between* pp. 176 and 177.)

By June 19 the *Yellowstone* had reached the company's post Fort Tecumseh (in present South Dakota)—the high point of her trip. (No previous steamboat had gone beyond the Council Bluffs.) On July 15, with a cargo of furs, she was back at St. Louis, having inaugurated a new era in steamboat travel on the Missouri. American Fur Company boats thereafter made annual voyages to the river's upper waters, carrying men, supplies, and a few passengers.

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, April 14, 1831; H. M. Chittenden's *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River* . . . (New York, 1903), v. 1, pp. 112, 134-137; *KHC*, v. 9, p. 280; John Dougherty's March, 1832, report (typed copy), p. 22, in Dougherty Collection (KHi ms. division) for May 1 date.

¶ Other steamboats scheduling trips on the Missouri in April were the *Globe* (to Cantonment Leavenworth), the *Liberty* (to Franklin, Mo.), and the *Missouri* (to Liberty, Mo.). (Beginning in July, the *Chieftain* also entered the Missouri river trade, advertising runs to Liberty and intermediate ports.)

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, March 29, April 12, July 5, 26, and November 1, 1831 (as examples)—as noted in *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, p. 52.

¶ John Gantt and Jefferson Blackwell headed an overland trapping-and-trading expedition of 70 mounted men which left St. Louis on April 24 for the Rocky mountains. At Fort Osage (Mo.) they obtained food supplies. At the mouth of the Kansas they spent two or three days trading with Indians, then proceeded up that river, along its north bank, as far as the Republican fork. These adventurers then followed the Republican's course for many miles, turning northward only when provisions ran low and little game could be found. They reached the Platte several days' travel below its forks. (The Gantt-Blackwell party subsequently wintered on Laramie river, undergoing severe hardships.)

In 1839 a small volume entitled *Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard* . . . was published at Clearfield, Pa. Author Leonard opened the *Narrative* with an account of his journey west with the Gantt-Blackwell expedition in 1831 (when he was 22), and described subsequent adventures during five years of trapping and trading in the Rockies. Zenas Leonard,

retiring from mountain life at the age of 26, settled at Sibley, Mo. (adjoining old Fort Osage), in 1836; died there in 1857 at the age of 48.

Ref: John C. Ewers, editor, *Adventures of Zenas Leonard* . . . (Norman, Okla., c1959), especially pp. xvii-xxiv, 3-7; 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *House Doc. 121* (Serial 219) for item on a three-year trading license issued to Gantt & Blackwell on April 5, 1831. Jedediah Smith's party, in the winter of 1825-1826 (see 1825 annals entry), had pioneered the route up the Republican. However, the Gantt-Blackwell expedition traveled farther up that stream than did Smith and his men.

¶ From a camp 10 miles southwest of Independence, Mo., a good-sized caravan set out on May 4 for New Mexico. This was the initial venture in the Santa Fe trade of Jedediah Smith and his former partners David Jackson and William Sublette. The outfit totaled 74 men and 22 mule-drawn wagons (one carrying a six-pounder). Smith owned 11 wagons; Jackson and Sublette had 10; and the gun carrier was joint property. Among this company were Peter and Austin Smith (Jedediah's brothers), Samuel Parkman, Jonathan T. Warner; and mountain man Thomas Fitzpatrick joined the party late. A few more men and two wagons (one belonging to Samuel Flournoy of Independence, Mo.) had joined near the frontier. There were, apparently, 85 persons in all, in the expedition.

On the "pawnee fork" on May 19 a young man named Minter (clerk to Jackson and Sublette) was killed by Indians ("we suppose by the pawnees," wrote Sublette), while some distance from his comrades in pursuit of antelope. A few days later the caravan forded the Arkansas and began the 60-mile journey across the Cimarron desert (during a particularly dry season). On May 27 when lack of water had created a situation critical for the teams, parties set out in search of the Cimarron. Jedediah Smith and Fitzpatrick headed south. The two separated and Smith was never seen again by his comrades. Later, some time after the expedition (which did locate water) reached Santa Fe (on July 4), Smith's fate was learned. Austin Smith purchased his brother's gun and pistols from Mexicans who had obtained them, and an account of Jedediah's death, while bartering with the Comanches who had slain him. He wrote home to his father, in September:

Your Son Jedediah was killed on the Semerone the 27th of May on his way to Santa Fé by the Curmanch Indians, his party was in distress for water, and he had gone alone in search of the above river which he found, when he was attacked by fifteen or twenty of them—they succeeded in alarming his animal not daring to fire on him so long as they kept face to face, so soon as his horse turned they fired, and wounded him in the shoulder he then fired his gun, and killed their head chief it is supposed they then *rushed* upon him, and despatched him. . . .

It has been said that Jedediah Smith was killed at or near Wagon Bed Spring in present Grant county. Ezra D. Smith (in a letter in 1915) stated that his great-uncle was killed

at a water hole known in my time as Fargo Spring, to the later Santa Fe traders as Wagon Body Spring. Do not confuse this with Wagon Bed Spring just above the confluence of the dry Cimarron with the Cimarron. This water hole was . . . on the north side of the Cimarron at the mouth of a canyon which comes down from the north, and is near the west line of Seward county, Kansas.

Whether in Grant, or, in Seward county, there seems little doubt that Jedediah Smith met his death in present southwest Kansas.

Ref: Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-330, 433-436; Austin Smith's letter of September 24, 1831, in KHi ms. division; an article on Jedediah Smith by Ezra D. Smith is in *KHC*, v. 12, pp. 252-260, but his letter quoted above is printed in Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 436; William L. Sublette's letter of September 24, 1831, is quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 435, 436.

¶ Repenting their past winter's depredations against the Western Creeks (Muscogees), and the Cherokees of Arkansas river, Clermont's band of Osages (residing on the Verdigris, near present Claremore, Okla.) asked Agent Paul Liguiste Chouteau to arrange peace talks. At Cantonment Gibson [Okla.] on May 5 a delegation representing all the Osage bands met with the Western Creeks and a peace-and-friendship treaty was signed on May 10. A similar treaty was made with the Western Cherokees on May 18. In both instances the Osages agreed to return stock stolen, and to pay for property destroyed. Most of the 1831 annuity funds of Clermont's band were required to make restitution.

Ref: SIA, v. 6, pp. 209-212, 215, 216; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), pp. 457-549, 497-506 (the treaties are on pp. 500-506), v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 238, 449.

¶ Daniel M. Boone, agriculturist for the Kansa Indians (with headquarters at the Kansa Agency) since early 1827, was dismissed in May, but approved of the "alteration in the farming business" which cost him his job. (He asked, however, to be reimbursed for hogs and cattle stolen by the Kansa; and to remain at the agency till fall to harvest his crops.)

Agent Marston G. Clark was enthusiastic about the new plan of maintaining farms *at the Kansa towns*. He wrote William Clark on July 5:

. . . I have men fencing a 16 acre field, build[ing] a large cabbin at the Upper Village [Hard Chief's, apparently], I can now do something for the Kansas with the Money formerly thrown away on the Agriculturists.

By October an agriculturist was again on the Kansa Agency pay

roll (*see* September, 1832, entry). In succeeding years a number of other men served for brief periods as farmers for the Kansa.

Ref: SIA, v. 6, pp. 187-189 (for Boone's letter), and pp. 225, 226 (for Clark's letter).

¶ On May 27 the annual spring caravan for Santa Fe, captained by Elisha Stanley, left the rendezvous at Council Grove. There were more than 200 persons (including a few Spanish women returning home—*see* autumn, 1829, east-bound trip), nearly 100 wagons (*about half were drawn by oxen*, the rest pulled by mules), 12 dearborns, and other light vehicles, also two small cannon. (For first? use of oxen by Santa Fe traders *see* May, 1830, entry.) The merchandise carried was estimated at \$200,000.

In this company, on his first journey to the southwest, was 24-year-old Josiah Gregg, whose later-written *Commerce of the Prairies* (published in 1844) was to become the classic account of the first 20-odd years of the Santa Fe trade.

The caravan crossed the Arkansas on June 11; pitched camp that evening "opposite the celebrated 'Caches' . . ."; proceeded on the 14th by way of the desert route. In the Cimarron valley on the 19th, a horde of Indian warriors (Blackfeet and Gros Ventres, by Gregg's account) and their families (perhaps 3,000 persons in all) descended to the same vicinity and camped. Either in late July or early August the expedition reached Santa Fe. (By October 11 some of these traders, traveling with the regular fall east-bound company, were back in Missouri, their trip a successful one.)

Ref: Gregg, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 50-111, 305; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Columbia, October 15, 1831; 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 90* (Serial 213), pp. 31, 76; also Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. by Max L. Moorhead (Norman, Okla., c1954), pp. xviii, xix, 26-77.

¶ DIED: Dunning D. McNair, recent appointee as Osage subagent (at Neosho river agency), on June 2. McNair was killed by a bolt of lightning while crossing a prairie. He was buried at Union Mission (Okla.).

DIED: Nathaniel Pryor, subagent to the Osages of the Verdigris (Clermont's band), on June 9. He had made his headquarters at Cantonment Gibson (Okla.). (*See* 1807 annals for earliest reference to Pryor.)

Ref: SIA, v. 6, pp. 208, 209, 215; St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, July 21, 1831. For the subagents who replaced McNair and Pryor, *see* September, 1832, annals entry.

¶ Baptist missionary and physician Johnston Lykins, his wife Delilah (McCoy) Lykins, and family, arrived at the Shawnee Agency on July 7 to found a mission for William Perry's and Cornstalk's bands of Shawnee Indians. (Isaac McCoy had obtained the chiefs' permission for the mission in November, 1830.)

In the late summer (when the Baptist board failed to provide

building funds in 1831), Lykins bought "a small tract of U. S. land, immediately on the line of the State of Missouri" [just east of the Shawnee reserve—in Jackson county, Mo.] and built "at his own cost" a home for his family. Little missionary work was accomplished in 1831—due largely to the smallpox outbreak among the Indians.

In June, 1832, money was available for erection of the Shawnee Baptist Mission buildings. The site chosen was something over two miles northwest of the Shawnee Agency, and about three miles south (and a little east) of the Shawnee Methodist Mission (as *then* situated—see November, 1830, entry). By present-day description, the Baptist mission was in the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 5, T. 12, R. 25 E., in Shawnee township, Johnson county. (See sketch *between* pp. 176, 177.)

The Rev. Alexander Evans, who (with his wife and family) had arrived before mid-June, was conducting a small school for Indian children at least as early as September. After visiting Shawnee Baptist Mission on October 3, Isaac McCoy wrote:

"Their houses are not completed, but are so that they can be occupied, except the school house. . . . They will be substantial and comfortable buildings and are pretty well situated. A few Indian children attend though not regularly and study lessons in school. They [the Evans] have opened their house for public religious worship few Indians as yet attend Bro. Evans [is] a little discouraged."

By November, 1832, another missionary, Daniel French, had come from Ohio as assistant to Dr. Johnston Lykins.

Shawnee Baptist Mission continued in operation till the mid-1850's.

Ref: Johnston Lykins' "Journal," and Isaac McCoy's "Journal," in KHi ms. division; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 347, 404, 422; Spooner & Howland's *History of American Missions* . . . , p. 540; *KHQ*, v. 5, pp. 343, 376, 377 (for McCoy's activities, 1830).

¶ At Cantonment Leavenworth, on July 8, Alexander G. Morgan, post sutler, was appointed postmaster—an office he continued to hold for more than six years. Alexander G. Morgan and his wife America (Higgins) Morgan had been "Kansas" residents for at least a year, and probably somewhat longer.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 1-2, p. 255, or v. 7, p. 441; Fayette county, Ky., Marriage Book 1, p. 63, has record of marriage of Alexander G. Morgan to America Higgins on September 25, 1823 (this information courtesy Kentucky Historical Society). Lacking any information to the contrary, this compiler has assumed it was America Morgan who came to live in "Kansas."

¶ Surveyors Isaac McCoy, John Donelson, and Dr. Rice McCoy (with some hired hands), left Union Mission (Okla.) July 9, on horseback, to travel northeastwardly to the southwest corner of Missouri. At that place, on July 18, their paths diverged, each to undertake a separate project.

Donelson moved southward. He ran a traverse line to Fort Smith—the 77-mile boundary between the Cherokee lands and the Territory of Arkansas.

Dr. Rice McCoy moved northward. After marking the line between the Cherokees' reserve and the state of Missouri, he then determined where the northeast corner of the Cherokees' lands should be. (Later, in mid-August, Isaac McCoy and two Cherokee delegates visited that area for final agreement on the northeast corner location.)

Isaac McCoy (with a servant, and an interpreter, Stephen Van Rensselaer—Osage half-breed), headed northwest towards the Osage Agency. He reached Boudinot Mission July 23, and arrived on July 25 at the agency where a military escort—Capt. Edgar S. Hawkins, Asst. Surg. John W. Baylor, and 25 Seventh U. S. infantrymen from Fort Gibson (Okla.)—awaited him. McCoy and party set out July 28 on a tour of exploration ("to explore the Osage lands . . . with a view of ascertaining whether the Chickasaws might not be located there, and the Osages [moved northward] to be placed along side of the Kansas"). McCoy later reported: "We proceeded along the northern boundary of the Osage lands west about 120 miles from the State of Missouri [into present Butler county]; thence, south across the Osage reserve [through Butler and Cowley counties], which brought us to the Arkansas river [probably a little south of the Kansas-Oklahoma line of today]. We then turned east along the southern boundary of the Osage lands." On August 6 the party turned southeast; reached Clermont's town on August 12; and arrived at Union Mission (McCoy's headquarters) late that night. The soldiers continued on to Fort Gibson.

In his report (dated August 18) covering all these activities, Isaac McCoy recommended that the Chickasaws be located "on the south bank of Canadian and Arkansas river" if "an arrangement to that effect can be made with the Choctaws"; and suggested "that the removal of the several bands of . . . [non-reservation] Osages—one . . . in Arkansas Territory, one on the Creek lands, and one on the lands of Cherokees to a tract adjoining their kindred, the Kansas, is exceedingly desirable."

Ref: 23d Cong, 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), pp. 561-564 (for McCoy's report); McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 418-421.

BORN: at Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), on July 18, Alexander McAlister Johnson, first child of the Rev. Thomas and Sarah T. (Davis) Johnson. (He died less than a month later—on August 15.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 12, p. xii.

☞ Smallpox broke out among the Shawnees in mid-summer; and about October 1 it spread to the Delawares (north of the Kansas river).

When Dr. Johnston Lykins, in company with Subagent Campbell, visited the Shawnee settlements on July 18 to vaccinate "a considerable number" of persons, more than 20 Indians had been stricken, with one death reported. (At Cantonment Leavenworth, during the summer, Dr. Thomas S. Bryant also vaccinated some Indians.) When the disease struck the Delawares, Agent R. W. Cummins advised them to scatter to avoid an epidemic. The Rev. Thomas Johnson, returning to Shawnee Methodist Mission on October 21 (after a journey to Missouri) found everything "in a state of confusion; the small pox was raging among different tribes, and the Indians flying in different directions."

It was reported in November that about a dozen Shawnees had died but that "among them the disease appears to be discontinued"; among the Delawares "it still exists . . . and many of them have died." By late December the outbreak had subsided and the Indians were returning home. Isaac McCoy (in March, 1832) stated that the toll was nine Shawnees and 15 Delawares. (*See, also*, October entry.)

Ref: Johnston Lykins' "Journal," *loc. cit.*; Isaac McCoy's "Journal," *loc. cit.*; SIA, v. 6, p. 375 (Cummins' November 9, 1831, letter); KHC, v. 16, pp. 236, 237 (Johnson's December 29, 1831, letter); 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 137* (Serial 235), p. 3 (for Cantonment Leavenworth item); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 3 (Serial 246), p. 239.

☞ Bound for Taos, N. M., Charles Bent, with 30 to 40 mounted men and 10 wagons drawn by oxen, left Independence, Mo., on September 10. In this party was a young Easterner, Albert Pike (afterwards prominent in Arkansas as journalist, lawyer, and Confederate officer), who had joined at St. Louis. According to his later-written account, this small expedition reached Taos by November 10, after being delayed in the mountains for a week by a blizzard.

The advantages of oxen were noted by Thomas Forsyth (writing from St. Louis, to the secretary of war, October 24, 1831): ". . . if he [Charles Bent] succeeds with his ox wagons, the oxen will answer the tripple purpose of, 1st, drawing the wagons; 2d, the Indians will not steal them as they would horses and mules; 3d, in cases of necessity, part of the oxen will answer for provisions." (Forsyth seemingly was unaware that traders of the Santa Fe-bound spring caravan of 1831, and probably of the 1830 expedition, too, had made use of ox teams.)

Ref: 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 90* (Serial 213), pp. 31, 77 (for Forsyth letter); Maurice Fulton and Paul Horgan, editors, *New Mexico's Own Chronicle* . . . (Dallas, c1937), pp. 103, 104; William Waldo's "Recollections . . ." in *Glimpses of the Past*, St. Louis, v. 5, p. 91; Lavender, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 129, 385.

☞ DIED: William Anderson, aged head chief of the Delaware nation, in the latter part of September, at his home on the Delaware reserve, present Wyandotte county. He had been a "Kansas" resident less than one year. Though Anderson had some white blood, according to Missionary Johnston Lykins, he had "shewed but little disposition to embrace . . . [white man's] manners and customs. . . ."

The chief's death (*possibly* from the then-prevalent smallpox) occurred after September 22, on which date Anderson wrote a letter in which he made mention of his four sons: Captains Shounack (Shawanock), Pushkies, Secondyan (Secondine), and Sacacoxey (Sarcocie).

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), pp. 599, 718; Johnston Lykins' "Journal," *loc. cit.*, in an 1831 entry (for item on Anderson's death). At a later time "Secondine" was the name of a Wyandotte county post office (from 1856-1859), and "Sarcocie" was the name of a Jefferson county post office (from 1889-1901).

¶ Smallpox was epidemic among the Pawnee Indians in October. Agent John Dougherty reported (from Cantonment Leavenworth) on October 29:

"I have returned from a visit to the four Pawnee villages, all of whom I found in a most deplorable condition. Indeed their misery defies all description. Judging from what I saw during the four days I spent with them, and the information I received from the chiefs and two Frenchmen who reside with them . . . I am fully persuaded that one half the whole number of souls of each village have and will be carried off by this cruel and frightful distemper. They told me that not one under 33 years of age escaped the monstrous disease, it having been that length of time [*i. e.*, 1798?] since it visited them before.

"They were dying so fast, and taken down at once in such large numbers, that they had ceased to bury their dead. . . . Their misery was so great and so general, that they seemed to be unconscious of it, and to look upon the dead and dying as they would on so many dead horses. . . ."

Dr. Johnston Lykins reported (in February, 1832) that John Dougherty *believed* that more than 4,000(?) Pawnees, Otoes, Omahas, and Poncas had died of the smallpox. About 160(?) Indians of the three latter tribes had succumbed before vaccination checked the disease among them.

Ref: 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 190* (Serial 220), pp. 1-3; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), p. 718, v. 3 (Serial 246), p. 239; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 442, 443.

¶ MARRIED: Capt. William N. Wickliffe, of the Sixth U. S. infantry, and Ann Hertzog, on November 14, at the Cantonment Leavenworth residence of Agent John Dougherty and Mary (Hertzog) Dougherty. (The bride was a sister of the agent's wife.)

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, December 15, 1831.

¶ In late November, five men of a Wyandot exploring delegation from Ohio—a delegation headed by William Walker (a white man married to a Wyandot)—spent six days in the lower Little Platte country (across the Missouri from present Leavenworth county); and then returned home after making an adverse report on the lands they had "examined." James B. Gardiner (agent), who had arranged the \$1,000 trip, subsequently wrote the secretary of war about the Wyandots' junket:

". . . The delegation *never saw the country* which I had proffered to them in behalf of the Government. They spent but *one night* in the woods. They were but six days in all on the western line of the State of Missouri, and . . . they occupied most of that time in the sports of bear-hunting on horseback, and with dogs. [The Wyandots were supposed to cross west of the Missouri on their tour if they were displeased with the Little Platte country.] Their '*report*,' . . . is, I am thoroughly convinced, an ingenious tissue of preconcerted misrepresentation. . . ."

(The Wyandots—the last Indians to leave Ohio—retained their homes in that state for 12 more years—moving in 1843 to present Wyandotte county—on lands purchased from the Delawares.)

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512* (Serial 246), pp. 7, 8, 10, 11, 153-168; *KHQ*, v. 15, pp. 248-262.

¶ On December 19 a party of 17 left Union Mission (Okla.) to travel northward. Isaac McCoy, his wife, son John C., and younger McCoy's totaled seven persons. The others were McCoy's assistant surveyors (one of them John Donelson, of Tennessee), and hired hands, returning to homes in Missouri. (Winter weather had forced the discontinuance of surveying.)

They made camp on "La Bete" creek (in present Labette county) on December 21st; passed White Hair's Osage towns (in present Neosho county) next day; reached Harmony Mission (Mo.) on Christmas Day and remained over night; arrived at Independence, Mo., on December 28. From that place the McCoy's proceeded (the same day) to Dr. Johnston Lykins' residence.

Ref: Isaac McCoy's "Journal," *loc. cit.*

1832

¶ MARRIED: Lindsay Boone, and Sarah Groom (or Grooms?), on January 14, by the Rev. Thomas Johnson.

MARRIED: Daniel Boone, and Mary [Constantine?] Philibert, on January 19, by the Rev. Thomas Johnson.

Lindsay and Daniel were sons of Daniel Morgan Boone (agriculturist to the Kansa, 1827-1831), and grandsons of the famous Daniel Boone. Sarah Groom(s) was, perhaps, the daughter of Joseph Groom(s)—"striker" to the Kansa blacksmith in 1831 and later. Mary Philibert was probably a sister of Gabriel Philibert—Kansa blacksmith, 1827-1831. These marriages, subsequently recorded in Jackson county, Mo., may have taken place at the Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county).

Ref: Jackson county, Mo., marriage records, Independence, Mo.; Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings* . . . , p. 121 (though Garraghan confused the Boone family generations, and erred in suggesting that Gabriel Philibert—born about 1805—was Mary's father); Hazel A. Spraker in her *The Boone Family* (Rutland, Vt., 1922), p. 124, noted the "Lindsey" Boone marriage.

¶ By a War Department order of February 8, all *cantonments* were directed to be called forts. The redesignated Western frontier posts were Fort Leavenworth (founded 1827); and Forts Gibson and Towson (founded 1824) in present Oklahoma.

¶ Early in the year, apparently, a Delaware Methodist Mission was established. On February 19, Johnston Lykins (Baptist missionary) wrote that "Mr Wm. Johnson (Meth Misry) has located a school near Andersons town on Kansas River for the Del[aware]s which they expect to put into operation, soon. . . ." In September, at the Missouri conference, Missionaries William Johnson and Thomas B. Markham were assigned to the Delaware mission and school.

In 1833 the *church* membership was given as five whites and 27 Indians. That fall the Rev. Edward T. Peery was assigned to the mission, but may not have arrived till late in the year. (An October 27 visitor—Mrs. Moses Merrill—wrote of the Merrills' party spending the day "at the Methodist Episcopal mission of the Delaware's, with Rev. Mr. Dunlap." And a July, 1834, visitor—John Dunbar—wrote that "the Methodist missionary [Peery] at this station . . . commenced his labors with the Delawares five or six months previous to our visit.") In 1834 it was reported the mission had 40 church members, the school 24 Indian children, and the Sabbath school 14 male and 10 female scholars, conducted by three teachers and a superintendent. In 1835 Thomas Johnson wrote: "The Delaware mission is still gaining ground, and the members of the society appear to enjoy much of the influence of religion, though they are greatly persecuted by the pagan part of the nation." In the fall of 1837 the Rev. L. B. Stateler was assigned to the mission, and he relocated it. (See autumn, 1837, annals.)

The "Rev. Mr. Dunlap" (above) was, in fact, Robert Dunlap, *government blacksmith* for the Delawares, who may have been care-taking the mission for a time in 1833. The site of the 1832-1837 mission is not known, but indications are it was not far from Grinter's (the Delaware) crossing of Kansas river. John Dunbar (in 1834) described the mission as "23 miles below [Fort Leavenworth] on the Konzas," and stated that the Shawnee Methodist Mission (the 1830-1839 "Turner" site) was across the river and five miles distant. Isaac McCoy (in May, 1837) wrote that the Delaware Methodist school was "near Cap[tain] Ketchum's." L. B. Stateler stated that it was "at a place where there was a fountain of water and the soil was good. . . . But it was not central[ly] located among the Delawares]"—which was his reason for relocating it.

Missionaries Edward T. and Mary S. (Peery) Peery—they were cousins—had two children born at the *above* mission site: Martha Jane (b. March 15, 1834; d. March 17, 1835), and Mary [Margaret?] Jane (b. February 25, 1836).

Ref: Isaac McCoy Collection, *loc. cit.* (for Lykins); D. R. McAnally's *History of Methodism in Missouri* . . . (St. Louis, 1881), pp. 630-635; *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 203-207, v. 14, pp. 576, 587 (for Dunbar), v. 16, p. 238 (for 1835 Johnson statement); Nebraska State Historical Society *Transactions* . . ., Lincoln, v. 5 (1893), p. 222 (for Mrs. Merrill's statement); E. J. Stanley's *Life of Rev. L. B. Stateler* . . . (Nashville, 1907), pp. 80, 86; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. R. 474* (Serial 263), p. 70 (for an 1834 statement not quoted above); Isaac McCoy's "Journal," May 20, 1837, entry; Si and Shirley Corn's *Our Family Tree* (1959), Section 4 (for Peery family data). The statement in *KHC*, v. 9, p. 574, that mission buildings are shown on Sec. 3, T. 11, R. 23 E., of the original land survey plats (in the state auditor's office) and that they "are supposed to have been" those of the Delaware Methodist Mission established in 1832, is an error which has been perpetuated in other publications. The plat in question does not show any buildings on Section 3; and the mission buildings shown on Section 10 (immediately south of Section 3) represent those of the second Delaware Baptist (or "Pratt") Mission.

¶ In March(?) a party of Delawares (and some Shawnees) which included the young chiefs (and brothers) Shawanock and Pushkies was attacked by Pawnee Indians while hunting on lands claimed by the Pawnees. Pushkies and two other Delawares (one a woman) were killed; another was wounded. (See July, 1833, entry for the Delawares' retaliatory action.)

(It appears the Delawares had left their reserve in October, 1831, on an extended hunt; and that they did not return till late March or early April, 1832. Writing about the incident on April 24, 1832, William Clark stated that Agent R. W. Cummins had warned the Delawares "against hunting in the Panis country, notwithstanding which, they went in October last.")

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 512, v. 1 (Serial 244), p. 523 (in which William Gordon, in a report dated August 12, 1833, refers to the attack as occurring "some 15 or 18 months ago"); *ibid.*, v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 238, 306; SIA, v. 4, pp. 358, 359.

☪ The American Fur Company's *S. Yellowstone* (Andrew S. Bennett, master) left St. Louis March 26 on her second upper Missouri journey. (See April, 1831, annals entry.) Among her passengers were Pierre Chouteau, Jr., the artist George Catlin (who, before the boat's departure, painted the "Steamboat 'Yellow Stone' Leaving St. Louis"), John F. A. Sanford (Mandan agent), and some Indians returning from a trip East. After a successful 2,000-mile voyage, the *Yellowstone* reached the company's post Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone river, in mid-June. (She was back at St. Louis in the fore part of July.)

Ref: Chittenden, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 137; Harold McCracken's *George Catlin and the Old Frontier* (New York, 1959), pp. 39, 40, has a reproduction of Catlin's 1832 "Yellow Stone" painting; *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 29, p. 338.

☪ Steamboats (other than the *Yellowstone*) scheduled to depart from St. Louis in March and April for Missouri river ports included: the *Globe* (John Clark, master), for Fort Leavenworth, on March 11; the new *Otto* (James B. Hill, master), for "mouth of Kansas river" on April 19; and the *Freedom* (A. Harkins, master), for Fort Leavenworth, on April 26.

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, March 8, April 19, 26, 1832.

☪ Within this year, probably in the early spring, Frederick Chouteau moved his trading post from Horseshoe Lake (see autumn, 1829, annals entry) to a location near the mouth of American Chief (now Mission) creek. The site was not far from Valencia of today, in Sec. 27, T. 11, R. 14 E., Dover township, Shawnee county. An Indian trading license issued on October 18 described the site as "On the Kansas river, between the two present [upper] villages of the Kansas [*i. e.*, Hard Chief's and American Chief's towns], on their lands. . . ."

Ref: SIA, v. 6, p. 303; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 45* (Serial 254); Frederick Chouteau's letters of May 6 and 10, 1880 (in KHi ms. division). The May 6 letter contains the phrase: "When I built my trading post above Topeka in 1832 . . ."; and the May 10 letter refers to "when I went and built near the American chief creek in 32. . . ." These items (supplementary to other facts noted in the autumn, 1829, annals entry) make it clear that Chouteau's statement "In 1830 I made my house on the American Chief creek . . ." in *KHC*, v. 8, p. 425, was a misquote, or a misprint.

¶ Capt. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville's well-equipped expedition (110 men, 20 wagons, horses, mules, oxen, a cow, and a calf), heading for the Rocky mountains and Far West, left Fort Osage, Mo., on May 1. Joseph R. Walker and Michel S. Cerré were the "lieutenants" of this company which included experienced trappers, adventurers, and a few Delaware Indians hired as hunters.

(Captain Bonneville, having been granted a two-year furlough from the U. S. army, had outfitted his combined exploration-fur trade venture with the financial backing of New York capitalists.)

His party followed out the Santa Fe trail for some distance (across Johnson and Douglas counties of today) then turned to the northwest, camping on the bank of the Kansas on May 12. Next day the river was forded (after a raft had been constructed to ferry the wagons). The crossing was near the Kansa Agency (or, seven miles above present Lawrence). By evening the entire party had reached the agency. Bonneville visited White Plume at his stone house (some two miles northwest) and made a friend of the chief (who traveled for a day with him).

The expedition moved up the left bank of the Kansas, then turned northward, following, in general, the pathway of "Sublette's Trace," and the future Oregon trail (across present Pottawatomie and Marshall counties). On May 21 (*see* next entry) the Sublette-Wyeth pack train overtook, and passed this wagon caravan. Bonneville reached the Platte on June 2, near Grand Island apparently.

On July 24, at South Pass, this company crossed the Continental divide, and headed for Green river. *Bonneville's wagons were the first to make that crossing.* (*See* April and August, 1830, entries for the first wagons to go as far as South Pass.) It *appears*, too, that some of Bonneville's wagons were pulled by oxen, and if so he was the first to use ox teams on this mountain route and across the divide. Washington Irving (*see* below) described Bonneville's ". . . train of twenty wagons, drawn by oxen, or by four mules or horses each . . .," and the Crow Indians' astonishment "at the long train of wagons and oxen. . . ."

Captain Bonneville returned to Missouri in the summer of 1835, after three years in the mountains and Far West. Subsequently, in the East, he met Washington Irving who (after purchasing and rewriting Bonneville's manuscript account of his experiences—an account based on a now-lost journal), published, in 1837, a two-volume work entitled *The Rocky Mountains*. . . . This book, renamed *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* . . ., in later editions, has been appraised by historian H. M. Chittenden as "a true and living picture of those early [fur trade] scenes. . . ."

Ref: Washington Irving's *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* . . ., edited by E. W. Todd (Norman, Okla., c1961), especially pp. xvii-liv, and 13-32, 379-400; Bernard De Voto's *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947), pp. 50-59.

¶ William Sublette headed a pack train (transporting supplies to the Rock Mountain Fur Company) which left Independence, Mo., on May 13(?). His party of about 60 included Andrew Sublette, Robert Campbell, and Thomas Fitzpatrick. Their destination was the trappers' summer rendezvous at Pierre's Hole (Idaho). Traveling in company was Nathaniel B. Wyeth's party of about 25 men—mostly New Englanders—bound for the Oregon country. Wyeth's group included his brother Dr. Jacob Wyeth (who turned back at the Platte), an 18-year-old cousin John B. Wyeth, and John Ball, of Baltimore, Md.

The combined force of 80 to 85 men (with some 300 horses and mules, 15 sheep and two yoke of oxen) headed out the Santa Fe trail for three days' travel, but turned northwest on May 15 towards the Kansas river—crossing it above present Lawrence, near the Kansa Agency (about May 16?). The Sublette-Wyeth companies proceeded up the left bank of the Kansas, passing Fool Chief's village (west of present Topeka) perhaps about May 18. By May 21 they had left the Kansas valley and were well to the northward on "Sublette's Trace"—camping that night on the Big Blue. They crossed it next day and soon overtook Captain Bonneville's slower-moving wagon caravan (*see* preceding entry). John Ball, in his journal, noted: "We stopped a few moments to salute and passed on." Continuing up the waters of the Little Blue to its source, they crossed, on May 28, in a day's march of 25 miles, to the Platte—apparently reaching it at Grand Island. (The Sublette-Wyeth expedition subsequently reached Pierre's Hole about July 6.)

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, October 11, 1832 (for William Sublette's letter of September 21, 1832); N. J. Wyeth's journals (the "Kansas" section for the 1832 trip is lacking—having been torn out), and related correspondence (1831-1836), in *Sources of the History of Oregon*, Eugene, v. 1 (1899), parts 3-6; John B. Wyeth's *Oregon* . . . (Cambridge, Mass., 1833), as reprinted in R. G. Thwaites' *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-1906), v. 21 (young Wyeth's comments on the Kansa Indians are of some interest, though unscientific); John Ball's journal, in the *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, Salem, v. 3 (1902), pp. 82-106 (offers the best information on the "Kansas" section of the trip—*see* pp. 84-88); Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-108; De Voto, *op. cit.*, p. 65 (for comment on John B. Wyeth and his book *Oregon*); *The Rocky Mountain Letters of Robert Campbell* (printed for F. W. Beinecke, 1955), p. 8.

¶ An act of congress, signed May 5, provided "the means of extending the benefits of vaccination, as a preventive of the small-pox, to the Indian tribes. . . ." (*See* Summer, and October, 1831, entries for smallpox among the Indians.) Before the end of May, doctors had been appointed for this emergency service at the Upper Missouri Agency of John Dougherty (Dr. — — Davis); the Osage Agency of P. L. Chouteau (Dr. J. R. Conway); and the Shawnee-

Delaware (etc.) Agency of R. W. Cummins (Drs. — — Crow, Ware S. May, and Benjamin S. Long).

It was reported on February 1, 1833, by the commissioner of Indian affairs, that 3,000 Sioux and other Indians (in Dougherty's agency), 2,177 Osages (in P. L. Chouteau's agency), and 1,695 Shawnees, Kickapoos, and others (in Cummins' agency) had been vaccinated. Among the Kansa there had been some opposition (said to have been caused by a trader). Whether the Kansa were vaccinated is not made clear in the report. There had been no trouble with any other Indians, but some tribes and some individuals remained untreated.

Ref: SIA, v. 4, p. 329; 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 82* (Serial 234); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 490* (Serial 259), pp. 3, 136; F. S. Cohen's *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* . . . (Washington, 1942), pp. 491, 492.

¶ In May, or early June, apparently, Chief White Hair died. Missionary W. B. Montgomery reported, on June 16, from Clermont's town (on the Verdigris) where he was visiting:

"An invitation has just come from Whitehair's for a united expedition against the Pawnees, in honor of their chief, who has deceased since our [missionary] tour in April."

When Washington Irving passed through White Hair's town (in Neosho county), early in October, he noted the "monument of chief who died lately—mound on a hill surrounded by railing—three poles with flags—trophies—a scalp, scalping knife &c. He had killed 4 Pawnees."

It appears the deceased chief had no children and that the White Hair who succeeded him was a sister's son.

Ref: *Missionary Herald*, v. 29, p. 134 (for Montgomery); J. F. McDermott, ed., *The Western Journals of Washington Irving* . . . , p. 100; J. F. McDermott, ed., *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies* (Norman, 1940), pp. 127, 128, 143, 144 (for discussion of the various chiefs named White Hair, and their relationship to each other).

¶ In May(?) the annual trading expedition departed for New Mexico. By Josiah Gregg's tabulation, the year's traffic from Missouri to the southwest totaled 150 men (40 of them proprietors), 70 wagons, and goods estimated at \$140,000. But the size of the spring caravan is not known, and the figures above may have represented more than one Santa Fe-bound party.

Ref: Gregg, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 160; Lavender, *op. cit.*, p. 131, asserts Charles Bent headed the spring caravan; but L. R. Hafen (in *The Colorado Magazine*, v. 31, pp. 112, 113) presents a different view.

¶ An act of June 15 authorized the President to raise a battalion of Mounted Rangers for one year's service.

Maj. Henry Dodge headed the Mounted Rangers—a force of 660 (plus officers)—six companies of 110 men each. Four of the companies served (for varying lengths of time) on the Western frontier. Those headed by Capts. Jesse Bean, Nathan Boone, and Lemuel Ford were assigned to the Fort Gibson (Okla.) area. The last company formed—that of Capt. Matthew Duncan—was ordered to Fort Leavenworth in 1833—see February, 1833, entry.

This battalion of mounted troops was the predecessor of the First U. S. cavalry—see March 2, 1833, entry.

Ref: 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. R. No. 17* (Serial 236); O. E. Young's article on the Mounted Rangers in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 41, pp. 453-470; Louis Pelzer's *Henry Dodge* (Iowa City, 1911), pp. 67-69; Foreman's *Advancing the Frontier*, p. 40.

¶ In the early summer, Baptist missionary (and surveyor) Isaac McCoy bought a tract of land just east of the "Kansas"-Missouri line (in present Kansas City, Mo.). During June and July he had six or eight workmen building log dwellings there "in the woods" for his family. By the end of July one "hewed log" cabin was finished, and the main house (35 x 22 feet) was covered in, doors cut out, etc., but lacked chimneys and "shutters to doors and windows."

Ref: Isaac McCoy's "Journal," *op. cit.* J. F. McDermott, in his *The Western Journals of Washington Irving*, p. 91n, locates McCoy's land as "55th Street to 64th Street, Bellevue Avenue to the State line," in Kansas City, Mo., of today.

¶ On July 4 a party of Seneca Indians from Sandusky river, Ohio, reached their new reserve (of about 67,000 acres) west of the southwestern corner of Missouri—adjoining the Cherokees' lands.

Conducted by Henry C. Brish, these Indians had left their Ohio homes the previous autumn, after ceding their Eastern lands in a treaty made February 28, 1831. Their six months on the road had been a chaotic journey of hardship and suffering. By one report they totaled 352 persons on arrival. In December, by official count, they numbered 275 souls.

Ref: Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 66-71, 83; Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 325-327; SIA, v. 27, pp. 1-24.

¶ An act of July 9 authorized the President to appoint a commissioner of Indian affairs, who was to serve under the secretary of war's direction. The first commissioner (1832-1836) was Elbert Herring.

Another provision of the act was a general prohibition against taking liquor into the Indian country.

Since the beginning of United States government it had been illegal to give, sell, or trade liquor to the Indians, but the traffic in "ardent spirits" had become such a scandal that—as one writer has put it—"in 1832 the government forbade the importation into the Indian Country of the liquor whose use there was already forbidden.")

Ref: Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11, 73; DeVoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 121 (for quote).

¶ BORN: at the Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), on July 11, Alexander Soule Johnson, son of the Rev. Thomas and Sarah T. (Davis) Johnson.

(Twenty-three years later, in the first Kansas territorial legislature, Thomas

Johnson was council president and Alexander Soule Johnson was the youngest member of the house.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 8, p. 260n, v. 9, pp. 162n, 168, 190n, v. 12, p. xii; *KHi's Fifteenth Biennial Report*, p. 35.

¶ An act of July 14 provided for the appointment (by the President) of three commissioners to treat with the Indians in the Western country and handle various matters relating to the immigrant and native tribes there. The final appointees were Montfort Stokes, of North Carolina, Henry L. Ellsworth, of Hartford, Conn., and the Rev. John F. Schermerhorn, of Utica, N. Y.

Ref: Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 492; Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians*, p. 60.

¶ On July 26 John Calvin McCoy and two assistants set out (from present Kansas City, Mo.) to survey a 34,000-acre reserve, in what is now Franklin county, for the Ottawa Indians (then living east of the Mississippi, some of them in Ohio). Surveyor Isaac McCoy joined his son at the end of July. By August 6 the task was completed, and the party had reached home again.

(The site for the reserve—south of the Shawnees, and west of the Peorias and Kaskasias—had been chosen earlier by Isaac McCoy. See map, facing p. 177, for location; and see November 30 entry for arrival of the first of the Ottawas in "Kansas.")

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 3 (Serial 246), p. 420; Isaac McCoy's "Journal," *loc. cit.*

¶ In the fore part of September, William Sublette, Robert Campbell, 60 (or more) mounted trappers, and a mule train carrying 169 beaver packs, came down from the Platte to the Kansas river valley over "Sublette's Trace." They reached Independence, Mo., about September 18.

(A few days later, east of Lexington, traveler Charles J. Latrobe met "the long train of Trappers . . . their mules laden with . . . skins. . . . They were about seventy in number . . . ; men worn with toil and travel. . . .")

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, October 11, 1832 (for Sublette's letter of September 21, 1832); C. J. Latrobe's *The Rambler in North America* . . . (London, 1835), v. 1, p. 126; Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 113.

¶ A Baptist missionary—the Rev. Charles E. Wilson—who had arrived at "Shawanoë" mission on August 10, located among the Delawares in September(?). But after spending a few weeks at their settlements he left (in mid-December) to go to the Choctaws.

Ref: Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 450, 451, 453, 455.

¶ It was probably in September that Artist George Catlin, and his two traveling companions "Ba'tiste [and] Bogard," beached their canoe at Fort Leavenworth's landing.

"My voyage from the mouth of the Teton River to this place has been the most rugged, yet the most delightful, of my whole Tour," wrote Catlin. (He had gone *up* the Missouri abroad the *S. Yellowstone* in the early spring.) "I . . . descended . . . in my little canoe, with my two men at the oars, and myself at the helm. . . . In addition to the opportunity which this descending Tour has afforded me, of visiting all the tribes of Indians on the river, and leisurely filling my portfolio with the beautiful scenery which its shores present—the sportsman's fever was roused and satisfied; the swan, ducks, geese, and pelicans—the deer, antelope, elk, and buffaloes, were 'stretched' by our rifles. . . ."

At Bellevue, "about nine miles" above the Platte's mouth, they had been guests of Upper Missouri agent John Dougherty. On their arrival at Fort Leavenworth, Lt. Col. William Davenport gave them comfortable quarters in the barracks, and Catlin entered into the post's social activities.

"I have joined several times in the deer-hunts, and more frequently in grouse [prairie chicken] shooting," he wrote. "They [the grouse] make their appearance in these parts in the months of August and September . . . and the whole garrison, in fact, are almost subsisted on them at this time. . . ."

Catlin witnessed, wrote about, and may have painted a prairie fire, while at the military post. (See cover of this *Quarterly* for a reproduction of one of his prairie fire paintings.) He also proceeded to paint Indians, and make notes about the tribes he met. In his next letter from Fort Leavenworth he indicated "some considerable time" had elapsed. "I have been moving about and using my brush amongst different tribes in this vicinity," he wrote.

It was in this letter that he described the young Iowa chief White Cloud (son of a recently-deceased White Cloud), and two other Iowas he had painted; wrote of the "Konzas" Indians, and Chief White Plume—whom he did not paint; noted four "Konzas" Indians he had portrayed; dwelt at some length on the custom of "shaving the head, and ornamenting it with the crest of deer's hair" which was common to the Kansa, Osages, Pawnees, Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas, and to no other tribe that he knew of; discussed the Pawnees, Omahas, Otoes, and Missouris; and described the men of these nations whom he had painted.

Some time in October, Catlin, with his hired hands Baptiste and Bogard, left Fort Leavenworth, and paddled on downriver in their canoe to St. Louis. On October 26, at Castor Hill, outside St. Louis, he was a witness to a treaty William Clark negotiated with certain Shawnees, and Delawares.

Bernard De Voto (in his *Across the Wide Missouri*, c1947) discussed artist George Catlin at some length, describing him as the "first painter of the West who had any effect," and as "an extraordinary man, a man with a certain greatness in him. . . ." Repeatedly he stated that Catlin's first trip to the

West was in 1832. So far as this writer knows, no *evidence* has come to light which refutes that statement.

However, Loyd Haberly, in his highly romantic and *completely undocumented* biography of Catlin (*Pursuit of the Horizon*, 1948), has described a trip the artist made in 1830! to Cantonment Leavenworth, and from there, in William Clark's company, to the Kansa towns; also, another journey, in 1831!, in company with Agent John Dougherty, to the Platte river and the tribes residing there. These statements have been echoed by John C. Ewers ("George Catlin, Painter of Indians and the West," in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1955, pp. 483-528), and by Harold McCracken (*George Catlin and the Old Frontier*, 1959).

As for the alleged journey by Catlin and William Clark to the Kansa towns in 1830, it needs to be pointed out that Haberly's description of "General Clark" ("the gaunt, erect old General in his stained buckskins and mangy coon-skin cap"—p. 43) seems to have been borrowed from John T. Irving, Jr.'s *Indian Sketches*, wherein Irving described Marston G. Clark, the Kansa agent ("met the Kansa agent, General Clark, a tall, thin, soldier-like man, arrayed in an Indian hunting-shirt and an old fox-skin cap"). Had General William Clark gone up the Missouri that fall his departure, or return, or both, would almost certainly have been recorded in the Clark "diary" (see *KHQ*, v. 16, pp. 396-405, for latter part of 1830).

As for the alleged 1831 spring journey up the Missouri in Dougherty's company, a Dougherty report (of March, 1832—typed copy in KHi ms. division) outlines that agent's movements in 1831, and indicates his only trip to the Platte river Indians that year was in September.

For a Catlin *sketch* of some Kansa Indians see *KHQ*, v. 27, facing p. 208. (There is an error in the caption to that sketch—Sho-me-kos-see was a chief, but by no means "head chief." Whether these Kansa were sketched as early as 1831 is debatable.) This same group of Kansa, in a Catlin *painting*, has been reproduced in color in Harold McCracken's *George Catlin and the Old Frontier*.

Ref: George Catlin's *North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1913), v. 2, pp. 1-33.

❶ U. S. Comm'r Henry L. Ellsworth and the English traveler Charles Joseph Latrobe left Independence, Mo., on September 27, in company with Kansa agent Marston G. Clark, to visit Isaac McCoy "at his house" (a mile east of the Missouri line). They also crossed into "Kansas" where they remained overnight with Agent R. W. Cummins at the Shawnee Agency (present Johnson county).

On September 28 Ellsworth and Latrobe "struck across wide prairies" in a southeasterly direction to overtake a small party (including Auguste P. Chouteau, Washington Irving, and a young Swiss count) which had left Independence on the 27th bound for Fort Gibson (Okla.). Before nightfall they found Chouteau's camp somewhere east of the Missouri line. (See, also, next entry.)

Ref: Latrobe, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 126-143; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 3 (Serial 246), p. 481 (Ellsworth's October 9, 1832, letter); J. F. McDermott, ed., *The Western Journals of Washington Irving*, pp. 4-21, 90-92; Isaac McCoy's "Journal," *loc. cit.*

❷ Led by Auguste P. Chouteau, Comm'r Henry Ellsworth and party (en route to Fort Gibson—see, also, preceding entry) arrived at

Harmony Mission (Mo.) on September 30, after a journey southward from Independence begun on September 27.

In this little cavalcade were Chouteau (and his two servants), Ellsworth, Charles Joseph Latrobe, Washington Irving, a 19-year-old Swiss count—Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès, Dr. Thomas O'Dwyer, and two half-breed factotums. The outfit included wagons (dearborns) and some riding horses. And there were eight dogs belonging to Chouteau.

These travelers left Harmony on October 1; journeyed southwest; and entered present Bourbon county some time the following day. On the 3d (in present Neosho county) they reached "Rev. N. Dodge's house—near Osage Village" (Boudinot Mission—*see* March, 1830, entry), and remained overnight. On October 4 they left Boudinot early and crossed the Neosho. Wrote Washington Irving in his journal:

We have a journey of 30 miles to make over open Prarie before we can find a camping place, there being water in the interim but no wood—pass thro the village of the White Hair (Osages). . . . Passed over vast prarie—here not a tree or shrub was to be seen—a view like that of the ocean. . . . About 3 oclock arrived at a grove on the banks of stream & encamp—place called La Bête—wood entangled with rich underwood—grape vines—pea vines, &c. Fine trees—flights of Perroquets—called la Bête, or the Beast, because the Indians saw a great & terrible animal there, the like of which they never saw before or since. [The camp was, apparently, in southeastern Labette county of today.]

The journey to Fort Gibson (which most of the party reached on October 9) was made by way of New Hopefield mission, Auguste P. Chouteau's Grand Saline trading post (where Salina, Okla., is today), and Union Mission.

Subsequently, between October 13 and November 10, Ellsworth, Irving, Latrobe, and Pourtalès accompanied Capt. Jesse Bean's company of U. S. mounted rangers on a 400-mile expedition in present Oklahoma which Irving described as "a wide exploring tour, from the Arkansas to the Red [Cimarron] river, including a part of the Pawnee [Pawnee Pict, or Wichita] hunting grounds, where no party of white men had as yet penetrated."

Ref: J. F. McDermott, ed., *The Western Journals of Washington Irving*, especially pp. 97-101 (for "Kansas" journey); Henry L. Ellsworth's *Washington Irving on the Prairie* . . . , ed. by S. T. Williams and B. D. Simison (New York, 1937), pp. 2-146; Latrobe, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 144-242; Washington Irving's *A Tour on the Prairies* . . . (Chicago and New York), pp. 27-274; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 3 (Serial 246), p. 481.

¶ As reported for the year October 1, 1831-September 30, 1832, the following persons had been employed at the Indian agencies in "Kansas":

At the *Kansa Agency*—Marston G. Clark (agent); Clement Lessert (interpreter); John Magill [McGill?] (gun and blacksmith); Joseph Groom (striker to blacksmith); Matthew Jefferies (agriculturist, October-December, 1831);

William Elledge (agriculturist, January-June, 1832); George Lumpkin (agriculturist, July-September, 1832).

At the *Osage Agency*—Paul Liguette Chouteau (agent); Thomas Anthony (subagent); Alexander W. McNair (subagent); Baptiste Mongrain (interpreter); Gabriel Philibert (gunsmith); Joseph Trumblee (blacksmith); Lewis Peletrie [Peltier] (striker); A. Woodruff (blacksmith); Solomon Hoyle (laborer).

At the *Delaware-Shawnee Agency*—Richard W. Cummins (agent); John Campbell (subagent); Anthony Shane, James Connor, and Baptiste Peoria (interpreters); Harmon Davis and James Pool (gun and blacksmiths from July, 1831-March, 1832); Robert Dunlap and Lewis Jones (gun and blacksmiths from April, 1832). Also, Davis Hardin [*i. e.*, Harmon Davis?] and James Pool had been paid for labor in completing agents' and blacksmiths' buildings.

[Cummins' agency included the Shawnees, Delawares, Weas, Peorias, Piankeshaws, and Kickapoos (of western Missouri).]

Ref: 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 137* (Serial 235), pp. 67-69, 73, 114, 115.

¶ An Indian trading license issued October 18 to the American Fur Company (*i. e.*, to the Chouteaus) renewed the permit for the Chouteaus' Shawnee reserve post on the Kansas river's south bank (in present Johnson county); and sanctioned the establishment of another post to be located on a branch of the Marais des Cygnes "at a point about one mile east of the present village of the Weas." This trading place, for the "Piankeshaws, Kickapoos [of western Missouri], Weas, and Peorias," was within a few miles of present Paola, Miami county.

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 45* (Serial 254); SIA, v. 1, p. 56 (McCoy map); also, see 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273), for 1834 for a renewal of the license for the Wea (etc.) trade.

¶ Charles Bent's east-bound caravan traveled the Santa Fe trail across present Kansas in October; and reached western Missouri, apparently, early in November. As reported later that month, from *eastern Missouri*:

Captain Bent and Company have just returned from Santa Fe. The amount of property in coin, gold and silver bullion, mules, furs, etc., is very considerable, although few have returned rich. What this company has may be considered as the avails of nearly two years. . . . Supposed amount \$190,000.

Ref: *Missouri Intelligencer*, Columbia, November 10, 1832; *Colorado Magazine*, v. 31, p. 113 (for quotation—from the *Upper Missouri Advertiser*, as reprinted in the Little Rock [Ark.] *Advocate* of December 5, 1832).

¶ In a treaty made October 26 (at Castor Hill, near St. Louis), the last claims of the Delawares and the Shawnees to lands in Missouri (in the Cape Girardeau area) were extinguished.

That portion of the Delawares having such claim had already left Missouri and were either on the reserve in "Kansas," or had gone to present Oklahoma

and Texas. For benefits given the Delawares who had removed to the reserve, *see* March 30, 1833, entry.

The only Shawnees involved were some small bands living on the White river in Arkansas territory. (They had refused to join their kinsmen on the reserve in "Kansas.") The treaty (which granted them \$1,200—\$800 in cash and \$400 in clothing and horses) anticipated their removal to the reserve, but these Indians did not come to "Kansas." One of the "White river" Shawnees who signed this treaty was La-lah-ow-che-ka. Artist George Catlin, a treaty witness, painted his portrait.

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 370-372; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 408, 409, 635; McCracken, *op. cit.*, p. 31 (for portrait of the Shawnee "chief"), and p. 32 (wherein McCracken asserts that "Lay-law-she-kaw's" portrait was painted at Fort Leavenworth).

¶ Treaties of October 27 (with the Kaskaskia and Peoria Indians) and October 29 (with the Piankeshaw and Wea Indians), made at Castor Hill, Mo. (William Clark for the U. S.), extinguished these Indians' land claims in Illinois and Missouri, and ceded to them reserves totaling 400 sections of land in present Kansas, south of the Shawnee lands.

Except for a band of Weas in Indiana, and some bands of Illinois Indians united with the Kaskaskias, the people of these four small nations had already moved west of the Mississippi. Most of them had lived for several years on the reserves (in Miami and Franklin counties of today), referred to in the treaty. (*See* March, 1831, annals entry.)

The Kaskaskias' and Peorias' treaty included provisions that the government would build them four log houses; and that they would be paid an annuity of \$3,000 for 10 years. In the Piankeshaws' and Weas' treaty it was stated that the government would support a blacksmith's shop for five years at a location on their reserve which would be convenient for *all four tribes*. Both treaties specified certain agricultural aid.

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 376, 377, 382, 383; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 637-640.

¶ At Fort Leavenworth, on November 26, a deputation of four Kickapoo Indians (having concluded an examination of the reserve offered their nation on the Missouri river, north of the Delawares' lands—*see map facing p. 177*), signed a treaty article which defined the reserve's bounds. Comm'rs Frank J. Allen and Nathan Kouns, who had accompanied the delegation, represented the government. James Kennerly was also present, as the commissioners' secretary.

A month earlier (October 24, at Castor Hill, Mo.) Kickapoo chiefs and head men had signed the treaty to which the above article was supplemental. (Pa-sha-cha-hah, or Jumping Fish, and Kennekuk, the Kickapoo Prophet, headed the list of signers.) For removing from Illinois, and the Osage river in Missouri, the Kickapoos were to receive: a one-year annuity of \$18,000 (\$12,000 to pay debts); an annual annuity of \$5,000 for 19 years; \$1,000 per year for five years to support a blacksmith and strikers; \$3,700 for the erection of a

mill, and a church; \$500 per year for 10 years to support a school, buy books, etc.; \$3,000 for farm implements; \$4,000 for labor and improvements on the land; \$4,000 in cattle, hogs, and other stock.

See May, 1833, annals for removal of the Kickapoos to their "Kansas" reserve.

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 365-367; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 5 (Serial 248), pp. 48, 49, 54-56; Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 61-63.

¶ In charge of Lt. Col. James J. Abert, and conducted by G. W. Pool, 334 Shawnees and 73 Ottawas arrived at the Shawnee Agency on November 30, after an overland journey from Ohio begun in September. Most of the adults had traveled on horseback, and the children in the baggage wagons. These Indians were:

(1) Wapaghkonetta and Hog creek Shawnees from Allen county, Ohio, who, by treaty of August 8, 1831, had ceded their Eastern lands for 100,000 acres stipulated to be within, or contiguous to, the existing Shawnee reserve in present Kansas. Among these immigrants to "Kansas" were Chief John Perry, Henry and James Bluejacket, Peter Cornstock, John Woolf, and the families of each.

(2) Blanchard's Fork and Oquanoxa's village Ottawas from northwestern Ohio, who, by treaty of August 30, 1831, had ceded their lands for a 34,000-acre tract which was to adjoin the Shawnee reserve on the south or west. Intermarriages connected these Ottawas with the Shawnees; on their reserve the Ottawas remained till the summer of 1834.

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 1 (Serial 244), pp. 396-400, v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 566, 567, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 4-10 (for Abert's January 3, 1833, report); SIA, v. 5, pp. 23-27 (for Shawnee and Ottawa muster rolls); Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 331-334 (Shawnee treaty), pp. 335-339 (Ottawa treaty); Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 72, 76-88.

¶ In charge of Lt. John F. Lane, and conducted by Daniel M. Workman, a mixed band of Seneca and Shawnee Indians (258 persons in all) from the vicinity of Lewistown, Ohio, arrived December 13 on the Cowskin (now Elk) river in present northeastern Oklahoma, where they camped, temporarily, on the reserve of the Senecas from Sandusky, Ohio. (See July 4 annals entry.)

These Seneca and Shawnee Indians had ceded their Ohio lands in a treaty made July 20, 1831. Their overland journey to a new reserve in present northeastern Oklahoma had begun in late September. Shortly after their arrival, they joined with the Sandusky Senecas to form a confederacy, calling themselves the "United Nation of Senecas and Shawnees." This became a formal agreement on December 29 when the "United Nation" made a treaty with the United States—a treaty which also granted the mixed band of Senecas and Shawnees a 60,000-acre reserve adjoining the Sandusky Senecas on the north (in lieu of the tract west of Grand river originally intended for them).

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 10-12, 77-84; Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 71-83; Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 383-385.

(Part Seven Will Appear in the Autumn, 1962, Issue.)

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Continued*

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL

SMITH, THOMAS JAMES

(1830?-1870)

BEAR RIVER" Tom Smith was hired as Abilene's chief of police on June 4, 1870; the salary to be \$150 per month plus \$2 for each conviction of persons he arrested. Smith was originally hired for one month only but he stayed on the force until his death later that fall. One policeman assistant was authorized, but the name of the person initially filling the position is unknown.¹

The 1870 United States census for Grant township, Dickinson county, in which Abilene is located, listed Smith. On the date of the enumeration, July 30, 1870, he was 40 years old. He was born in New York.

On August 9, 1870, the city council increased Smith's salary to \$225 a month retroactive to July 4.²

Few items describing Smith's activities as chief of police or deputy sheriff have been preserved. One of these rarities appeared in the *Abilene Chronicle*, September 8, 1870:

CLEANED OUT.—For some time past a set of prostitutes have occupied several shanties, about a mile north-west of town. On last Monday or Tuesday Deputy Sheriff Smith served a notice on the vile characters, ordering them to close their dens—or suffer the consequences. They were convinced beyond all question that an outraged community would no longer tolerate their vile business, and on yesterday, Wednesday, morning the crew took the cars for Baxter Springs and Wichita. We are told that there is not a house of ill fame in Abilene or vicinity—a fact, we are informed, which can hardly be said in favor of any other town on the Kansas Pacific Railway. The respectable citizens of Abilene may well feel proud of the order and quietness now prevailing in the town. Let the dens of infamy be kept out, the laws enforced and violators punished, and no good citizen will ask more. Chief of Police, T. J. Smith and his assistants, and C. C. Kuney, Esq. [police magistrate], deserve the thanks of the people for the faithful and prompt manner in which they have discharged their official duties. A grateful community will not forget the services of such efficient officers.

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

NOTE: It is hoped eventually that these articles on Kansas cowtown officers and gun fighters, with additional information and an index, can be reprinted and offered for sale under one cover.

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On October 23 an event occurred which eventually led to the death of the chief of police. The *Chronicle*, October 27, 1870, recorded:

FATAL AFFRAY.—We regret to learn that a fatal affray took place on last Sunday afternoon, near Chapman Creek, between two neighbors named John Shea and Andrew McConnell. The facts as related to us are substantially as follows:—It seems that McConnell had been out with his gun hunting deer, on his return he found Shea driving a lot of cattle across his (McConnell's) land. Some words passed between them, when Shea drew a revolver and snapped it twice at McConnell who stood leaning on his gun, and being on his own land. As Shea was cocking his pistol for the third time, McConnell drew up his gun and shot Shea through the heart, killing him instantly. McConnell went for a Doctor, and afterwards gave himself up, and had an examination before Esquire Davidson on last Tuesday, when a neighbor of both men, Mr. Miles, testified substantially to the above facts, and McConnell was discharged—the act having been done in self-defence. Shea leaves a widow and three children.

Later it developed that Miles and McConnell had taken liberties with the truth and a warrant was issued once more for McConnell. The *Abilene Chronicle*, November 3, 1870, continued the story:

HORRIBLE AFFRAY.—Last week we chronicled a terrible affair, which occurred on Chapman Creek, resulting in the death of John Shea at the hands of Andrew McConnell. McConnell gave himself up, and upon the testimony of a man named Miles was released, Miles swearing that the act was done in self-defence. But it afterward appeared to some of the neighbors, from unmistakable circumstances, that Shea was not the aggressor, and a warrant was issued for the re-arrest of McConnell. On Wednesday [November 2] of this week officers T. J. Smith, and [J. H.] McDonald, went out to McConnell's dugout to arrest him. Upon reaching the dugout they found McConnell and Miles. Officer Smith informed McConnell of his official character and that he had a warrant for his arrest, whereupon McConnell shot Smith through the right lung; Smith also fired, wounding McConnell; the two being close together grappled; Smith, although mortally wounded, was getting the better of McConnell, when Miles struck him on the head with a gun, felling him senseless to the ground, and seizing an ax chopped Smith's head nearly from his body. At this stage of the tragedy officer McDonald returned to this place for assistance. A posse was raised, and repaired to the scene of the murder, but McConnell and Miles had fled, and up to this morning had not been arrested. They were both wounded, and it is reported were in Junction City last evening. It is hoped that they will be speedily arrested. We give the above named particulars as we gather them from reports current in town.

The body of Mr. Smith was brought to this place last evening, and will be buried at 10 o'clock to-morrow. The sad event has cast a gloom over our town. Our citizens had learned to respect Mr. Smith as an officer who never shrank from the performance of his duty. He was a stranger to fear, and yet in the private walks of life a most diffident man. He came to this place last spring, when lawlessness was controlling the town. He was at once employed as chief of police, and soon order and quiet took the place of the wild shouts and pistol shots of ruffians who for two years had kept orderly citizens in dread

for their lives. Abilene owes a debt of gratitude to the memory of Thomas James Smith, which can never be paid. Although our people will never again permit the lawlessness which existed prior to his coming to the town, yet it will be a long time before his equal will be found in all the essentials required to make a model police officer.

Sacred be the memory of our departed friend and green be the turf that grows upon his grave. In years to come there will be those who will look back to the days when it required brave hearts and strong hands to put down barbarism in this new country and among the names of the bravest and the truest none will be more gratefully remembered than that of THOMAS JAMES SMITH, the faithful officer and true friend of Abilene.

Three days after their crime, Miles and McConnell were captured. The *Chronicle* article, November 10, 1870, reporting their unsuccessful flight has been reprinted in the section on James Gainsford.

Knowing the local people could not render an objective verdict, after three special lists of prospective jurors had been exhausted, the court granted a change of venue to Riley county. The *Chronicle*, November 17, 1870, reported:

State of Kansas vs. Andrew McConnell and Moses Miles, charged with murder in first degree. One day and a half was consumed in trying to impanel a jury. Three special venues were exhausted without securing the requisite number of jurors. A change of venue to Riley county was finally granted by the court, and the prisoners conveyed to the Manhattan jail to await trial at the March term of District court for that county.

Tom Smith was buried in a two-dollar grave, gunsmith Patrick Hand was appointed his successor,³ and the incident faded from the news until March, 1871, when Miles and McConnell were brought up for trial. The *Chronicle*, March 23, 1871, reported the result:

CONVICTED.—We learn the following particulars, relating to the trial at Manhattan of Miles and McConnell, for the murder of Marshal T. J. Smith. We are told by one of the attorneys that the evidence went to show that the officers in attempting to arrest the accused produced no warrant or authority; that the prisoners were in dread of a mob; that after they had Smith in their power—the officer whom he went to assist having fled—they brutally chopped him up with an axe. This fact alone caused the conviction of the prisoners. McConnell was sentenced to twelve and Miles to sixteen years confinement in the penitentiary. Thus ends one of the most horrible tragedies that has ever occurred in the State. When first arrested the prisoners were willing to plead guilty of murder in the second degree, which would have sent them to the penitentiary for life—but the prosecuting attorney would not permit such a plea, because public sentiment, at the time demanded the hanging of the prisoners. Twelve and sixteen years in the penitentiary seem long periods, but the condemned ought to be thankful that they get off with even such sentences. Never during their natural lives can they atone for their great crime.

Thirty-four years after Smith died, Abilene paid belated tribute

to its former chief of police. His body was disinterred from its obscure grave in the Abilene cemetery and reburied near one of the main avenues of the grounds. On Memorial day, May 30, 1904, a huge natural boulder marking the new site was dedicated. Abilene's first mayor, T. C. Henry, returned from his Denver residence and delivered a stirring speech on Smith's Abilene tenure. But perhaps the finest—and certainly the most enduring—tribute was the sentiment expressed on the bronze plaque fastened to the boulder. It read:

THOMAS J. SMITH,
 Marshal of Abilene, 1870.
 Died, a Martyr to Duty, Nov. 2, 1870.
 A Fearless Hero of Frontier Days Who
 in Cowboy Chaos
 Established the Supremacy of Law.⁴

1. "City Council Minute Book," Records of the City of Abilene, p. 29. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 43. 4. *Abilene Daily Chronicle*, May 31, 1904; *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 31, 1904.

SMITH, WILLIAM

(—-—)

William "Billy" Smith was an early lawman of Wichita. He was defeated for sheriff in Sedgwick county's first election, November, 1870, but was appointed a deputy United States marshal before the end of the year.¹ On February 19, 1871, the new deputy marshal extended the strong arm of the law around the slender waist of Miss Mary Peck, marrying her in the Wichita Presbyterian church that Sunday. "The ceremony was witnessed by nearly every woman in Wichita," said the *Vidette*, February 25, 1871.

Smith, whose main occupation was operating the Star Livery Stable, was possibly the fourth city marshal of Wichita. But he, like his predecessors, did not retain the position long, in fact Smith resigned only three days after he had been appointed. He was selected on April 10, 1871, by the governing body of Wichita;² his oath of office was dated April 11 and his letter of resignation was prepared on April 13. It read:

WICHITA KANSAS
 April 13th 1871

TO HIS HONOR

E. B. ALLEN

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF WICHITA

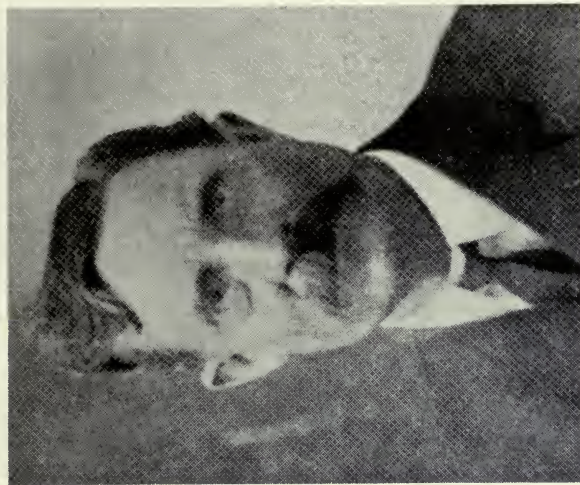
SIR.

In view of existing emergencies, having necessarily to leave the City for the space of at least fifteen days and having no competent person with whom I could entrust with the duties of City



THOMAS JAMES SMITH
(1830?-1870)

A veteran of the "Bear river riot" in Wyoming, Smith was hired as Abilene's first chief of police on June 4, 1870. His five months of praiseworthy service abruptly ended when he was nearly decapitated by a crazed, ax-wielding settler.



PATRICK F. SUGHRUE
(1844?-1906)

A 1905 portrait of Ford county's fourth sheriff. During Sughrue's tenure, 1884-1888, the flow of Texas trail cattle ceased and that of spirituous liquors slowed to a trickle. A blacksmith by trade, he was in police work in Dodge City as early as 1877.



Views of Ashland in 1886 (above), and in 1887.



Marshal I hereby tender my resignation as Marshal of the City of Wichita and trust that yourself together with the City Council will accept the same.

I am Sir

Very respectfully

Your obdt servt.

WILLIAM SMITH

Marshal³

The next spring Smith again ran for public office and was elected a councilman for the fourth ward. The election had been held April 2, 1872.⁴

Some time following Smith had obtained a commission as a Sedgwick county deputy sheriff under John Meagher, brother of City Marshal Mike Meagher. About June 6, 1873, the sheriff, Smith and Constable J. W. McCartney nabbed two mule thieves. The *Wichita Eagle*, June 12, 1873, reported:

Sheriff Meagher, Smith and McCarty, who went after the thieves who stole Mr. Wilkin's mules, returned on last Friday. They overtook the property and the "larkies" at Eureka, Greenwood county. The names of these patrons of mule flesh are Francis M. Carson and John Jefferson. They were found asleep in a barn, and the mules were staked out in the public square. They were terribly afraid of being brought back to Wichita, asserting that they preferred to die right there. At a preliminary examination Carson plead guilty and they were bound over for an appearance at the district court of the above mentioned county. As Judge Campbell's court sits there next week, these wayward boys will be pounding stone inside the penitentiary walls within two weeks. . . .

A week later McCartney and Smith again teamed up to arrest two suspected murderers. The *Eagle*, June 26, 1873, said:

Mr. King and his son, from Texas, who were arrested here last week by Constable McCartney and Deputy Sheriff Smith for the killing of a man in Clay county, Texas, were discharged by 'Squire D. A. Mitchell upon the ground of self-defense.

When John Meagher resigned as sheriff Gov. Thomas A. Osborn appointed Billy Smith to fill the vacancy September 15, 1873.⁵ The *Eagle*, September 18, 1873, announced the change:

Following the resignation of Sheriff John Meagher, Deputy Sheriff William Smith was commissioned by the governor to fill the unexpired term. Wm. Smith has made an efficient and prompt officer, and we have no doubt but that he will prove faithful in his higher trust.

However, when Smith ran for the following full term in November he was defeated by Pleasant H. Massey 665 to 599.⁶

When district court opened on December 8, 1873, Sheriff-elect Massey attempted to assume the mantle of his office. Smith refused to yield, contending that his appointive term was still in effect; that

Massey would not become sheriff until the regular time for swearing in county officers arrived in January. The *Wichita Eagle* item covering this limited controversy was reprinted in the section on Massey.

Sheriff Smith was also active that December, attempting to locate Rowdy Joe Lowe who had skipped town slightly ahead of a warrant requiring his arrest. This interesting episode has been reprinted in the section on Lowe.

Between four and five o'clock on Christmas morning, 1873, hungry flames began licking at the Main street millinery shop of Misses Annie Fardy and Kitty Hanley. The *Wichita* fire company and many private citizens battled desperately to keep the fire from spreading to other buildings and possibly consuming the entire frontier town.

During the flurry of activity surrounding 73 Main street that morning Arthur Winner was discovered lying bloody and dazed, in his nightshirt, at the foot of the stairs leading to his quarters over the millinery shop. "In a few moments more the falling of the upper floor revealed amid the curling flames the white and ghastly face and the head of a corpse which soon fell with a dead thud to the joists below," the *Eagle*, January 1, 1874, almost shuddered as it reported. The body was thought to be that of Winner's partner, Joseph W. McNutt, with whom he had been sharing a bed shortly before.

As the winter progressed the fire was forgotten but the body was not. Subsequent developments indicated that McNutt had not died but rather one W. W. Sevier and that he had been killed in an attempt to defraud an insurance company which held a policy on the life of McNutt. Consequently a grand search was instituted for the person of Joseph W. McNutt. The man who found him, and returned him to Sedgwick county custody, was William Smith. A township constable, he had pursued McNutt on his own initiative. The *Wichita Eagle*, February 19, 1874, described Smith's success:

THE CHRISTMAS TRAGEDY.

On Tuesday, the 10th inst., intelligence was received at this place that McNutt was in Missouri, or, at least, it was supposed that it might be him. There was not much credit given to the statement, but Will. Smith, ex-sheriff of this county, had been "working up" the case for some time, and he concluded, from what he had gleaned, that he might possibly be there. Consequently he started in pursuit, leaving on the train that night, stopping off at Topeka to get a requisition from the governor of this state, proceeded to Leavenworth city, took the Chicago and Rock Island road to Plattsburgh, Mo.,

arriving at that place Thursday night. He immediately procured a horse and guide, riding all that night in the supposed direction of the criminal, visiting a number of small country postoffices, inquiring at each office whether a party by the name of Leahead procured mail there or not (for this was the name McNutt was going by). He finally came to the New Garden postoffice, in Ray county, and was told that a party by that name was getting mail at that office, and that he was working on a farm about one mile from there. Smith left his horse, borrowed a shot-gun of his informant for the purpose of killing chickens, he said, and proceeded to the farm.

On arriving at or near the farm house, which stood in a clearing, he espied McNutt in the back yard chopping wood. He passed around the farm to the east side, where stood a large barn. He went to the barn, keeping it between himself and his game; farther on, towards the house, about a hundred yards, and within twenty feet of where McNutt was chopping, stood a corn crib. He worked his way cautiously up to the corner of the crib, stepped out and leveled his gun on the chap, and told him to throw down his ax and hold up his hands, for he was his prisoner, which order he promptly obeyed, remarking while being handcuffed, "Well, you have got me at last." Smith said yes, he had been hunting him for some time. He was placed upon a horse and brought to Plattsburgh, arriving there on Sunday, and at this place Monday night. He denies the statements made by Winner in the main. Tuesday morning he was taken before Justice [E. B.] Jewett. His examination was put off until yesterday. We shall endeavor to lay before our readers in our next issue the evidence elicited at the examination.

Much praise is due to Will. Smith for the untiring energy and great sagacity displayed in capturing this man. What he did was in a quiet and unobtrusive manner. But very few in the town knew that he was trying to find McNutt, and it was a matter of great surprise to our citizens when it was announced Tuesday morning that Smith had got back with McNutt. But few men would have succeeded in ferreting out the whereabouts of this man, having no more to work upon than the mere name Leahead.

LATER.—He was again brought before Justice Jewett last evening. His attorneys, [W. E.] Stanley [later governor of Kansas, 1899-1903] and [J. M.] Balderston, appeared, asked that the case be postponed until next Thursday, which was granted.

The editor of the *Eagle*, March 5, 1874, was intrigued by the romantic aspect of the crime and capture:

No better evidence of the spirit of the people is necessary than to point to the manner in which the McNutt affair was unraveled and brought to the light of the world. There was almost nothing to work on at first, but as days rolled on, thread upon thread was woven into the net that was to entrap the guilty parties. We do not remember of reading of a more cool and deliberate murder than the one planned by McNutt and Winner. It reads like some romance we have read of the bandits of Bomerwald. Ned Buntline could weave from it a romance that would read as wonderful as any he ever spun. But the perpetrators of it are safe in the hands of the law, and if full justice is vouchsafed to them they will stretch hemp before long.

Winner is safe in the Cottonwood Falls jail, and McNutt is at present guarded by his captor, Mr. William Smith, and he could easier escape from a

dungeon's wall than from such a man. McNutt is at "No. 11," Empire House. Mrs. McNutt is also guarded in the same Hotel. She seems to be fearfully agitated since the arrest of her husband and has attempted to kill herself by using poison, but was detected and frustrated. This we learn from a pretty reliable source, presume it is true.

In subsequent days both Winner and McNutt were convicted of their crime and sentenced to be hanged. These sentences were later commuted. William Smith, probably because of his excellent work in tracing McNutt, was re-elected constable on April 7 and appointed city marshal on April 15, 1874. Smith's city force included Daniel Parks, assistant marshal; William Dibbs and James Cairns, policemen.⁷

A few days after his appointment Marshal Smith apprehended an escaped convict. The *Eagle*, April 30, 1874, said:

City Marshal, Billy Smith, apprehended and arrested a convict one Thomas Hind on a telegram from Salina last week and confined him in jail. Hind was convicted for manslaughter in the third degree, at the above place, and sentenced by Judge Prescott to two years in the State Penitentiary. He was put into the custody of Sheriff Ramsey, of Saline county. While Ramsey was manacled two other prisoners Hind jumped through the door, shut in the hasp of the staple, and escaped, leaving the sheriff and his deputies prisoners. The night was very dark, and before the sheriff could make the situation known, his bird had flown and all efforts to capture him failed until he was picked up here by our boys. Wichita is a poor place for outlaws to flee to. Nearly every rough upon the border is known to our police force. Hind was taken away Tuesday morning.

Smith, it seems, did not rely entirely on his regular police to enforce the law, but reinforced them with a large reserve. The *Eagle*, July 16, 1874, praised him for its effectiveness:

In speaking of the special police force of this city last week and its organization [see the section on Sam Botts], we failed to give the proper credit, which failure was due to our ignorance. Our city marshal, Wm. Smith, organized the force, and it is of lawful effect. There is but little show or blow about our Billy, and he fails often in getting credit where it is really his due. He made an excellent and popular sheriff, and as city marshal we have no doubt of his success.

"A couple of soldiers came down from Dodge last Monday [August 3], after a deserter and horse thief named Percy whom our city marshal, Billy Smith had under arrest," reported the *Eagle*, August 6, 1874.

Because of a change in classifications Wichita could not appoint a city marshal in 1875 but instead had to elect one at the annual spring election of city officials. Naturally William Smith was one of the candidates. His opponents were Mike Meagher, another

ex-city marshal (*see* the section on Meagher), and Dan Parks, his own assistant. When the election was over, April 6, 1875, Smith learned that he had run a poor third with Meagher garnering 340 votes, Parks 311, and himself 65.⁸

As a privately hired agent or perhaps in the duties of a deputy United States marshal, Smith pursued and captured a horse thief named Lee. The *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, September 29, 1875, told of the chase:

The horse thief who was glimpsed by a party of freighters coming up from Arkansas City last week, of which mention was made in our last issue, was caught by his pursuers on the state line, twelve miles below Arkansas City, on the following Tuesday. The name of the thief is William Lee, he had been at work for H. C. Ramlow, in Park township up to Saturday. The horse he stole belonged to a colored man, a neighbor of Ramlow, by the name of Saunders. The horse had undoubtedly been spotted as he was a fine animal, a large iron grey, worth at least \$125, a good traveler, sound in wind and limb. The colored man secured the services of ex-City Marshal Wm. Smith who started at 3 o'clock Monday morning in a light buggy accompanied by Mr. Ferguson, the partner of Pittenger in the livery business. The two struck the trail below El Paso, three relays of horses headed off their man in the timber near the Indian territory, night coming on, they called on farmers in the neighborhood, who turned out en mass, with shot guns and surrounded the victim, while Smith rode below that night yet, to the Kaw Agency and got out a squad of Kaw Indians to watch below. So he came to have Lee surrounded against morning. About day light Lee came out and went to a house for breakfast when he was arrested and brought in here Wednesday night and lodged in jail. He will slide by easy stages into the penitentiary.

Smith's service as a deputy U. S. marshal was mentioned at least once in the *Wichita* papers. The *Eagle*, October 28, 1875, recounted this humorous adventure:

Deputy United States Marshal, Wm. Smith, in pursuance of instructions from headquarters proceeded to Kingman county last week to execute some papers upon the Commissioners of that county looking to the payment of certain interest money due on bonds issued by that county, and now held by certain inflated eastern capitalists. For two mortal days Bill wandered over the dreary and uninhabited wastes of the once populous and flourishing municipality of Kingman, in the vain endeavor to find an inhabitant upon which to serve his process. Late one evening he struck the primitive domicile of an adventurous rooster who said he had been in the county long enough to vote, but as yet had found none of his neighbors. He was just the man, and the meat that our United States Marshal was in pursuit of and he forthwith pulled his papers and proceeded to read. One can better imagine than describe the feelings of that poor, lone settler, out there upon the confines of that eternal solitude when informed that he was held for the entire indebtedness of the said Kingman county, which amounted to about \$60,000 in bonds besides interest. The affrighted prospector acknowledged that he had a good claim and some \$300 in team and property and that he would gladly give up half

of that for twenty-four hours' time in which to flee the impending doom. Bill says the next time [United States Marshal William S.] Tough wants any papers served in Kingman county he must send some fellow out a day ahead.

Next year Smith once again ran for the office of city marshal. While the campaign was in progress he and Policeman Wyatt Earp had a difficulty which resulted in a fight and Earp's leaving the service. (*See the section on Wyatt Earp.*) Whether or not the affair had any effect on the race for the marshalship is difficult to say; in any case, Mike Meagher once again defeated Smith, this time 477 to 249.⁹

1. *Wichita Vidette*, November 24, December 29, 1870. 2. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, p. 35. 3. "Miscellaneous Records," Records of the City of Wichita, 1871. 4. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, p. 159. 5. Records of the Secretary of State, "Commissions, April 5-November 11, 1873," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 6. *Wichita City Eagle*, November 6, 1873. 7. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, pp. 369, 371; *Wichita City Eagle*, April 23, 1874. 8. *Ibid.*, April 1, 8, 1875; "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal B, p. 42. 9. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

SUGHRUE, MICHAEL

(1844?-____)

Pat and Mike Sughrue were twins who for many years led strikingly similar lives as southwestern Kansas peace officers. For a while they served as sheriffs of neighboring counties, Pat being sheriff of Ford and Mike sheriff of Clark. Mike's career had begun in Dodge but a chain of circumstances led him to Ashland where he served first as city marshal and later sheriff.

Available records first show Mike Sughrue in August, 1861, when, already a veteran, he enlisted in Co. E, Seventh Kansas Volunteer cavalry. He gave his home town as Quincy, Ill. Re-enlisting in January, 1864, he was discharged June 28, 1865. Coincidentally, William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody was also a member of this regiment in its last year but served in Co. H.¹

In the fall of 1881, Mike, who had been listed in the 1880 census as a teamster, ran for sheriff of Ford county. Nominated by the Independent ticket Mike had four opponents: George T. Hinkle, Peoples' ticket; Samuel Gallagher, Female Suffrage ticket; E. P. Ott, East End ticket; and D. M. Frost, Greenback. At the election November 8, 1881, Hinkle won by 35 votes over his nearest competitor.²

At the next county election Mike's brother Pat was elected sheriff and Mike was then appointed deputy and jailer.³ He arrested a mule thief on June 5 according to the *Ford County Globe*, June 10, 1884:

HORSE THIEVES CAPTURED.

Last Thursday evening, Deputy Sheriff Sughrue arrested Frank, Tom and John Denson, on complaint of O. S. Aubery. A few days ago Mr. Aubery lost one of his mules and on Wednesday found the same with Mr. Mulligan, one of our citizens, who stated that he had purchased the mule from Frank Denson, giving a horse, silver watch, and revolver for the same. When arrested the Densons had six horses in all, among which was the horse that Mr. Mulligan had traded with them. As nothing could be found against Tom and John Denson they were released, and Frank Denson was held over for trial.⁴

Mike had some uneasy moments as jailor. The *Globe*, June 24, 1884, described a rather trying incident:

On last Saturday evening [June 21] Deputies Sheriff Sughrue and E. G. Barlow, went to lock the prisoners up in separate cells which is the usual custom at night, Barlow going inside and Sughrue locking the door after him. After Barlow had got inside, one of the prisoners named Chambers, warned him that the others had put up a job to escape from jail, and to look out, and when Barlow had locked one of them up, the rest, eight in all, started for him, Denson, the horse thief throwing a blanket over his head. After searching his pockets for a revolver which they expected to find, they let him go, claiming it was a joke, and others thought so but it was not. Mr. Barlow, however, states that he had received several threats from the prisoners, and no doubt that if he had carried his revolver in with him that he would have been killed. Denson, the horse thief said that he would kill some one before he went to the penitentiary and was the leader in this break for liberty. Our deputies must be careful.

"Deputy Sheriff Sughrue arrested a man Tuesday morning [July 15] who had been firing his pistol in the court house building. The fellow was placed in jail. Such offenses ought to be punished severely. This man fired off several shots in the street near the court house," said the *Dodge City Times*, July 17, 1884.

The *Dodge City Democrat*, October 11, 1884, reported that "Deputy Sheriff M. Sughrue took a trip to Crooked Creek on last Thursday [October 9]. He traveled 60 miles, got his man, and done it all in ten hours."

On November 21 a series of events began to occur which eventually led to Mike's removal to present Clark county. The *Dodge City Times*, December 4, 1884, copied from the *Clark County Clipper*, November 27:

TWO MEN AND A GIRL SHOT IN COLD BLOOD.

ONE OF THE MURDERERS HUNG.

Ashland has, since Friday last [November 21], been the scene of much excitement, which culminated Wednesday evening in the murder of Commodore Boggs and Daniel Adams, and the wounding of Miss Fannie Hankins. The circumstances connected with the affair, as nearly as can be ascertained at this time, are as follows:

The men who did the shooting were Joe Mitchell and Nels Mathews. Joe Mitchell came to this country about two weeks ago, it being reported that he had gotten into difficulty near Hazelton and was compelled to leave there. Nels Mathews had been about here for some three or four months and had no occupation during that time. They, together with two or three others, rode into town Friday afternoon and shot a fine grey hound, belonging to Ad Powers, they also shot out several window lights and broke the door of Roby & Lyon's Grocery.

The weather was quite severe Saturday and Sunday and they did not put in an appearance. Monday afternoon they came down from the saloon at Clark and commenced shooting at dogs. They then rode into many of the business houses with drawn revolvers. Did considerable shooting. Some shots were fired at our citizens. They roped and threw a pony several times and also roped a man from his mule he was riding. They constantly became more bold in their depredations. The next object of their cruelty was a man and a boy who were riding out of town in a wagon. They roped them several times but were unable to drag them from their wagon. Some words passed between them and Mathews beat both man and boy with his six shooter. Shortly after this they attempted to take a shot-gun from a young man named Frank Gage who objected, jumped back and drew down on Mathews, who then run into Roby's store, loaded his six shooter and followed Gage, but did not get an opportunity to shoot him. That evening they confined themselves to tearing down out houses.

Tuesday only three men were in the gang, there having been five the night before. Mathews, followed by Mitchell rode into Lee's restaurant and then shot through the door and front of the building while several persons were at dinner. Fortunately no one was injured. By this time the citizens had made up their minds to take the matter into their own hands, there being no officer nearer than Dodge City. Many shot guns and arms were in readiness that evening but the desperadoes had been warned and did not come into town, but rode over east and contented themselves with firing a few shots. Watch was kept in town until a late hour. One man who, it is said had been trying to keep Mathews and Mitchell from continuing their spree, left them in the afternoon.

Nothing occurred in town Wednesday to arouse suspicion until about half past five o'clock p.m., when a certain individual rode into town from the north and back again so quickly as to arouse the distrust of the poor fellows who, so shortly after, met their untimely end. These very boys gave the alarm and in a few minutes their suspicion was verified.

Mathews and Mitchell rode up to the post office and Mathews mailed a letter. They then rode through town and over the bluff where the trail comes in from the East. They tied their horses in the clump of trees between Mr. Lowery's and Bear creek and went upon the hill between the dug-out and town. When Adams and Boggs passed and went down into Lowery's dug-out, where they were boarding, Mitchell and Mathews followed them. The dug-out had only two rooms; a main room and an ante room. Supper was spread and the table full of boarders. The victims were standing in the ante room together with Mr. Woods, Fannie Hankins and a little girl. Mitchell and Mathews stepped to the entrance and Mitchell, addressing Boggs, said: "here pard, we want to speak to you." He answered that he would not step out

with them. Mitchell then grabbed him by the coat collar with one hand and raising his six shooter with the other, shot him in the stomach. At the same time Mathews shot Adams in the breast. Both boys probably made efforts to draw their revolvers, as one was found drawn and cocked, and the other partially drawn. Three or four shots were fired, one of which struck Fannie Hankins in the arm, inflicting only a flesh wound. It is thought that the shot was intended for her.

Immediately after the shooting the murderers took to their horses and rode rapidly toward Clark. Deputy Sughrue, who had been informed of the trouble, left Dodge at 11 a. m., and as good fortune would have it rode into Clark shortly after the shooting was done, and made for the saloon, thinking there was where he would find the men he was after. No one was there however, but as he passed out Mitchell rode up and Mr. Sughrue arrested him on suspicion. This was hardly done when Mathews rode up, having left a poor horse of his own and taken one belonging to Mr. Griffin. Mathews called to Mitchell to come on and Mitchell answered: "I can't, I'm arrested." Mr. Sughrue then commanded Mathews to halt, but he fired at him in reply upon which they exchanged three shots, and Mathews galloped away in the night. The deputies, Sughrue and [William] Thompson, then brought their prisoner to Ashland, where they were met by an excited throng. The extraordinary bravery and determination of the deputies is all that prevented Mitchell being taken from them and dealt with summarily. After the prisoner was secured, deputy Sughrue with a large force started in search of Mathews.

Everything had quieted down by midnight and the streets were deserted. A strong force guarded the prisoner and it was little thought that the people would take justice into their own hands. About three o'clock however, the room quickly filled with men and before there was any chance to resist, deputy Thompson and his assistants were overpowered. The prisoner was snatched out during the disturbance and daylight Thursday morning disclosed his lifeless body suspended from a beam of Bullen & Averill's lumber shed. He was cut down at 10:25 o'clock a. m. and an inquest held as follows:

An inquisition holden at Ashland, in Ford county,⁵ State of Kansas, on the 27th day of November, A. D. 1884, before me, Geo. A. Exline, a Notary Public in and for said county, (such inquisition being held by me at the request of William Thompson, Deputy Sheriff of said county, on account of the great distance to the Coroner, or a Justice of the Peace) acting as Coroner on the body of Joe Mitchell there lying dead, by the jurors whose names are hereunto subscribed.

The said jurors upon their oaths do say: That the person now here lying dead, was known by the name of Joe Mitchell; that he came to his death on the night of November 26th, A. D. 1884, at Ashland, Ford county, State of Kansas, by being hanged by the neck, by persons unknown to the jury.

H. B. WAKEFIELD,

C. M. BRUSH,

J. R. GLEN,

F. D. WEBSTER,

C. E. RHODES,

J. L. BLACKFORD.

ATTEST: Geo. A. Exline, Notary Public and acting Coroner, of Ford county, Kansas.

The victims of this cold blooded murder were both men of families and were here to make homes for themselves. They were very quiet, peaceable and law abiding citizens. Daniel Adams was twenty-three years old, he leaves

a wife and one child. C. P. Boggs was twenty-four years old and also leaves a wife and one child.

B. W. Burchett, accompanied the remains to Mt. Savage, Center county, Ky., where their families are, for interment.

For want of space the finding of the Coroner's inquest is omitted. The verdict, however, was that they came to their death by pistols in the hands of Joe Mitchell and Nels Mathews.

Other facts connected with this foul tragedy may be expected next week.

Deputy Sheriff Michael Sughrue will remain with us. With him here we will have no further occasion for coroner's inquests.

Sheriff Pat Sughrue, whose brother has rendered us such efficient service, arrived Thursday night.

Mathews is still at large.⁶

The ultimate fate of Nels Mathews has not been learned.

Mike Sughrue had so impressed the people of Ashland with his efficiency that he was hired as the town's city marshal. The Dodge City *Democrat*, December 13, 1884, mentioned his large salary: "Deputy Sheriff M. Sughrue, has been engaged by the Ashland town company, at a salary of \$175 per month, to keep order in that town."

Except for a visit now and then to his former home in Dodge, Mike Sughrue had permanently transferred his loyalties to Ashland.⁷ On March 2, 1885, he was injured while pursuing a murderer. The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, March 10, 1885, reported the unsuccessful chase:

A week ago last night, at a ranch [the 76 ranch near Bluff creek] ten miles from Ashland, this county, Fred Spencer shot and killed George Warwick. They had had a few words but no further trouble was expected, when, without a word of warning, Spencer shot Warwick twice, took what money his victim had and left. Both are young men, Spencer not being over nineteen years old. Deputy Sheriff Mike Sughrue was notified that night, and was soon in pursuit of the murderer, in company with Dr. Parks in a buggy; on the road to the scene of the tragedy, they were thrown out of the buggy and Mr. Sughrue had his shoulder put out of place, and one of his arms so badly bruised that he was unable to proceed farther. Sheriff Pat Sughrue was notified and went down to Ashland Wednesday returning Thursday, after putting two deputies on Spencer's trail, and seeing that his brother was getting along as well as could be expected after his injuries.⁸

On May 30, 1885, the Dodge City *Democrat* paid Mike a nice tribute:

M. Sughrue, the Marshal of Ashland, was in the city on last Thursday. He came after a man who had went wrong, and he took him back yesterday. When you want to catch a sharp send Mike after him, is all we have got to say.

When Clark county was organized in May, 1885, Mike Sughrue was elected its first sheriff. A few months later, in November, 1885,

he was re-elected to a full term.⁹ From here on he will be abandoned as his subsequent career is not in the scope of this cowtown series.

1. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65* (Topeka, 1896), pp. 233, 234, 247. 2. *Dodge City Times*, September 8, 15, November 10, 1881. 3. *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, February 12, 1884. 4. *See, also*, *Dodge City Democrat*, June 7, 1884; *Dodge City Times*, June 12, 1884. 5. In 1883 and 1884 present Clark county was part of Ford, the county was re-established and organized in 1885. 6. *See, also*, *Dodge City Democrat*, November 29, 1884; *Globe Live Stock Journal*, Dodge City, December 2, 1884. 7. *Dodge City Democrat*, January 10, February 21, March 21, April 25, 1885. 8. *See, also, ibid.*, March 7, 1885. 9. *Ibid.*, June 20, November 14, 1885.

SUGHRUE, PATRICK F.

(1844?-1906)

Pat Sughrue, a blacksmith by trade, was serving as a lesser police officer in Dodge City as early as March, 1877. The *Dodge City Times*, March 24, 1877, gave him incidental notice in this article concerning an episode in the love life of that notorious cowtown character Robert Gilmore:

POLICE COURT.

The case of Dodge City vs. James Manion, carrying deadly weapons, in the city limits, was the great attraction last Monday afternoon [March 19]. The high position Mr. Manion occupies in social and business circles of this community undoubtedly went far towards exciting unusual interest in the case, and when court opened there was not room enough inside for half of the would-be spectators.

After close investigation, both at the trial and on the outside, we ascertained the following facts, which gave rise to the case:

Miss Susy Haden, a beautiful Creole maiden of this city, has for some time past been casting fond and loving glances upon our modest but susceptible young friend, Bobby Gill. The rich, creamy complexion, dreamy black eyes and glossy, raven ringlets of the fair enchantress were too much for Bobby, and last Sunday night he cast his fortune and affections at her feet. A little after midnight the report was circulated among the boys that Robert was basking in the enervating luxury of Susy's presence, and a party of convivial spirits, including the defendant, repaired to Susie's home, with mischievous design to ruthlessly drag the gentle Bobby from the genial glow of the balmy smiles of his lady love—just for fun! It was cruel sport to thus tear apart two loving hearts which were no doubt entwined at that time in a loving embrace, but when Dodge City boys start in for fun and mischief, they don't stop to think about the sentimental features of the case.

The rumor proved true, and when the boys entered the Castle de Coon, Bobby was there in person "with both hands," and himself and Susy were occupying positions relative to each other of such a delicate nature as to entirely prohibit us from describing in these chaste and virtuous columns.

Suffice it to say that Mr. Gilmore was dragged from the downy couch, and when he made a hostile protest the defendant in the above entitled case had a very formidable gun four inches long, which he "banged and bluffed around" in a manner which Bobby despised.

Mr. P. Shugrue, the night watchman, happened around about this stage of the game and took charge of the gun, when the party broke up and each retired to his virtuous couch.

The Court said he thought fifteen dollars and costs would be about right.

A couple of months later Pat's humanity was not repaid in kind when a tramp whom he had befriended not only attempted to steal from him but also tried to kill D. D. Colley. The *Dodge City Times*, May 12, 1877, carried the story on its front page:

MURDEROUS ASSAULT.

A DESPERATE TRAMP ATTEMPTS TO KILL COL. D. D. COLLEY.

Dodge City is just now especially favored by the tramp fraternity. It seems to be the jumping off place for the Westward bound tramp (they invariably travel toward the setting sun). Some weeks ago one walked into town rejoicing in the name of John W. Charlton. He was six feet high in his soleless boots, and robust, muscular and healthy, as the professional tramp always is. He soon discovered that there was another "Jack Charlton" in the city, and rushed into the *TIMES* office with the request that if the other Jack Charlton ever had to be mentioned we should leave out the name for fear it might be mistaken for himself by his friends. After taking this precautionary measure to preserve his fair name from polluting stains, he began to cultivate the acquaintance of Mr. P. Shugrue, who was moved with compassion by his destitute condition, and furnished him bed and board until such time as he could obtain employment. Pat also gave him a new pair of shoes and supplied him with a shot gun that he might amuse himself killing ducks until he found work.

Week after week passed by and still Mr. Shugrue's guest reveled in idleness. Finally Mr. Shugrue took the matter in hand himself, and soon secured a good situation for his protege under Mr. Frolic. An expression of melancholy sadness came over Mr. Charlton's face when he learned of the toil in store for him; but Mr. Shugrue persuaded him to try it, and for one day he submitted to being reduced to the position of a servile hireling. His proud spirit, however, rebelled against an occupation so inferior to his exalted ideas, and in the evening he demanded his time and abandoned the job. The receipts of the day enabled him to drown his sorrows in the flowing bowl. Visions of duck shooting with Shugrue's gun flitted through his mind, and again he felt that happy days were yet in store for him; that life was not all a dreary desert. Vain anticipation; delusive expectation! For no sooner had Mr. Shugrue learned that our tramp had boldly shaken from him the shackles of toil than he cruelly drove him from the genial fireside and smoking viands which were so necessary to his comfort.

Such insolence could not fail to provoke Mr. Charlton's indignation; his chivalrous nature cried out for vengeance, and the next morning during Mr. Shugrue's temporary absence from the blacksmith shop he sneaked in and took what tools he could secrete in his pockets, under his coat and in his bosom. As he was leaving the shop Mr. Shugrue met him and noticed the end of a long file sticking from one pocket, the handle of a hammer protruding from another, while a pair of tongs and a few bars of pig iron were partly exposed below his coat tails. His late benefactor at once commenced applying

a cowhide boot to our hero's person, and every kick made an implement drop. Supposing all the plunder had been disgorged Mr. Shugrue gathered up the tools and started for the shop. Charlton then drew a heavy sodering iron from his pocket and, sneaking up behind Shugrue, aimed a murderous blow at his head. The action was observed by a bystander, and Mr. S. was warned just in time to escape. C. then publicly registered a vow to burn the city to ashe, but Marshal Deger escorted him to the dog house, where he remained until evening, when he was released on condition that he would leave town. Between 9 and 10 o'clock the same night Harry Boyer saw him skulking and hiding between Webster's store and Beatty & Kelley's restaurant.

About half-past 11 the same night Col. Colley passed through the alley where our bloodthirsty tramp was lying in wait for plunder to subsist upon during his pilgrimage away from our city to some more congenial clime. As the Col. was crossing the culvert a switch engine commenced blowing off steam. This was the time for the assassin to get in his work. The escaping steam prevented his footsteps from being heard, and the first intimation Col. Colley had that danger was near, was the terrible blow on the back of his head, which caused him to stagger forward a few steps and fall on his hands and knees. Although too much stunned to rise up immediately, the Col. managed to turn around and face his would-be murderer, who was coming for him again. The miscreant hesitated in surprise on seeing that his attempt was a failure, and the Col. soon recovered sufficiently to rise up and start for the assailant, calling "police," which caused him to flee. A streak of light from a window falling upon the retreating figure satisfied Col. Colley that it was John Charlton, who had been ejected from the Long Branch a day or two before as a nuisance [Colley then owned one-half of the Long Branch saloon].

Dr. McCarty examined the wound and found that the skull was bare and exposed but not fractured. The weapon used was a stone weighing between eight and ten pounds.

Mr. Charlton was arrested next day on a charge of assault with intent to kill, and last Wednesday was brought before Judge Frost for preliminary examination. He acted as his own lawyer, and managed his case in a cool and sagacious manner which showed he had been there before. But the Judge decided to let the District Court have a whack at him, and bound him over in the sum of \$3,000. The prisoner will languish in jail until court sets.

On November 6, 1877, Pat Sughrue was elected constable of the township in the same election that placed Bat Masterson in the sheriff's office.¹ Like Bat, and many other prominent Dodgeites, Sughrue was a member of the volunteer Dodge City Fire Company. On January 7, 1878, he narrowly missed being elected second assistant marshal of the fire fighting unit. Instead Charles S. Hungerford won the position.²

One of the Sughrues, possibly Pat, was arrested on March 29, 1878, for fighting at the Long Branch. The *Ford County Globe*, April 2, stated:

A lively rough and tumble fight occurred Friday night at the Long Branch. One Brannon catching it on the head from a six-shooter, and Mr. Sughrue

having his eyes somewhat damaged. Squire C[ook]. made it \$11.50 for S., and acquitted B.

"Pat Sughrue has discovered a chalk mine of countless value. Some of the chalk is on exhibition at this office," reported the *Times*, April 27, 1878, and "Pat Sughrue and Tom Goodman, blacksmiths, are manufacturing a large number of cattle brands. Some of the brands are ingeniously wrought," it said on September 7, 1878.

As constable, Pat arrested Charles Trask for mule stealing on December 29. The *Times*, January 4, 1879, related:

Sunday last, Constable Pat Sughrue found two of the Government mules which were stolen a few weeks ago on Bluff creek. The mules were in possession of Charles Trask, and were found south of the river. Trask was arrested but the trial was postponed until Monday next. Constable Sughrue received the fifty dollars reward which had been offered for the recovery of the mules.³

A few days later Pat testified to one of the more unsavory aspects of frontier life. The *Ford County Globe*, February 17, 1879, reprinted the story from the *Leavenworth Press*:

THE HAYDEN CASE.

A BRIEF RESUME THEREOF, WITH RECENT AFFIDAVITS, RECENTLY FILED FOR DEFENDANT.

On the 6th of December, 1878, the Press published a statement of a rape committed upon a married lady who had arrived in the city [Leavenworth] the night before, from the western part of the State, in search of an erring daughter. The rape alleged had been committed by Isaac Hayden, a colored man who had met her at the depot, found out her mission, and succeeded in decoying her to his house by pretending to assist her in searching for her daughter, where he raped her. Her husband and family, in the western part of the State, were also described as being in very destitute circumstances. The trial of Hayden was had and he was pronounced guilty; but various motions have interposed to prevent his sentence. Among other proceedings had in this interesting case, affidavits were recently filed, the substance of which are as follows:

H. B. BELL

of Dodge City, Ford county, Kansas deposed: That early in the year 1878, he became acquainted with Mrs. Mary Malosh, sometimes known as Mary Castill, whose family consisted of herself, her husband, J. D. Malosh, a fourteen-year old daughter called Bell Castill and two small children. Mrs. Malosh at said time was employed as cook in a dance hall on Locust street, in Dodge City, kept by Henry Heck, and she, with her entire family, lived in the building. The dance house was a long frame building, with a hall and bar in front and sleeping rooms in the rear. The hall was nightly used for dancing, and was frequented by prostitutes, who belonged to the house and for the benefit of it solicited the male visitors to dance. The rooms in the rear were occupied, both during the dancing hours and after, and both day and night by the women for the purpose of prostitution.

Bell Castill, while her mother cooked in the house, to the best of Mr. Bell's belief, carried on prostitution like the other women, and with her mother's

knowledge she danced and drank as the rest, and to her friends and acquaintances made no secret of her doings. Furthermore he believed that Bell helped to keep the family with the money she earned by prostitution; and that her mother instructed and encouraged her to do so. And that, after the family left this house Bell was an inmate of other houses; and that he (affiant) believes Mrs. encouraged and consented to the conduct of her daughter.

PATRICK SUGHRUE,

after stating that he had read the affidavit of Mr. Bell, deposed that he believes it to be true to his own knowledge; that he was present at the first dance given after the Malosh family moved into the house, when Mrs. Malosh forced Bell, who was apparently young and inexperienced to dance; that Bell told him it was her first experience in a dance house; that thereafter daily, as he believes, Bell led the same life of shame and that it was with the advice and encouragement of her mother, and the family used her money so earned for support; that Mrs. Malosh insisted on such a life from her daughter.

Short items in the *Times*, like the flickering and temporary images on a motion picture screen, depicted Pat's life for the next year. August 16, 1879: "Pat Sughrue and J. S. Marcus left for Hays City on Tuesday. Mr. Marcus has a faint hope of finding his lost horses. He has some trace of them." August 30, 1879: "Pat Sughrue and J. S. Marcus returned Tuesday evening, having failed to find the horses lost by Mr. Marcus." September 6, 1879: "Patrick Sughrue has taken the position of farrier at Fort Dodge. He is an excellent workman, and we wish him success." November 8, 1879: "Pat Sughrue, long a resident of these parts, has gone to Colorado, and will take charge of the horse-shoeing of the horses of a mail line into Leadville. Pat's friends wish him success." April 17, 1880: "Patrick Sughrue has taken charge of the blacksmith shop formerly managed by him. Mr. Sughrue was married in Colorado, and with his wife will make a permanent residence in Dodge City."

Pat became a public servant once again with his election to the city council on April 4, 1881. Other councilmen elected were A. H. Boyd, C. M. Beeson, George S. Emerson, and H. T. Drake; A. B. Webster was mayor. This new council and mayor appointed Fred Singer, marshal, and Tom Nixon, assistant marshal.⁴

A year later this same administration was re-elected with the exception that Ham Bell replaced H. T. Drake on the council.⁵ Still another year and the old "gang" had suffered a split. Pat Sughrue now supported W. H. Harris for mayor though Webster, Bell, Drake, Emerson, and others chose L. E. Deger.⁶ The rift yawned into the almost unspannable chasm of the "Dodge City war." Sughrue and his friends, including T. J. Tate, Nelson Cary, James H. Kelley, W. F. Petillon, etc., were proponents of the Luke Short faction and of course the other side included Webster and

Deger. See the section on Luke Short for the story of these troubles.

One of the adhesives which patched up the battered political arena of Dodge City was a newly formed militia unit, the "Glick Guards." Persons who had been on the opposing sides in the recent troubles enlisted side by side. The commander was Capt. Patrick F. Sughrue.⁷

In the fall of 1883 Pat was nominated for sheriff. Apparently a rumor to the effect that, if elected, he would appoint Bat Masterson under sheriff was designed to injure Pat's chances at the polls. In the *Ford County Globe*, October 16, 1883, he discounted the notion:

NOTICE.

Some of the opposition or Singer faction are circulating a report among stockmen that in the event I am elected Sheriff, W. B. Masterson will be my under sheriff, which I positively assert is false; not that Mr. Masterson wouldn't be fully competent and acceptable to a great many people in this county, but he is not a resident of this state and has no intention of becoming such. I am sure, however, that he would reflect as much credit to the office as Mysterious Dave, who will be Mr. Singer's right-hand man.

Respectfully,

P. F. SUGHRUE.

In spite of, or because of, the tactics used on both sides Sughrue won the office with 488 votes to Singer's 343. The election had been held November 6, 1883.⁸

Pat was sworn in January 14, 1884. The *Globe*, January 15, reported:

The new county officers elect took charge of their respective offices yesterday. The county board organized by electing the oldest member of the board, J. D. Shaffer, chairman, a very deserving compliment to that gentleman. Sheriff Sughrue moved into the court house yesterday and has assumed charge of not only presiding officer as sheriff of the county, but as jailor. He will hold the key to the jail. T. J. Tate is his under-sheriff; a good selection, and who will make an excellent officer. . . .⁹

Sughrue's first recorded official act took place three days later. The *Globe*, January 22, 1884, carried this short item:

Sheriff P. F. Sughrue and special deputy sheriff Clark Chipman, took Al Thurman to Larned on a writ of habeas corpus before Judge Strang, last Thursday, on complaint of an excessive bond. Judge Cook, of this city, bound the defendant over in the sum of \$5,000 for his appearance at the next term of our district court on the charge of attempting to take the life of Geo. Miller. Judge Strang reduced the bond to \$1,500, and the prisoner was remanded to the jail of the county.

The same day the sheriff "disarmed" some of his incarcerated prisoners. The *Globe*, January 22, 1884, told of it:

Sheriff Sughrue in making the rounds of the jail last Thursday found sundry articles that he did not care to leave in the possession of his prisoners, to-wit:

A two-bladed pocket knife, and a case knife which was transformed into a saw. The first article named was supplied by Mrs. Wiggins, who was residing in the jailors rooms, and admitted to have been so supplied by Charles Ellsworth, who is one of the inmates of the jail. Sheriff Sughrue, since he has taken charge of the court house, has laid down some very rigid rules for the government of the temple over which he presides.

"P. F. Sughrue on last Thursday night [January 24] caged a horse thief. We did not learn where he was captured," said the *Globe*, January 29, 1884.

"Sheriff Sughrue and under sheriff Tate started for the state penitentiary Sunday noon [February 10] with Charles Ellsworth and Harry Kennedy, to which place they were sentenced for one year each, on a charge of stealing horses," according to the *Globe*, February 12, 1884.¹⁰

Leavenworth had been the Sughrues' home. The *Globe*, February 19, 1884, copied from the *Leavenworth Times*:

Pat. Sughrue, formerly of Leavenworth, and now the sheriff of Ford county, Kansas, visited the Times office yesterday, in company with T. J. Tate, Esq., of Dodge City. We are pleased to hear of his prosperity, and also to hear of the good health of his father whom our citizens well remember, and also his brother Michael, who is now the jailor of that county. Mike was a faithful, brave soldier of the old Seventh Kansas, and deserves kindly remembrance for his services in the war for the union.

The sheriff and Deputy Bill Tilghman captured a horse thief on March 16. The *Dodge City Democrat*, March 22, 1884, reported:

Sheriff Sughrue and Deputy Tilghman on last Sunday caught an Edwards county horse thief. Sheriff Billings, of Edwards county, came up on Sunday and found his man safely in jail. Sughrue made Billings a present of him and thereby saved the County of Ford a hundred or two dollars. That's right, Pat, we don't kick; the Colonel told us the fellow was broke, anyhow.

The *Ford County Globe*, April 29, 1884, reported that Sughrue had arrested an accidental murderer:

Sheriff Sughrue returned Saturday from his trip to Hutchinson where he arrested Phil. Leslie, who shot the tramp at Pierceville the day previous. Leslie was placed under a bond for his appearance at next term of court, which he had no trouble giving, and was at once released. This is an unfortunate affair for Leslie, as—if we are correctly informed—he had no intention whatever of killing any of the party that attempted to board the train, but simply fired—as he supposed over their heads—to scare them off. Unfortunately he hit one, who fell dead in his tracks.¹¹

Sughrue was one of the sports who organized a Dodge City baseball club in the spring of 1884. Others interested included Bob Wright, Bat Masterson, A. B. Webster, and W. H. Harris.¹²

The enforcement of law kept Sughrue pretty busy, however. When it was reported that former Gov. John P. St. John and A. B. Campbell would come to Dodge to attend a series of temperance meetings it was rumored that liquor loving Dodge Citizens would offend them with alcoholic violence. The city and county police co-operated to protect the visitors. The *Dodge City Times*, May 22, 1884, reported their success:

The suggestion that trouble or insult would likely take place should Mr. Campbell and Gov. St. John come to Dodge City, was entirely gratuitous. Whether any insult was apprehended or not we do not know or believe, but we must compliment City Marshal Tilghman and Sheriff Sughrue for their judgement and prudence on the late visit of Mr. Campbell and others. Both of these officers were at the trains during the arrival and departure of Mr. Campbell and both officers were in attendance at the meetings. They would have arrested the first man who would have offered any violence or insult. We highly commend them for this display of official duty, and their conduct will receive the praise from every one who desires peace, good order and good government.

On May 31, 1884, the *Dodge City Democrat* reported that

A brute named Harvey Cox, living with his family in a dugout near the round-house was arrested by Sheriff Sughrue on Monday [May 26] charged with the heinous crime of incest, having defiled the person of his twelve-year-old daughter. He was jailed, and this after-noon Judge Cook held him for trial. The whole family are said to be hard characters.

The *Democrat* of May 31 also asked:

"What has become of 'crazy' Burns?" is what the officers would like to know. When last seen he was crazy as a loon about four miles south of the river, but when Sheriff Sughrue and Marshal Tilghman went out after him he had departed for fields new and pastures green.

A burglar was next, according to the *Globe*, June 3, 1884:

Sheriff Sughrue rounded up another man on Sunday morning [June 1], and placed him behind the bars of our county jail to keep him out of future mischief. This time it was a professional burglar, who broke into the store of Geo. Hall, at Spearville, Saturday night, and carried away a small amount of change, goods etc. Our sheriff was immediately notified of the burglary, and captured him on Sunday morning. On the person of the prisoner were found a full set of keys—blanks and others, a dozen or more of fine saws, picks, cold chisel, a cake of wax, and other implements necessary to the profession of a burglar. He also had in his possession a slip of paper containing the names of Wright, Beverley & Co., and York, Parker Draper, Mercantile company, of this city.

On June 3 Pat took a breather and attended the Republican national convention in Chicago. The *Globe*, June 3, 1884, told of his departure:

Sheriff Sughrue goes to Chicago to-day and will attend the convention. Pat will meet many of his old comrades in the army. He has a free pass and

a ticket for a seat, and he only needs to remind Logan [Gen. John A. Logan who was nominated vice-president] of the forty-seven days fight before Vicksburg to have some one to introduce him.

Perhaps the sheriff returned only to leave Dodge again, or maybe he swung south to Fort Worth before coming home. In any case he appeared in Dodge on June 8 with a prisoner whom he had picked up in Texas. The *Times*, June 12, 1884, said:

Sheriff Sughrue returned Sunday night with Wm. Bird, who is charged with cattle stealing. Bird was arrested in Texas, and will have a trial at the present term of the District Court.

Regarding the arrest the *Globe*, June 10, 1884, said:

Too much credit cannot be given Sheriff Sughrue, who, whenever he has been sent after a criminal, has always brought him back, and has been the means of capturing some very hard citizens. When you want a man send Pat after him.

"Sheriff Sughrue, City Marshal Tilghman and Under Sheriffs Tate and Dave Mather are home again from taking the prisoners to the State penitentiary," reported the Dodge City *Democrat*, June 28, 1884.¹³ On his return "Sheriff Sughrue arrested Walter Payne, in this city on Last Thursday [July 3], on a charge of horse stealing made by outside parties," according to the *Globe*, July 8, 1884.

Sheriff Sughrue was the arresting officer who apprehended Mysterious Dave Mather after he had killed Tom Nixon on July 21, 1884. For Pat's testimony see the section on Mather.

On August 6, 1884, Pat attended a meeting of militia officers in Topeka. The *Democrat*, August 9, reported:

Our sheriff, P. F. Shugrue [*sic*], who is captain of the Glick Guards, attended a meeting of the regimental and company officers of the militia of Kansas, held at Topeka on last Wednesday. While there, Pat. stopped a big row that occurred in one of the hotels, by simply producing his old "45's." The scattering that took place was simply immense.¹⁴

Upon the sheriff's return he again performed a series of arrests. "Sheriff Shugrue [*sic*], on last Tuesday [August 19], arrested two colored men for stealing saddles out of Wright & Co's store. Both are held for grand larceny," said the *Democrat*, August 23, 1884.¹⁵ On September 6, 1884, the *Democrat* reported:

About six weeks ago, H. Longnen had one of his horses stolen, and yesterday Sheriff Sughrue received word that the horse had been found at Newton, and the thief, who gave his name as Alfred D. Partridge, was in custody. The sheriff started after the prisoner to-day.

"Horse thieves are getting numerous around here again, two were brought in last week. Our sheriff don't let them linger around long," the *Democrat* remarked on September 13, 1884. On September 15

Sughrue left for Galveston by way of Topeka where he obtained a requisition for a forger.¹⁶ The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, September 23, 1884, reported Pat's success:

"I told you so," and we did, in our last issue when we said Sheriff P. F. Sughrue had gone to Texas and would return with his man. A telegram from Patrick dated Galveston, Texas, Monday September 22d, says, "I've got my man and start for home this morning." We hope to tell our readers whom he brings next week.

The Dodge City *Kansas Cowboy*, September 27, 1884, said the prisoner was one C. A. Grouthouse:

Sheriff Sughrue returned to Dodge City last Thursday morning, having in charge the man who had a forged draft on the Franklyn Cattle company cashed by R. M. Wright, last July. The forger was arrested at Galveston by John Williamson and Jerry Lordan, special detectives of that place, who held the forger until the arrival there of Mr. Sughrue last week, to whom the criminal was transferred by his captors. Williamson and Lordan accompanied Mr. Sughrue to Dodge City. The amount cashed by Mr. Wright was \$3,000, but subsequently \$1,000 of it was recovered. The forger claims the cognomen of C. A. Grouthouse. He is now in jail at this place.¹⁷

A Coolidge man who had killed his wife was next on Sheriff Sughrue's list. The Dodge City *Democrat*, October 4, 1884, reported the facts:

SHOT AND KILLED HIS WIFE.

On Thursday night at Coolidge, Kans., at about 12 o'clock, James Dempsey, shot and killed his wife, while in bed. Mrs. Dempsey had been sick for a few weeks back, and a child was born to them two weeks ago. Dempsey had been on a drunk for a few days, and was drunk on the day previous to the murder, and had repeatedly stated that his wife was a source of expense to him, and that he would kill her. She was shot through the head by a pistol ball, and killed instantly. The pistol was found in the bed.

His version of the story is, that while asleep he was awakened by a pistol shot, and discovered his wife had been shot. He believing that she had shot herself.

He was sent to this city immediately on being arrested, to save him from being lynched. He arrived here on the one o'clock train and was taken back on the 2:40 train accompanied by Sheriff Sughrue, and Deputies Tate and Cary, to be tried. It is generally believed that he is guilty.¹⁸

A different type of crime resulted in Pat arresting a young Dodge resident. The *Times*, October 23, 1884, reported:

TOTAL DEPRAVITY.

An obscene circular was discovered in this city Monday last. A bundle of these circulars was picked up on the street, having fallen out of the pocket of a young man who lives here. The printing of these circulars was done in the Democrat office in this city, under the direction of the editor of that infamous sheet. The arrest of Edwards was made Monday evening, by Sheriff Sughrue, who swore out the warrant. The arrest of Charley, the young man

who ordered the printing, was also made, and these dispensers of villainous trash were admitted to bail, and will have to answer to the charge of printing and circulating obscene literature.

We were shown a copy of the printed slip containing the filthy matter, and we must say that we are utterly surprised to learn that there is a man in Dodge City so low in moral instincts as to give such stuff circulation. The vilest slum on the continent wouldn't tolerate the filthy circular discovered Monday last. A Democratic editor is left to disgrace his office and calling by the printing of such detestible matter.

We are glad to chronicle the fact that the better sentiment of the community is growing sufficiently strong to ferret out the perpetrators of outrages and to give them the benefit of the law. Every one who heard of the obscene matter condemned the authors in unmeasured terms. Sheriff Sughrue and some of our citizens hastily and successfully brought the perpetrators of the outrage to punishment, and deserve the thanks of an injured community. Some of this vile matter had found its way to the school children, and the capture of the vile print and the arrest of the perpetrators was timely.

As sheriff of Ford county Pat Sughrue was interested in the double killing at Ashland November 26, 1884. Pat dispatched his twin brother, Mike, to the scene; the results have been reprinted in the section on Mike Sughrue.

"Last week Sheriff Sughrue arrested three men, charged with burglary and put them in jail. The county officers are on the alert for offenders," said the *Times*, December 18, 1884.

The 1885 Kansas state census for Ford county listed P. F. Sughrue as a 41-year-old sheriff. Also listed was Pat's cousin, Daniel Sughrue, under sheriff, 43 years old.

Sheriff Sughrue arrested Mysterious Dave Mather for murder a second time on May 10, 1885. This crime, the killing of David Barnes, has also been covered in the section on Mather.

Pat foiled an attempted jail break on the night of May 23, 1885. The *Globe*, May 26, carried the story:

A BOLD ATTEMPT TO BREAK JAIL—
SHERIFF SUGHRUE AS A RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

In one of the large steel cells in our county jail up to Saturday evening were confined ten prisoners. These prisoners are let out from eight in the morning until nine or ten o'clock at night into the room in which their cell is. Last Friday evening Sheriff Sughrue remarked that the boys were in a happy mood as they were singing, and told the jailor to examine the jail carefully; that was all he said, but himself set about to discover why such long and continued hilarity with the prisoners. Saturday he knew all about their little scheme, and appointed himself a committee of one on reception when they should step from the jail.

By some means the prisoners had got hold of a large pocket knife and a razor with which they cut a hole through the ceiling large enough for all but one of the prisoners to get through. The work of enlarging the hole began

Saturday evening, and the exact time could be told by the music that arose from that room. The reception committee was also on hand in his stocking feet with a six-shooter in his hand, ready to knock the top of the head off the first man that raised above the floor. From some reason they got suspicious that some one was up stairs and put off further operations for the night, and were soon after locked up in their cells, where they have been kept ever since.

It would have required but a few minutes more work to have enlarged the hole and cut through the floor which was partly cut through when, if the sheriff had not been present, they would have landed in the center of the main hall on the first floor of the court house, about twelve feet from the door. Their plan was to escape a few minutes before nine o'clock when no one was liable to be in the court house, and having the whole night before them and fifteen or twenty minutes time before the jailor would come to lock them in their cells, their chances for escape were pretty good.¹⁹

In July Sheriff Sughrue was one of those who were asked their opinion of the difficulty in enforcing prohibition. The interrogator was Att. Gen. S. B. Bradford and the interview was mentioned in the Dodge City *Democrat*, July 11, 1885:

The Attorney-General arrived here last Tuesday [July 7] and were met by our mayor, R. M. Wright, sheriff P. Sughrue, A. Gluck and the editor of the DEMOCRAT. In the interview at the hotel with the Attorney-General on the most important subject, (the disturbance caused by the arrival of Griffin and Jetmore in our city,) [see the section on Bat Masterson] the facts were presented to him by the mayor and sheriff, giving him complete outline of the affair. The prohibition faction were invited to present their side of the case but did not appear at that time. During the conversation the Attorney-General asked the sheriff the number of saloons that had been running previous to the passing of the prohibitory law last winter, and was told that there were seventeen. He then asked how many were now running open and was told that there were about ten, and the sheriff also told him that the people here did not feel as though they ought to close, when saloons were running open in such cities as Leavenworth, Atchison, etc. After a little more conversation on the subject, the Attorney-General said it was not his duty to seek this information himself. He stopped in our city two days and visited nearly all the principal business houses. He seemed well pleased with the looks of our city, with its hundreds of new buildings in course of construction.

On August 17 "Sheriff Sughrue arrived in Ashland . . . with McKinney, who committed the murder at Englewood, on July 4th, and will probably arrive here to-day with his prisoner. McKinney will be lodged in our jail until next term of court unless bonds are furnished," reported the *Democrat*, August 22, 1885.

In September Sughrue went to New York where he obtained a prisoner who later escaped on the return trip to Dodge. The *Democrat*, September 12, 1885, said:

Sheriff Sughrue returned last Wednesday morning from his trip to New York. He secured Wiseman at that place after a good deal of trouble, and

was bringing him home, but when they reached Godfrey, Ill., Wiseman made his escape through the water closet of the car. The sheriff, however, brought the goods back with him that Wiseman had stolen.

The incident was to give Pat some trouble when he ran for re-election in the fall. The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, October 20, 1885, stated the problem:

Sheriff Sughrue's opponents in the race for sheriff of Ford county, are bringing up the unfortunate escape of Israel Wiseman from said Sughrue, while enroute from New York City to Dodge City, charging him with all kinds of misconduct in this matter. We desire to say to these fellows who still persist in charging sheriff Sughrue with any neglect to duty in this matter, that if they will take as much pains in finding out the truth in this matter as they have in giving credence to the unjust report that he did not do his duty, and will call at this office, we will convince them by official documents that Sughrue is entirely blameless and acted in good faith, and cannot be held responsible for the escape of Mr. Wiseman.

In the same issue the *Globe* reprinted a commendatory letter from Gov. G. W. Glick:

Read what ex-governor G. W. Glick thought of P. F. Sughrue as an officer of the law, and then determine whether he hadn't ought to be re-elected to the office he so honorably filled:

TOPEKA, Sept. 22, 1884.

TO P. F. SUGHRUE, SHERIFF, DODGE CITY, KANSAS.

MY DEAR SIR:—I was very much gratified to be reliably informed that under my proclamation and the law your efficiency as an officer in protecting the large stock interests of your county is worthy of the highest commendation.

It has been stated to me that you have gone out among incoming herds where Texas fever was feared, and by your promptness and energy, and prudent management (in one instance at least) have turned back herds that would have spread destruction amongst the cattle of Kansas, and would have produced great damage and loss to the stock owners of our state. I understand that the owners, after you stating your authority, and producing the proclamation and notifying them that nothing would save them from the severest prosecution under the law, finally decided to leave the state at once.

I certainly commend your discretion and firmness in this matter. I hope that others will feel the necessity of acting as promptly and discreetly in this matter. I desire, therefore, to thank you in the name of the good people of our state, whom you have protected against that fearful disease—the Texas fever.

I am, sir most respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
G. W. GLICK.²⁰

Pat's campaign was successfully managed and when the election was over he had garnered victory with a count of 1,052 votes to R. W. Tarbox's 926, and T. J. Tate's 189.²¹

Though Patrick F. Sughrue was only beginning another term as a major peace officer, research was discontinued at this point because

Dodge City was no longer a trail-end city and the duties of its law officers assumed the character of similar officers in other settled progressive communities. After 1885 and 1886 Dodge City no longer was to gear itself for the summer cattle drives from Texas which brought dusty drovers flocking to its refreshment and entertainment palaces.

1. Dodge City Times, November 10, 1877.
2. Ibid., January 12, 1878.
3. See, also, Ford County Globe, Dodge City, January 1, 1879.
4. Dodge City Times, April 7, 1881.
5. Ibid., April 6, 1882.
6. Ford County Globe, March 20, 1883.
7. Ibid., June 5, 1883; Dodge City Times, August 30, 1883.
8. Ibid., November 22, 1883; Ford County Globe, November 20, 1883.
9. See, also, Dodge City Times, January 17, 1884.
10. See, also, Dodge City Democrat, February 16, 1884.
11. See, also, Dodge City Democrat, May 3, 1884.
12. Ibid.
13. See, also, Ford County Globe, July 1, 1884.
14. See, also, Dodge City Times, August 14, 1884; Dodge City Kansas Cowboy, August 9, 16, 1884.
15. See, also, Dodge City Kansas Cowboy, August 23, 1884.
16. Globe Live Stock Journal, Dodge City, September 16, 1884; Dodge City Democrat, September 20, 1884; Dodge City Kansas Cowboy, September 20, 1884.
17. Dodge City Democrat, September 27, 1884.
18. See, also, Globe Live Stock Journal, October 7, 1884.
19. See, also, Dodge City Times, May 28, 1885; Dodge City Democrat, May 30, 1885.
20. See, also, "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.
21. Globe Live Stock Journal, November 10, 1885.

(To Be Concluded in the Autumn, 1962, 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 those 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, 1960, through September 30, 1961. 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, 1962, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

KANSAS

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[AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, LEAVENWORTH BRANCH], *Other Days, Other Ways; One Hundred Years of Freedom and Progress in Leavenworth, Kansas, 1861-1961*. [Leavenworth, 1961.] 96p.

———, MANHATTAN BRANCH, *Kansas Official Centennial Cook Book; 100 Years (1861-1961)*. . . . Manhattan, c1961. 101p.

AMERICAN LEGION, KANSAS DEPARTMENT, KEITH REEVES POST, No. 3, *History, Volume 1, 1919-1960*. [Columbus, Mission Publishing Company, 1961?] 181p.

ANDERSON, GEORGE L., *General William Jackson Palmer; Man of Vision*. Colorado Springs, Colorado College [c1960]. 23p.

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[ARKANSAS CITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY], *From Trails to Turnpikes*. N. p. [1961]. [56]p.

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- BELL, BETTYE J., *She Made the Devil Smile*. New York, Pageant Press [c1960]. 39p.
- BENNETT, THOMAS J., *History of First Christian Church, 1876-1961*. [Hutchinson, First Christian Church, 1961?] 147p.
- BERNADETTE, MARY, SISTER, *Life of a Student Nurse. Do You Belong in Nursing?* Topeka, Myers, c1961. 120p.
- BETHEL, BETHEL LUTHERAN CHURCH, *Dedication, November 25, 1956*. N. p., 1956? Unpaged.
- BLACKWOOD, ANDREW W., *The Growing Minister, His Opportunities and Obstacles*. New York, Abingdon Press [c1960]. 192p.
- BLAIR, WILLIAM NEWTON, *Chansung's Confession*. Topeka, H. M. Ives and Sons, 1959. 107p.
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- BRISTOW, JOSEPH QUAYLE, *Tales of Old Fort Gibson . . .* New York, Exposition Press [c1961]. 246p.
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- [FRANKLIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY], *Reflections of Franklin County and Chautauqua Days*. N. p. [c1961]. Unpaged.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

PRAIRIE FIRES

From *The Big Blue Union*, Marysville, November 7, 1863.

The prairie fires, during the high winds of Saturday last, did more damage in Kansas by burning fences, crops and hay, than all the taxes in the State during the last year will amount to.

The fences on the road between Big Springs and Lawrence, are mostly destroyed. A large amount of corn in the fields, hay in the stacks, sheds, barns, &c., were burned up. Most farmers lost from \$300 to \$600. Mr. Browne, of Big Springs, lost his stable and a horse that was tied in it. The fire is thought to have originated near the Mound in Topeka, from a camp fire built by teamsters.—*Champion*, October 29th.

A HOT TIME IN BAXTER SPRINGS IN 1871

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, December 14, 1871.

On Wednesday, seven or eight "wolves" of the Texas variety, held the town of Baxter Springs from noon till five in the afternoon. At that hour twelve armed citizens appeared and the Texans rode off. During the siege, those roughs amused themselves by riding into saloons, cutting down signs and shooting their revolvers in all directions. They "cleaned out" the Hall House, throwing the doors and stoves into the street.

NO MAIL

From the *Newton Kansan*, April 1, 1875.

FOLKS WE PITY.—Young ladies who come for letters from their lovers and don't get any. Young men who haven't heard from their "gal" for a whole week. Men who take no papers, get no letters, but anxiously inquire day after day the year round, and never get anything: "Any letters for me?" "Not any!" "That is all, I don't take any papers." We pity these anxious inquirers most. Think of it—families with no reading. Children growing up without acquiring taste for reading, without being informed of what is daily taking place at home and abroad. The postmaster must be a heartless man who does not wish he had a paper to give to the waiting wife and children at home.

A WOMAN CAUGHT IN A THRESHING MACHINE

From the *Inland Tribune*, Great Bend, July 13, 1878.

Jos. Weatherby, who is running a thresher, was at work in the Mennonite settlement last Monday, about 20 miles northwest of Great Bend. A Mennonite lady, engaged in sacking the grain as it came from the machine, had

her skirts caught in some cog-wheels, and in a twinkling she was wound up until there was immediate danger of her life. Mr. Weatherby was not aware of the fact, but judging from the peculiar vibrations that something was wrong, put on the brakes, and just in time to save the lady's life. He found her closely drawn up to the machine, and with difficulty extricated her by cutting her garments loose. As soon as she was free, she lit out, and repaired her toilet, and was promptly on hand for business; but the machine had not fared so well. It was so badly damaged that it required two days to put it in running order. The lady was much annoyed to think a threshing machine was so frail that it couldn't embrace a woman without being shattered.

STRADDLING THE LINE

From *The Kawsmouth*, Wyandott (now part of Kansas City), March 9, 1881.

Special to the *Globe-Democrat*, from Joplin says: On account of the stringent law passed in Kansas relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors, and in Missouri pertaining to gambling, a project is now on foot in this section of the country to lay off a town site on the state line, affording those who desire to drink of a stimulating nature accommodation on the Missouri side, and those of sporting proclivities can be served by crossing the street into Kansas. The town site will be laid off on land belonging to Messrs. P. Murphy and George A. Case, and as the demand increases more will be added.

DIVORCES IN 1881

From *The Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, October 6, 1881.

The *Troy Chief* very pertinently says that the divorce business in Kansas is becoming a shame and a scandal to the State. It occupies a large portion of the time at every term of District Court in the State, and it would seem as if the bulk of the population of Kansas were in pursuit of a divorce. In Decatur county, which has scarcely any population, at the September term of the District Court there were twenty cases on the docket. Nine of these were divorce cases. Of the remainder, five were criminal cases, leaving but six of what might properly be called civil cases. Every county has its heavy quota of divorce cases.

MOTORING THROUGH KANSAS IN 1909

From the *Topeka Daily Capital*, June 10, 1909.

SPEEDING THROUGH MUD AT TERRIFIC RATE, AUTOS WHIZ ON IN COAST TO COAST RACE

SALINA, KAN., June 9.—In the ocean to ocean motor car race, the Ford car driven by Frank Kulick passed Salina at 7:30 tonight, followed in ten minutes by the Shawmut car, the latter not stopping. The Ford stopped long

enough only to take on a guide. Owing to the rains of the past three days, the roads are in very bad condition. Kulick, with the first car, was nearly exhausted when here.

Special to the Capital.

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., June 9.—The Ford car No. 1 passed through here at 4:35 this afternoon, in the lead in the New York to Seattle motor run. It was followed fifteen minutes later by the big Shawmut car. Both cars went through Junction City without stopping.

The Ford No. 2, which was reported to have left Manhattan at 3:10, had not reached this city at 6:30, and probably had a break down or other bad luck.

Declaring that they would catch and pass the Ford No. 1 and Shawmut cars, which were then leading them by several hours, B. W. Scott and B. J. Smith yesterday afternoon whizzed out of Topeka at the rate of 40 miles an hour on their way in the Ocean to Ocean race. They were followed two hours later by the Acme car, which was delayed by bad roads. The Ford No. 1 and Shawmut cars left Topeka at about 10 o'clock yesterday morning.

The four cars which pulled up at the Stafford garage at the corner of East Seventh and Quincy streets, were the muddiest automobiles ever seen in Topeka. The roads they have encountered have been enough to break the heart of the average autoist. But the racers declare they will run out of the mud unless it keeps on raining ahead of them.

The Ford No. 2, which was leading easily yesterday afternoon, met with an accident which threw it back to third place. Near Williamstown, the car went down a 14-foot embankment just as the storm came up. Realizing it was impossible to work in the darkness, the two drivers crawled under a small bridge and slept until this morning when, by means of a block and tackle, the car was raised, placed in the roadway and the race again begun.

The drivers of these racers do not stop at night. Two of them accompany each machine and they alternate at driving and sleeping in the car as it speeds along. The Acme, which was the last car into Topeka, expected to reach Manhattan, which is one of the Kansas checking stations, early last night, and the drivers were confident they would overtake the other three cars before they got out of Kansas. There are two other checking stations in Kansas. They are Ellis and Oakley.

The Italia, which was lost, reported into St. Louis yesterday and announced that it would not quit the race, but instead would strive to overtake the other cars.

The Shawmut car reached Topeka at 9:30 o'clock, the Ford No. 1 arrived here fifteen minutes later, the Ford No. 2 at 12:05 and the Acme at 2:30 o'clock. The stop of each of the cars here was short.

The Ford cars were led out of town by Charles W. Guild, local agent for the Fords.

BUCKING CORN STALKS

From the Leavenworth *Times*, April 13, 1911.

BELLEVILLE, KAN., April 12.—A Rock Island engineer running through here had a new experience when he had to "buck" a drift of corn stalks. West of Belleville, there is a deep cut near some large corn fields. During the week stalk cutters were put in the fields and the high wind blew the stalks into the cut until they nearly filled it. The engineer drove his engine into the drift at full speed, but it was stalled before it could get half way through. He had to "buck" the drift three times before he could get through.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Garrison, N. Y., and Richmond, Va., in its June, 1960, issue, published the "Memoirs of Frank J. Klingberg." Klingberg is a former Kansan and many of his Kansas experiences are included in the memoirs.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* during the past several months included: "Up Golden Trails of Kansas to Visit Leavenworth, Atchison and Hiawatha," by Margaret Olwine, November 6, 1960; "Atchison Landmark [Corinthian Hall] Now History," January 29, 1961; "For [Gov.] John Geary, Rugged Role in Early Kansas," by Robert K. Sanford, February 25; "Kansas, When the West Was Young," an editorial, May 28; "Trail Era Relived in Cow Town [Wichita]," by Robert Pearman, June 4; "Fast Action Stirring on Old Western Trails," a story of the Pony Express, by John Alexander, July 17; "It's Lovely, It's Singable, It Belongs to Kansas," an article on "Home on the Range," by Clyde Neibarger, July 20; and "Tough and Agile, the Jackrabbit Lopes on Despite Predators and Organized Drives," by Percy L. DePuy, July 22. The *Star* printed a series of seven articles on the Civil War, the first appearing February 19, 1961. Among articles published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Kansas—a Look Through 420 Years," a review of Everett Rich's *The Heritage of Kansas*, by Dwight Pennington, July 6, 1960; "He [Waddell Smith] Keeps the Pony Express Riding," an article on Smith's promotion of a Pony Express rerun and his development of a Pony Express museum in San Rafael, Calif., by Dwight Pennington, July 27; "Across Lonely 'Kansas' a Century Ago," by Everett Rich, October 15; "Cultural History in Kansas—Two Vignettes," by Jennie Small Owen and Harry Sloan, October 29; "Those Maple Hill Folks Were Individualists," by Roderick Turnbull, December 1; "When the Kansas Star Was Added to Old Glory," by Joe Lastelic, February 21, 1961; "Kansas Past in an Expatriate's [Streeter Blair] Paintings," by Ray Daley, March 18; "Little Time Then for 'Bedside Manner,'" a review of Dr. John B. Runnels and Dr. George F. Sheldon's *Pictorial History of Kansas Medicine*, by Conwell Carlson, June 9; "Man [Samuel Newell Simpson] Who Named Lawrence Went on to Interesting Career in Area," by Dorothea Simpson Meriwether, and "She [Mrs. Grosvenor] Stood Up to Quantrill and Saved Husband," by Marcel

Wallenstein, July 5; "Real Calamity Jane Was Famous in Her Own Day," by Robert Pearman, July 22; "When Chautauqua Crowned the Summer," by Lois M. Smith, September 1; "Frederick W. Brinkerhoff, a Lifetime Kansan," by Kenneth L. Simons, September 14; "Frederic Remington Groped Here Toward Career," by John Edward Hicks, September 30; "[Medicine Lodge] Indian Treaty in Kansas on Civil War Backdrop," by Philip S. Edwards, October 6; "When Quantrill Sacked Lawrence—a Primitive Artist's Version," a reproduction of Streeter Blair's painting of Quantrill's Lawrence raid and a discussion of the picture by Ray Daley, and "Two Fakes, No Real Charley Hart," by John Edward Hicks, December 19; and "Kansas Literature—a Centennial Look," by Everett Rich, December 22.

Kittie Dale is the author of several historical articles appearing in the *Ellis Review* during 1961, including: "Early Ellis Homesteaders Lived in Sod Houses," March 2; "Historic Old Front Street (Edwards Street) of Ellis," March 16; "Boothill Part of Early Ellis Times," May 18; and "Early Ellis Pioneer Women Took Law in Hand; Cleaned Up Town," August 3. On May 11 the *Review* printed a "History of Ellis Post Office," by H. C. Raynesford.

A history of Beloit and Mitchell county by Frank A. Lutz was published in the *Beloit Gazette*, March 2, 9, 1961.

"Incidents in Local History," is a centennial-year series in the *Lyons Daily News*. The first installment appeared in the March 6, 1961, issue.

An article on the history of Fort Row entitled "Log Fort Constructed Near Coyville," by Annette Allen (Mrs. Lela J. Brockway), was published in the *Fredonia Daily Herald*, March 8, 1961.

A series of biographical sketches of pioneer families of the Logan area began appearing in the *Logan Republican*, March 9, 1961.

Carneiro, an Ellsworth county village, was the subject of historical articles in the *Ellsworth Messenger*, March 15, 1961; *Ellsworth Reporter*, March 16; and the *Hutchinson News*, April 9.

Among the special editions, other than centennial issues, printed recently by Kansas newspapers were: Diamond Jubilee and Futurama edition, *Southwest Daily Times*, Liberal, March 18, 1961; Growth edition, *Parsons News*, April 27; 75th anniversary, *Minneola Record*, May 18; 90th anniversary, *Peabody Gazette-Herald*, June 29; 75th anniversary, *Dighton Herald*, July 26; Diamond Jubilee issue, *Horton Headlight*, September 18; Indian Peace Treaty edition,

Barber County Index, Medicine Lodge, October 5; Arkalalah edition, *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, October 24; special edition, *Independence Daily Reporter*, October 25; and 75th anniversary, *Oakley Graphic*, December 28.

Henry Stunkel and his family settled in Sumner county in 1873. A story of the family by Mrs. Macy Watson, a daughter, was published in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, March 25, 1961, and the *Belle Plaine News*, April 13.

The story of the journey by the H. S. Simonton family from Canada to Kansas in 1896 by covered wagon, as related by Mrs. Simonton, was printed in the *Horton Headlight*, March 30, April 3, 6, 10, 1961.

William C. Quantrill's Baxter Springs raid of October 6, 1863, was reviewed by John K. Hay in an article in the *Pittsburg Headlight* and the *Atchison Daily Globe*, March 31, 1961.

Two Kansas articles appeared in the April-May, 1961, number of *The American-German Review*, Philadelphia: "Germans in Kansas," by J. Neale Carman, and "German Instruction in Kansas," by George W. Kreye.

Dr. O. W. Mosher's column "Museum Notes," in the *Emporia Gazette* continues to include a large amount of historical material in addition to information about the Lyon County Historical Museum. April 4, 1961, the *Gazette* published the recollections of 100-year-old Abner Curtis who attended school in Americus in the late 1860's. An article by E. W. Smith on the Battle of Wilson's creek and the death of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon appeared in the *Gazette*, August 10.

"Our Pioneers" is the title of a series of biographical sketches of early settlers in the Toronto vicinity which first appeared in the *Toronto Republican*, April 6, 1961.

Early settlements in Cloud county and the town of Clyde were reviewed in a historical series printed in the *Clyde Republican* during April, 1961.

On April 13 and 27, 1961, the *Jennings Journal* printed a two-part history of the Jennings public schools by Janice Bainter.

Sam Peppard's windwagon which was said to have traveled from Oskaloosa almost to Denver in 1860 was the subject of an article in the *Denver Post Empire*, April 23, 1961, by Jessy Mae Coker.

Beginning with the issue of April 25, 1961, the Augusta *Daily Gazette* printed a series of articles on the history of Butler county as a centennial-year feature.

In observance of Kansas' centennial year the Lawrence *Journal-World* published historical articles from time to time during 1961. Included among these were: "Early Lawrence Was Not Exactly Typical 'City Beautiful,'" by Mrs. Frank Banks, April 25; and "Early Settlers [Mr. & Mrs. Collins Holloway] Write of Trek to Lawrence From Ohio in 1855," August 2.

Biographical sketches of Mrs. Miriam Gruger Van Wormer, last survivor of the original settlers of Osborne, appeared in the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, April 27, 1961, and the *Salina Journal*, August 17.

Dr. James Malin is the author of articles printed recently in *Scandinavian Studies*, Menasha, Wis.: "Emanuel Swedenborg and His Clothes Philosophy," in the issue of May, 1961; and "Carlyle's Philosophy of Clothes and Swedenborg's," in the August, 1961, number.

Clarence H. Kessler's talk at the dedication of the new Altamont post office in early 1961, on the history of the post office and other local history, was published in the *Altamont Journal* beginning May 4, 1961.

Early Kansas flour mills were the subject of the following newspaper articles: "Newton's First Flour Mill Was Established in 1875," by Carol Angood, *Newton Kansan*, May 27, 1961; "A Century Late, the Soden Name Lives on," a history of Soden's Mill and Grove, Lyon county, *Emporia Times*, June 15; "Early Day Mills," by the late John B. Luder, *Natoma-Luray Independent*, June 22; "Early Day Resident [of Haven, Charles McCutcheon] Recalls History of Old Forsha Ranch and Flour Mill," *Haven Journal*, June 29; "Only Memories Remain of Tong Mill That Flourished Here [Leon], 1871 to 1913," *Leon News*, June 29; "Hays City Flour Mill Founded Around 1870," *Ellis County Farmer*, Hays, July 6; and "Big Flour Mills Here [Marysville] Rebuilt in 1906 Following a Disastrous Fire," by Gordon S. Hohn, *Marysville Advocate*, July 13.

Thomas Alexander Alderdice, Sumner county pioneer and survivor of the Battle of Arickaree, was the subject of a biographical sketch in the *Conway Springs Star*, June 8, 1961, and the *Argonia Argosy*, June 29.

An eight-page section of the June 9, 1961, issue of the Fort Scott *Tribune* was devoted to Civil War history, histories of Fort Scott churches, the story of the struggles of the settlers in the southeast Kansas area during the territorial and Civil War periods, and a review of Sylvia Dannett's *She Rode With the Generals*, the story of Sarah Emma Edmonds Seelye, a Civil War spy who later lived in Fort Scott.

The first in a series of articles on the history of the Belle Plaine area was published in the Belle Plaine *News*, June 22, 1961.

The Derby-Haysville *Star-Herald* printed a three-part history of Derby, by Becky Taylor, June 29, July 6, 11, 1961.

The visit of Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, to the United States in 1871 and 1872, was reviewed by William F. Zornow in "When the Czar and Grant Were Friends," *Mid-America—An Historical Review*, Chicago, July, 1961. Buffalo hunts on the Plains, accompanied by Indians and some of America's best-known hunters, were included in the Duke's itinerary in this country.

Kansas wheat and the Kansas centennial were featured in the July-August, 1961, issue of *The Rocket*, Chicago, Ill., publication of the Rock Island railroad.

On July 5, 1961, the Sabetha *Herald* printed an article on the early history of Sabetha by Nannie Bingham. With the issue of July 12 the *Herald* began publication of a series on the history of the Sabetha community by Mrs. Lillian Hughes Neiswanger.

"Hodgeman County's Wagon Train," the story of a group of settlers from Falls City, Neb., traveling to Hodgeman county to find new homes, by Earl Pitts, was published serially in the Jetmore *Republican*, starting July 6, 1961.

On August 3, 1961, the *Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, and the Goodland *Daily News*, issued 16-page sections devoted to the history of the Sherman Community High School at Goodland.

A 66-page historical edition was published by the Hugoton *Hermes*, August 17, 1961, in observance of the 75th anniversary of Stevens county. Historical articles and pictures on Stevens county subjects were featured.

Additions to the list of centennial editions published by Kansas newspapers include: the *Plainsman*, Dodge City, mid-1961 issue; *Rush County News*, La Crosse, September 28; and Clay Center *Dispatch*, October 2.

"Play-Party Games From Kansas," by S. J. Sackett, was the feature of the September, 1961, issue of *Heritage of Kansas*, Emporia.

In recognition of the Kansas centennial, the *Ford Times*, Dearborn, Mich., published the following articles in the issue of October, 1961: "History Rides Again at Medicine Lodge," the story of the Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty pageant, by Mary Einsel, with photographs by Philip S. Edwards; "Early College [Baker University, Baldwin] of the Pioneers," story and paintings by Grace Bilger; "Svensk Hyllnings Fest: Sweden in Kansas," a description of the celebration in tribute to Swedish pioneers held every two years at Lindsborg, by Elvira Larson, with paintings by Signe Larson; and "A Kansas Miscellany—Some Notes on the Sunflower State," a page of interesting facts about Kansas.

Recent articles of interest to Kansans appearing in the *The Westerners Brand Book*, Chicago, Ill., included: "The Story of the Harvey Girls," by Bryon Harvey, grandson of the founder of the Fred Harvey System, October, 1961; and "Will Comstock—the Natty Bumppo of Kansas," by John S. Gray, February, 1962.

The Fall, 1961, number of the *Journal of the Mississippi Valley American Studies Association*, Lawrence, was a Kansas centennial issue. Articles included: "Kansas: Some Reflections on Culture Inheritance and Originality," by James C. Malin; "Wild Bill Hickok in Abilene," by Robert Dykstra; "Regionalist Painting and American Studies," by Kenneth J. LaBudde; "The Foreign Mark on Kansas," by J. Neal Carman; and "Fact and Fiction in the Quest for Quivira," by Michael R. C. Coulson.

"Pistoleer Extraordinary," a discussion of the marksmanship of James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok, by Joseph Rosa, was published in *Guns Review*, Leeds, England, November-December, 1961.

Topeka's newspaper history was featured in the December, 1961, number of the *Shawnee County Historical Society Bulletin*, Topeka. On July 4, 1855, the first issue of *The Kansas Freeman*, the young town's first newspaper, was published.

Gillilands, of Arkansas City, published another *Kansas Pictorial Calendar*, edited by Bob Honeyman. This 1962 booklet contains space for making notes for each date of the year, and each double page of the calendar is followed by a double page of pictures of historical markers and historic sites or buildings.

Kansas Historical Notes

Cecil Hornbaker was named president of the Harvey County Historical Society at a meeting in Newton, January 9, 1962. Other officers include: Ralph Hauck, vice-president; W. J. Sage, secretary; and Mrs. Paul Klierer, recording secretary. Elden Smurr was the retiring president.

Officers chosen by the Wyandotte County Historical Society at a meeting January 11, 1962, included: Henry W. Gauert, president; Alan W. Farley, vice-president; Mrs. Georgia L. Moots, secretary; Mrs. Georgie Trowbridge, treasurer; and Harry Trowbridge, curator. Nellie McGuinn is historian for the society. Joseph A. Lastelic was the retiring president.

All officers of the Argonia and Western Sumner County Historical Society were re-elected at the annual meeting January 16, 1962, in Argonia. They include: Mrs. Esther Wulf, president; Orie Cleous, first vice-president; Mrs. Carl Earles, second vice-president; Mrs. Grace Handy, secretary; Mrs. James Hart, treasurer; and Mrs. Margaret Rust, corresponding secretary.

Emery E. Fager, Topeka, and Mrs. Glenn Henry, Oskaloosa, were named presidents of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas at the group's annual meeting January 28, 1962, in Topeka. Other officers chosen by the Native Sons included: Marshall G. Gardiner, Leavenworth, vice-president; Glenn D. Cogswell, Topeka, secretary; and Glee Smith, Larned, treasurer. The Native Daughters elected Mrs. Everett Steerman, Emporia, vice-president; Mrs. J. E. Beyer, Sabetha, secretary; and Mrs. B. J. Lempenau, Topeka, treasurer. Harry Darby, Kansas City, was named Kansan of the Year. The Olive Ann Beech award for the best pioneer factual story went to Mrs. Edwin Pitt, Topeka.

"Grandmother's Trunk and Pantry" was the theme of the 55th annual meeting of the Woman's Kansas Day Club, January 29, 1962, in Topeka. New officers elected at the business session included: Mrs. Frank A. Huffman, Topeka, president; Mrs. Roy S. Gibson, Chanute, first vice-president; Mrs. Paul Wedin, Wichita, second vice-president; Mrs. F. Sharon Foster, Ellsworth, recording secretary; Mrs. Roscoe Mendenhall, Emporia, registrar; Mrs. Russell Dary, Manhattan, historian; Mrs. Joseph Henkle, Great Bend, treasurer; and Mrs. Thomas H. Finigan, Kansas City, auditor. District directors are: Pauline Cowger, Salina, first; Mrs. Loren H.

Hohman, Topeka, second; Mrs. Mary Ebener, Kansas City, third; Mrs. Frank Buck, Abilene, fourth; and Mrs. L. S. Holroyd, Sedan, fifth. Mrs. Claude R. Stutzman, Kansas City, the retiring president, presided at the meeting. Display items, used in carrying out the theme at the meeting, were presented to the Kansas State Historical Society.

Frank Peppiatt was chosen president of Rice County Historical Society at a meeting January 29, 1962. Paul Jones was re-elected vice-president; Mrs. W. W. Chandler, Jr., secretary; and Mrs. Frank Peppiatt, treasurer.

Fred Young was elected president of Boot Hill Museum, Inc., Dodge City, at a meeting of the board of directors, February 12, 1962. Jim Myers is first vice-president; Ed Griffith, second vice-president; Jack Swartz, secretary; and Dick Harris, treasurer. Dr. Herbert White was the retiring president.

Ida Ellen Rath was chosen president of the Ford County Historical Society at its annual meeting February 13, 1962, in Dodge City. Also elected were: Robert E. Eagan, vice-president; Mrs. C. R. Harner, secretary; Fred Swart, treasurer; and Joe Hulpieu, historian.

Francis Wilson was re-elected president of the Ellsworth County Historical Society at the annual meeting of the society, February 15, 1962, in Ellsworth. Other officers are: Mrs. George Andrews, vice-president; Mrs. Paul Aylward, secretary; and Dwight Yody, treasurer. The society is engaged in a campaign to raise funds for a museum.

In observance of the Kansas centennial, the Oswego *Independent* published an 18-page pamphlet on the history of Oswego entitled *The Story of "Little Town" and Its Founder, John Mathews*, by Wayne O'Connell.

History of First Christian Church, . . . Baxter Springs . . ., is the title of a recently published 40-page booklet by Claude H. Nichols. The church was established in 1883.

Our History in Review is the title of a 66-page booklet published in 1961 in commemoration of Hoisington's diamond anniversary and the state's centennial.

In observance of the Kansas centennial, Clearwater published a 120-page booklet entitled *History of the Clearwater Community*. Histories of early families, growth of the town, and pioneer incidents are among the features of the booklet.

Courtland's Kansas centennial committee has compiled and published a 70-page booklet featuring the history of that area. The town was established in the late 1880's.

A 20-page 75th anniversary pamphlet was recently published by the Farmers and Merchants Bank, Hill City. The bank was founded in 1886 at Millbrook.

Years of Hope and Fulfillment—a History of the First Southern Baptist Church [of Junction City], 1954-1961, a 28-page booklet by J. R. Huddlestun, was published in 1961.

Minneola published a 224-page historical book in 1961 in observance of the Kansas centennial and the town's diamond anniversary, entitled *Pioneers of the Prairies*.

James C. Malin is the author of a new 254-page lithoprinted volume entitled *Confounded Rot About Napoleon—Reflections Upon Science and Technology, Nationalism, World Depression of the Eighteen-Nineties, and Afterwards*.

A *Centennial Literary Map of Kansas, 1861-1961*, prepared by Dr. Ben W. Fuson under the sponsorship of the Kansas Association of Teachers of English, was published in 1961. One hundred names of authors, each accompanied by a book title, appear on the map. A 100-page supplement entitled *Centennial Bibliography of Kansas Literature, 1854-1961*, containing a greatly expanded list of Kansas writers and their literature, was also published.

Hunters of buried treasure will find interesting reading in *Western Treasures, Lost & Found*, a 123-page booklet by Jesse Ed Rascoe, published by the Frontier Book Co., Toyahvale, Tex., in 1961. Several stories are included concerning treasures said to have been buried in Kansas.

Fred Hinkle tells of many of his experiences as a Kansas rancher and lawyer in a 132-page book entitled *The Saddle and the Statute*, published in 1961 by McCormick-Armstrong Co., Wichita.

Maple Hill Stories, a series of articles on the years 1904-1922 in Maple Hill, by Roderick Turnbull, a native of that Wabaunsee county village, was published in a 168-page book in 1961. Most of the stories had previously appeared in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*.

An interesting 251-page volume entitled *Kansas Folklore*, edited by S. J. Sackett of Hays and William E. Koch of Manhattan, was published in 1961 by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Cattlemen of the West are featured in Lewis Atherton's new 308-page book, *The Cattle Kings*, published by the Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

James W. Drury is the author of a new 393-page volume entitled *The Government of Kansas*, published by the University of Kansas Press, Lawrence. Besides extensive information on the organization of the state government, the book gives attention to the historical development of Kansas institutions.

President James Buchanan—a Biography is a new 506-page volume by Philip Shriver Klein, published by the Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park. Two chapters of the book deal with the Kansas troubles during the territorial period.

First published in 1814, the book *Views of Louisiana, Together With a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River in 1811*, by Henry Marie Brackenridge, has been republished in 1962 by Quadrangle Books, Inc., Chicago, in a 302-page volume.





AUTUMN 1962

THE KANSAS
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Kansas Historical Quarterly is published four times a year by the Kansas State Historical Society, 120 W. Tenth St., Topeka, Kan. It is distributed without charge to members of the Society; nonmembers may purchase single issues, when available, for 75 cents each. Membership dues are: annual, \$3; annual sustaining, \$10; life, \$20. Membership applications and dues should be sent to Mrs. Lela Barnes, treasurer.

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

A threshing scene probably in north central Kansas in the early 1900's. The original hand-colored picture, 17 x 25 inches, clearly shows "Clay Center" stamped on the grain wagon.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Iowa Indians, 1836-1885

ROY W. MEYER

ACCORDING to a study made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1930, the Indians of Kansas were more thoroughly acculturated (*i. e.*, retained less of their native culture) than those of any other state. Only 16.22% of the Indian culture survived among the Kansas Indians, in contrast to the 69.3% which persisted among those of New Mexico.¹ Of the four Indian groups in Kansas—the Iowa, the Sac and Fox, the Pottawatomie, and the Kickapoo—the Iowas are generally considered to be the most completely assimilated to white culture. For this reason, a historical survey of the half century during which most of this acculturation took place would seem to have a certain value. Between 1836, when the Iowa Indians ceded their lands east of the Missouri river and were assigned a reservation in present-day Kansas, and 1885, when congress passed a law authorizing the appraisal and sale of the remnant of this reservation, the Iowa tribe was transformed from a seminomadic group, still largely in the hunting-fishing stage, into a civilized community, living in frame houses and farming in much the same fashion as their white neighbors.

Linguistically, the Iowa, together with the Oto and Missouri, were members of the Chiwere branch of the great Siouan family. According to their own traditions, these three tribes, as well as the Omaha and Ponca, had split off at some remote time from the Winnebago and had moved westward. During the historic period the Iowas were great wanderers, if the locations assigned them by various explorers can be credited. They appear to have lived successively on the Rock river in western Illinois, on the Des Moines river in southeastern Iowa, near the Pipestone quarry in southwestern Minnesota, near the mouth of the Blue Earth river in the same state, at the mouth of the Platte river in Nebraska, near the headwaters of the Little Platte river in Missouri, on the Mississippi

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1. 82d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Report 2503* (Serial 11582), p. 158.

in southeastern Iowa, on the Salt river in Missouri, and at various points in southwestern Iowa and northwestern Missouri.² Their last homeland before their removal to Kansas was on the Little Platte river in present-day Missouri. Here they lived a semisedentary life, cultivating small patches of corn, beans, and pumpkins, but living chiefly by the chase. Their only tools were the squaw-ax and a primitive hoe, both brought in by traders. During the growing season they lived in houses made of bark stretched over poles; these lasted only a few years, and when they wore out, the occupants moved. During the winter they lived in lodges of elk and buffalo skin, like the purely nomadic tribes of the Great Plains.³

As with other Indian groups, estimates of the numbers of the Iowa vary greatly at different times and cannot be regarded as highly accurate. In 1760 they were said to number 1,100; by 1804, a year after a smallpox epidemic, Lewis and Clark counted only 800. In 1829 the secretary of war estimated their number as 1,000. Catlin thought there were 1,400 in 1832, but by 1836 the number was down to 992. There is general agreement that they were a small tribe, in no way comparable to the Sioux or the Pawnees or even the Sac and Fox, with whom they were long associated, both before and after their acceptance of reservation life. They seem several times to have lived in a single village, as was the case when Lewis and Clark visited them.⁴

The first important treaty which the Iowas entered into with the United States government was that of August 4, 1824, by which they ceded all claim to lands in Missouri and were to receive in return \$500 that year in cash or merchandise and a like amount in each of the 10 following years. The government promised to furnish them with a blacksmith, farm implements and cattle, and someone to teach them agriculture.⁵ It should perhaps be mentioned here that Missouri's western boundary at that time was a straight north-south line, an extension northward of the present western boundary of the state south of the Missouri river. Hence the valley of the Little Platte river was not included within the state, and the Iowas' claim to this area was not affected by the 1824 treaty. On August 19, 1825, at Prairie du Chien, they participated in another treaty, by which their joint claim with the Sacs and Foxes to land in Iowa was recognized, together with their common right to oc-

2. Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins*, No. 30—Washington, 1910), v. 1, pp. 612, 613.

3. Pryor Plank, "The Iowa, Sac and Fox Indian Mission and Its Missionaries, Rev. Samuel M. Irvin and Wife," *Kansas Historical Collections* v. 10 (1907-1908), pp. 312, 313.

4. Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 613.

5. Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 208, 209.

cupy it peaceably until a division of claims could be made.⁶ By the second treaty of Prairie du Chien (July 15, 1830) the Iowas ceded their joint claims, but Article 1 stipulated that the area between the state of Missouri and the Missouri river should be assigned to the tribes living on it or to others that the President might locate thereon "for hunting, and other purposes."⁷

It was not long before agitation began for the acquisition of the Platte purchase, as this area was called, and its annexation to Missouri. Such action was suggested by a committee of the house of representatives in its report of May 20, 1834, and in the next session of congress a representation was made of some tribes' willingness to relinquish their rights. The Missouri state legislature submitted a resolution to congress on February 24, 1835, requesting the purchase of these lands so that they might be annexed. Although it passed the senate 22-0 and the house 69-2, it seems to have run into opposition from President Jackson, who pointed out that it would be in disregard of guarantees made in the 1830 treaty. He consented, however, to have the question submitted to the Indians, provided that no pressure was put on them. Congress on June 14, 1836, appropriated \$2,000 for the purpose of extinguishing the Indian title to this area. Gen. William Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, then entered into negotiations with the Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri, and as might have been predicted they agreed to the proposal.⁸ The outcome was the treaty of September 17, 1836, by which these tribes ceded their claims east of the Missouri and were given a tract of four hundred square miles on the west bank, between the Kickapoo reservation and the Great Nemaha river.⁹ In subsequent treaties (November 23, 1837, and October 19, 1838) the Iowas ceded all right and interest in the lands described in the two treaties of Prairie du Chien.¹⁰

The Iowas seem to have moved to their reservation with some celerity. Andrew S. Hughes, subagent at the Great Nemaha sub-agency, reported late in 1837 that they had been moving since September 17, 1836.¹¹ This seems unlikely, however, since the treaty was not ratified until the following February, and the Rev. Samuel M. Irvin, sent as a missionary to these tribes, reports visit-

6. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

8. 24th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 297), pp. 395, 396; 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 137* (Serial 268), p. 1.

9. Kappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 468, 469.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 500, 501, 518, 519.

11. 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 314), p. 552.

ing them in their old homes east of the Missouri in April of 1837.¹² In any case, they appear to have been established in their new home by the summer of 1837. Those who arrived in time were able to plant small fields of corn, pumpkins, and beans, but the agent feared that the produce from these fields would be consumed by the time it was ripe. Since no farming implements had been received, it is not surprising that the quantity of food produced was small. Game had largely disappeared from this area by the time the Indians arrived. The first settlement of the Iowas in Kansas was on the west bank of the Missouri river, just above the mouth of the Wolf river, in present Doniphan county. The agent believed that a square of four miles would include both tribes, and within this square sites for buildings were immediately designated. Forty-one bark houses were erected that summer.¹³

The treaty of October 19, 1838 (ratified March 2, 1839), was more advantageous to the Iowas than the one by which they ceded the Platte purchase. Besides giving somewhat more generous provisions for livestock, farm implements, goods, etc., than the earlier treaties, it provided that \$157,500 should be invested at an interest rate of five percent "during the existence of their tribe." A portion of this was to be used for agricultural and educational purposes (which the chiefs were said to oppose), a life annuity of \$50 for the interpreter, Jeffrey Derroin, was to be deducted, and the rest was to be paid in money or merchandise each October. The investment was not made, but in lieu of the interest, \$7,875 was appropriated and remitted, with \$2,000 earmarked for the erection of 10 houses, the dimensions and materials carefully specified.¹⁴ The houses (which ultimately cost \$3,000) were completed by 1842, when the Indians were moving in. They were five double log houses with a passage of 10 feet between, the whole equal to 10 houses 16 by 18 feet. Each had a good shingle roof, glass windows, floors and doors, and good stone chimneys. The Indians, who up to now had been living in a village a mile from the agency and in scattered houses up to three miles away, were reported to be much pleased with the houses built for them. Yet within a few years they were abandoned, the doors, floors, and windows all sold for whiskey and trinkets, the rest burned.¹⁵

Although the successive subagents try to present a rosy picture in their annual reports to the commissioner of Indian affairs, there

12. Plank, *loc. cit.*, p. 312.

13. 25th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 314), p. 553; Plank, *loc. cit.*, p. 314.

14. Kappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 518, 519; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 354), p. 328.

15. 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 413), p. 442; Plank, *loc. cit.*, pp. 313, 314.

are sufficient indications that the Iowas were not responding as expected to the well-intentioned civilizing efforts of the missionaries and government officials. According to the Reverend Mr. Irvin, other improvements made for their benefit suffered a fate similar to that of the houses. The government broke and fenced 200 acres of ground, divided into 10-acre lots; soon the fence rails had been used for campfires. One hundred cows and 100 hogs were delivered, along with a number of farm tools; the animals were soon eaten, the tools traded off. Not only did the Iowas sell or destroy the buildings, fences, tools, and livestock purchased for them, but they continued their periodic raids on other tribes. In 1847 their annuity was held up until they should make reparation for a wanton attack on the Omahas the previous winter, and the next spring planting was delayed by the celebration that followed the killing of 12 Pawnees.¹⁶ In addition, whisky shops gathered on the borders of the reservation, and drunkenness and violence prevailed. It was said that the first English learned by the Iowas was profanity, which they used with no clear notion of its meaning.¹⁷ Subagent William F. Richardson reported in 1842 that two men had been killed in the previous year as a result of drunkenness. It was all too easy to cross the river and trade guns, horses, or anything else for liquor. Richardson caught three men bringing whisky in, tied them up, and kept them a few days, and then took them across the river to be committed to jail, only to be obliged to leave hastily to avoid a suit for the whisky he had destroyed.¹⁸

The missionaries were especially displeased by the lack of progress of the Iowas toward civilization and by the Indians' attitude toward education and religion. The Reverend Mr. Irvin, appointed by the Presbyterian board of missions as missionary to the Iowas and Sacs and Foxes, and William Hamilton, who shortly joined him, were the moving spirits in this effort to civilize the two groups, and to them belongs much of the credit for the transformation that ultimately came about. They appear to have had no success whatever at first in converting the Indians to Christianity and concentrated their efforts chiefly on educating the children. In this they were up against formidable obstacles. Irvin complained in 1842 that the Iowas were absent nearly half the year, and when they were present they were careless in regard to learning. Since they refused to come regularly to school, the teaching had to be done at

16. *Ibid.*, p. 314; 30th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 1* (Serial 503), p. 833; 30th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. 1* (Serial 537), p. 483.

17. Plank, *loc. cit.*, p. 314.

18. 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 413), pp. 442, 443.

the village when and as the children could be found. At first the instruction was in English (the missionaries then knew no Iowa), but beginning with April, 1842, the Iowa language was used, and progress was said to be faster. By offering clothing as a reward to those who came to school, Irvin was able to induce 45 youngsters to come.¹⁹ Apparently this was the total number who had at any time appeared, for the very next year he reported that four children living with the government farmer and two connected with the mission were all who had been reached. He characterized the school as "lame and defective." Hamilton, who had been working with the Sacs and Foxes for two years, wrote a letter of resignation (which he later reconsidered) on September 30, 1843, saying that in all the time he had been there he had had only one scholar during the winter and early spring.²⁰

During these early years of the mission and reservation, there was frequent mention of the desirability of a manual-training boarding school which would hold the children in school and teach them some useful skills. Subagent Richardson, Irvin, and Hamilton all agreed on the need for such a school if the Iowas were ever to be trained in the knowledge and skills needed to become members of civilized society. Even the Indians seem to have had some notion of this need, for in 1844 they gave their school and smith fund (over \$1,400) for the establishment of a boarding school, despite the loss of some crops due to flooding and the withholding of \$1,500 of that year's annuity to pay for some cattle killed seven or eight years earlier.²¹ One suspects certain pressures from the agent and others behind this voluntary donation, but the fact remains that it was made.

By 1844 the school was an assured reality, and a contract was let that summer for the manufacture of 200,000 bricks, half of which were ready by the end of September. Seventy acres had been fenced in and partly broken in preparation for the promised school.²² The building itself, erected the next year, was a three-story structure, 106 feet in length by 38 feet in width, and contained 32 rooms. The first story was of limestone, the others of brick. The roof, which was pine, was on by September 21, 1845, and only a lack of funds kept the building from being ready for use by the end of the year.²³ The intention was to support 25 Iowas, 25 Sacs and Foxes, and 40 Omahas and Otoes, but things did not

19. *Ibid.*, p. 494.

20. 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 431), p. 317.

21. 28th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 449), pp. 363, 364, 369, 370, 446.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 363.

23. 29th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 470), pp. 558, 605; Plank, *loc. cit.*, p. 315.

work out that way. There were more Iowas desirous of attending the school than space for them, while on the other hand the Sacs and Foxes refused to attend, supposedly because of animosity toward the Iowas.²⁴ When the school opened in the fall of 1846, only eight children attended: six Iowas and two half-breed Pottawatomies. In January, however, others began to appear, until there were between 30 and 40. The average attendance in 1847 and 1848 was 24, in 1849 34, and in 1850 32. Late in 1850 Hamilton reported that there were 30 Iowas, one Sac half-breed, one Fox half-breed, one Oto, and three other half-breeds, a Snake, a Black-foot, and a Sioux. By this time English had again become the medium of instruction, after a period when half the instruction was in English and half in Iowa.²⁵

The summer in which the new school was under construction was in most respects a difficult time for all concerned. A change of administration in Washington normally meant a change of agent on every Indian reservation in the country, and the accession to the presidency of James K. Polk in 1845 meant the replacement of Richardson by a political appointee of the victorious party. That fall Richardson reported that insubordination had prevailed among the Indians since they learned that there was to be a new agent; they had been busy killing the cattle and hogs belonging to the missionaries. Richardson's personal involvements may have lessened the objectivity of his diagnosis, but some credence is lent to it by a caustic comment by Irvin on the sacrifice of an agent to "party spirit." Hamilton was absent during part of that summer, too. His family had left early in the spring because of ill health, and he followed on August 1. As for the Indians, they were said to be getting worse—except for drunkenness, and their slight improvement in that respect was due only to the fact that they lacked the money to buy whisky.²⁶ The complaint had been made earlier and was to be made again that the chiefs, to whom the annuities for the tribe were paid, would squander the money intended for their people. One agent thought that payments in the form of goods should be furnished to him and doled out two or three times a year to heads of families.²⁷

During the time the school building was going up, nearly all

24. 29th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 493), pp. 371, 372; 30th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 1* (Serial 503), p. 876.

25. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1850, pp. 32, 33; 30th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. 1* (Serial 537), p. 484.

26. 29th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 470), pp. 558, 605, 606.

27. 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 431), p. 397; 29th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 493), p. 372.

other activities were suspended, including teaching. Two years earlier, in 1843, a small press, costing less than \$250, had been set up and about five thousand pages of elementary and hymn books were printed. This work was suspended during the construction of the school, but operations were resumed in 1846 or 1847 with a 32-page extract from the book of Matthew in the Iowa language. In 1848 over 30,000 pages were printed, all or nearly all of which consisted of a 156-page Iowa grammar. Probably fewer than 200 copies were printed, and in 1930 two investigators could find only seven complete copies, one of which is now in the Kansas State Historical Society library. A small "Ioway Primmer" [*sic*] was issued in 1849 and reprinted in a larger edition the following year, but nothing is definitely known to have been printed on this press after 1850.²⁸

White Cloud and several other leading members of the tribe were absent during part of this period, on a European tour that included England, Scotland, Ireland, and France, and keeping them abroad from 1844 to 1846. They are said to have created quite a sensation in the foreign capitals that they visited; the effect on the Indians is not recorded, but it must have been considerable. When the Swiss artist, Rudolph Friederich Kurz, traveled up the Missouri in 1848, he encountered an Iowa named Kirutsche who told him of having had an audience with Louis Philippe and showed Kurz a miniature of the Citizen King to prove it.²⁹

One bright spot during these years was the increasing agricultural production of the Iowas. As early as 1843 it was said that they had raised more than they needed. Unfortunately, they traded it to less provident neighbors, such as the Kansas and Otoes.³⁰ Most of the work was done by the squaws, but some 12 or 13 men were working in the fields with their women in 1842, when 15,000 bushels of corn, potatoes, squash, pumpkins, and other vegetables were raised.³¹ In 1845 200 acres were broken by the government farmer and nearly 100 by the Indians themselves.³² By 1847, when

28. 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 431), p. 317; 29th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 470), p. 605; 30th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. 1* (Serial 537), pp. 484, 485; Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen, *A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 14-23.

29. Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, edited by Frederick W. Hodge (Edinburgh, 1933), v. 1, pp. 308, 309; J. N. B. Hewitt, ed., *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz* (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins*, No. 115—Washington, 1937), p. 40. Of the 14 Indians who made up the party, none had a name remotely similar to "Kirutsche," but this is not positive proof that he was not one of them; the name of their long-time interpreter, Jeffrey Derroin, appears as "Doraway" in the handbook distributed by George Catlin, who seems to have served as their impresario. (See McKenney and Hall, p. 309.)

30. 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 431), p. 397.

31. 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 413), pp. 442, 444.

32. 29th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 470), p. 559.

the government farmer was trying to persuade the Iowas to cultivate larger fields, they were said to be raising much more than they needed for 12 months.³³ In 1848 they had no regular farmer, and this fact may account, as much as the raid on the Pawnees, for the late planting that year. That fall about 30 lodges camped across the river from St. Joseph in order to get the wastage from the slaughter houses.³⁴ The passage of emigrants through their lands in 1850 provided them with an opportunity to sell their surplus, but instead of taking advantage of it, they bought liquor from the transients and neglected their crops.³⁵ The next year they did better, however, and traded much of a larger-than-usual crop to the emigrants and to the wild tribes to the west.³⁶ But in 1853 the agent observed that the Iowas spent much time loitering around the emigrants' camps when they should have been working in their fields.³⁷ The next year a drought reduced the crop in most fields to one third the usual amount.³⁸ In short, there was progress, but it was slow and halting.

Meanwhile the parade of agents went on. After Richardson's removal, W. E. Rucker assumed the duties of subagent on September 11, 1846, only to be followed in May, 1848, by Alfred J. Vaughan. Then, when the Whigs regained the presidency in 1849, Richardson was restored to his former post. The election of Franklin Pierce and the Democratic ticket in 1852 brought about his inevitable replacement, this time by Daniel Vanderslice, who held on through both the Pierce and Buchanan administrations.³⁹ How much the progress of the Indians was retarded by all these changes of agent cannot be determined, but the lack of continuity of policy must surely have had its effects on their welfare. Although the rather formal reports submitted by these men reveal little about the sincerity of their interest in their duties, from what is known of abuses in the Indian bureau at this time, it may be supposed that some of these agents were political hacks with no special interest in Indians.

In 1862 the anthropologist, Lewis Henry Morgan, stopped at Iowa Point on his way up the Missouri and went to see the Reverend Mr. Irvin at Highland. Irvin and his assistant, James Wil-

33. 30th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 1* (Serial 503), p. 937.

34. 30th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. 1* (Serial 537), p. 483; Hewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

35. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1850, pp. 30, 31.

36. *Ibid.*, 1851, p. 99.

37. *Ibid.*, 1853, p. 88.

38. *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 98.

39. 29th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 493), p. 371; 30th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. 1* (Serial 537), p. 482; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1850, p. 32; 1853, p. 87.

liams, gave him a dismal picture of the agency system. According to them, the census rolls were greatly inflated by the use of fictitious names and the names of deceased members of the tribe. Tickets were given out to the heads of families when the annuities were distributed, and the Indians were encouraged by their agent and the traders to take tickets for nonexistent people. Morgan comments, "They were in debt and the agent and traders took this method to aid them. Thus they were made dishonest and also placed under obligations to the agent and traders."⁴⁰ The trader at that time was a brother of the agent and always knew in advance when the annuities were to be paid. He allowed credits up to the amount of the annuity, and thus when the payment came, all of it went directly to the trader. When the agency farm was ordered sold, Agent Vanderslice held on until the end of his term and then, when prices had fallen, he "advertised" it in such a secretive manner that almost no one knew of the sale. A friend of his bought it for \$1,500, then consigned it to Vanderslice for \$2,000. Several men, it was said, would have paid two or three times this sum had they known of the sale. Yet, Morgan says, "Vanderslice is admitted to be one of the best agents the Iowas ever had. Think of that! This is so moderate a piece of iniquity that even now he passes as an honest man."⁴¹ Vanderslice remained in Doniphan county and was regarded, at the time of his death in 1889, as one of its pioneers and founding fathers.⁴² Vaughan, whose son was partner to the trader, later served as agent to the Blackfeet and was characterized by fur trader Charles Larpenteur as a drunkard in league with the American Fur Company.⁴³ Despite their well substantiated moral obliquity, the agents constitute our chief source of information on the Iowas, and where their statements coincide with those of the missionaries there is no good reason to doubt their general accuracy. Whether one agrees with their interpretations is another matter.

All the subagents and agents (the Great Nemaha subagency became a full agency in 1851) inveigh against the liquor traffic and represent themselves as inveterate foes of the illegal whisky dealers. Vaughan caught three whisky sellers and sent them to St.

40. Lewis Henry Morgan, *The Indian Journals, 1859-62*, edited by Leslie A. White (Ann Arbor, 1959), pp. 137, 138.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

42. Patrick Leopold Gray, *Gray's Doniphan County History* (Bendena, 1905), Pt. 2, p. 43.

43. Charles Larpenteur, *Forty Years a Fur Trader*, v. 2, pp. 417, 418, cited in John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains* (Norman, 1958), pp. 228, 229. Ewers challenges Larpenteur's estimate of Vaughan: "Actually, Major Vaughan was an experienced and able agent who conscientiously tried to implement the government's policies for the civilization of his Indian charges."

Joseph in 1848. The effects of this daring foray were not altogether beneficial, however. Not only did the Indians take advantage of their agent's absence as a witness to have several drunken sprees, but the whisky sellers "were in a few days turned loose from prison . . . though apparently according to law, *yet against all justice*; yet I suppose in consideration of a *stipulated sum*," as Hamilton expressed it. Nonetheless, Vaughan insisted and Hamilton conceded that the Iowas were well behaved for a couple of months after the arrest of the malefactors.⁴⁴ But the passage of the emigrants through the reservation undid much of the good accomplished by Vaughan's act, and in 1850 Richardson reported that the Iowas were more lewd and dissipated than ever.⁴⁵

Certainly there is no indication that any progress was being made in the attempt to Christianize these people. Irvin complained in 1847 that "Long as we have been among the Iowas, we have no evidence to believe that any one of the adult Indians of the nation or village has yet experienced a change of heart."⁴⁶ Three years later the missionaries were visiting the adults in their homes three times a week for religious instruction, but they admitted that no special improvement was manifest.⁴⁷ In 1852 it was reported that, although much time and attention was given by the missionaries to sickness among the Indians, no marked moral or religious influence could be seen.⁴⁸ And the next year Irvin bewailed the fact that there were still no adults professing Christianity. In fact, as he saw the situation, the Indians' general condition was no better than it had been 16 years earlier. The houses had gone to decay, and the Indians were living in bark wigwams and skin tents again and wearing blankets. The fences, where there were any, were of poles and bark strings.⁴⁹

Furthermore, there was a constant decline in numbers among both the Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes. The figures given by the several agents are not always reliable, partly because of the deliberate inflation Morgan mentions and partly because of the high mobility of the Indians and their reluctance to hold still long enough to be counted. Richardson found only 470 Iowas in 1842, with 30 others known to be absent. Irvin also counted only 500 four years later, but when Vaughan took over in 1848 he was able to

44. 30th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. 1* (Serial 537), p. 482; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1849, pp. 143-146.

45. *Ibid.*, 1850, pp. 30, 31.

46. 30th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 1* (Serial 503), p. 935.

47. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1850, p. 33.

48. *Ibid.*, 1852, p. 74.

49. *Ibid.*, 1853, pp. 92, 93.

scare up 669 Iowas and 149 Sacs and Foxes. The next year he had even better results and listed the Iowa population as 802. But Hamilton counted only 473 in the same year, and when Vander-slice conducted a careful census in 1853, he found only 437.⁵⁰ In all probability there was a continuous decline during this period, though perhaps not so sharp as Richardson's first figure would indicate. Certainly the number of deaths reported from year to year suggests a definite decline. In 1845, for example, it was stated that 40 Iowas had died in the previous year; in 1849 37 deaths were reported, 25 of them from cholera.⁵¹ One fifth of the Sacs and Foxes were said to have been carried off by smallpox in 1851, but vaccination checked the disease and prevented its spread to the Iowas.⁵²

Despite the apparent lack of progress toward acceptance of the white man's civilization, the Iowas were already in the initial stages of a transformation that was to become more evident in succeeding decades. One of the principal instruments in effecting this transformation was the school, which reached a peak of activity in the early 1850's and thereafter declined, to be discontinued entirely soon after the end of the Civil War. A glimpse into the daily round of activities in this school during its heyday may be useful. The severe regimen must have been quite a shock to the Indian children, accustomed to a casual and carefree life at home, and it is not surprising that they should have rebelled now and then. Teachers and pupils alike rose at five, breakfasted at six, and started school at nine.⁵³ The curriculum was probably not unlike that of many rural schools of the time in all-white communities. In 1852, when 20 boys and 19 girls were attending, eight were studying geography and eight were studying arithmetic on the slate and blackboard; 26 could read the New Testament in English, six were in McGuffey's fourth reader, 10 in the third reader, and 12 in McGuffey's and Cobb's first reader; 22 could write, and two were studying the alphabet. Besides daily recitations, the children would memorize portions of Scripture and hymns in English, which they would recite at Sabbath school. Friday afternoons were given over to moral and religious instruction.⁵⁴

50. 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 413), p. 443; 29th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 493), p. 372; 30th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. 1* (Serial 437), p. 482; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1849, pp. 143, 146; 1853, p. 88.

51. 29th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 470), p. 558; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1849, p. 146.

52. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1851, p. 99.

53. *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 102.

54. *Ibid.*, 1852, p. 72.

The school day was not limited to the six hours of actual recitation, for much of the children's training was included under the heading of "manual labor." For the girls this meant washing, scrubbing, milking, churning, and making most of the clothing. The boys worked on the farm. In 1852 50 acres were in cultivation and a like amount of land in pasture. The school property included two yoke of oxen, one wagon, two "poor horses," and nine cows. Provisions not raised on the spot were brought from St. Joseph or from Holt county, Missouri. A cook and an assistant matron were the only hired help at this time, although at other times other employees were mentioned.⁵⁵ The number of "scholars" varied from year to year, but there were usually at least 40. In 1854 there were 42, of whom about 20 were half-breeds; the next year there were 51, probably the largest number ever in attendance at this school. Most of them were orphans.⁵⁶ There was always a certain amount of trouble with children running away or being taken away by their parents. Irvin itemized his losses in 1856: three had died, one had gone to the Kickapoos, five had been taken by parents or friends, and one had run away.⁵⁷

By this time the school had been in operation for a decade, and some results might have been expected. Unfortunately, the youngsters ordinarily left school just about the time they might have begun to benefit from their training; Irvin urged that they be kept in school longer.⁵⁸ About this time the school began to decline sharply. In 1857 the agent remarked that there were only 34 pupils in a school with room for 80.⁵⁹ For reasons not evident, the Indians of both tribes now refused to send any more children to the school. The report for 1858 lists only 12 Iowas and four Sacs and Foxes enrolled then. The Indians were said to favor a manual labor school but under the direction of the Indian office rather than the mission.⁶⁰ One factor which assuredly contributed to the lessening enthusiasm for the school was the removal of the agency to a new location as a result of a treaty in 1854 which opened to settlement much of the land on which the Iowas had been living.⁶¹

The year 1854 is in at least two respects a division point in the history of the Iowa Indians. Besides being the date when much of their reservation was ceded, it marks the beginning of a more

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73.

56. *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 101; 1855, p. 88; 1853, p. 94.

57. *Ibid.*, 1856, p. 108.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

59. 35th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2* (Serial 942), p. 447.

60. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1858, pp. 108, 109.

61. Plank, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

rapid acculturation than had been visible in the first 17 years of their life in Kansas. Ever since the invasion of the reservation by emigrants headed for California in 1850, there had been an atmosphere of uncertainty among the Iowas. White settlers began to move into the surrounding area and to look covetously upon the largely unoccupied Indian lands. Subagent Richardson suggested in that year that the Iowas be moved and a fund set aside for agricultural and mechanical purposes, beyond their control.⁶² The next year he said that the Indians were afraid that they would lose their lands to the whites, and he asked that they be given a permanent home.⁶³ In his last report, in 1852, he continued to advocate the purchase of some of the reservation lands and their opening to settlement, the remainder to be guaranteed to the Indians. As he saw it, the Indians must be brought under our laws as citizens or perish; he stressed, however, that they must be the makers as well as the subjects of those laws.⁶⁴ Vanderslice reported the next year that he had warned the Iowas that becoming settled as farmers was a matter of life and death, so great was the pressure from white settlers becoming.⁶⁵

As a result of this continuing pressure and of the agents' recommendations, treaties were negotiated on May 17, 1854, with the Iowas, and the next day with the Sacs and Foxes, by the terms of which the two tribes ceded the greater part of their reservation, including the area around the mission, near which the agency was also located.⁶⁶ The exact division of the residual reservation between the two tribes was left somewhat indefinite by this treaty, but on March 6, 1861, the Iowas ceded their lands west of Noharts creek to the Sacs and Foxes. This division, which left each tribe with about 25 square miles of land, was permanent; more than 100 years later the tracts of land owned by the Iowas were all east of Noharts creek and those belonging to the Sacs and Foxes were west of the stream.⁶⁷ By the terms of the 1854 treaty, the Iowas also gave the Presbyterian board 320 acres of land around the mission site as well as 160 acres of timber. But inasmuch as the agency was moved to a more central location and a school house was erected

62. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1850, p. 31.

63. *Ibid.*, 1851, p. 100.

64. *Ibid.*, 1852, p. 71.

65. *Ibid.*, 1853, p. 88.

66. Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 811, 812.

near by in 1860, the old mission school had largely outlived its usefulness and was discontinued a few years afterward.⁶⁸

Whether as a result of their changed circumstances or for other reasons, the Iowas' way of life began to alter perceptibly about 1854. The agent reported that year that he had given six heads of families each a plow and a set of harness, on the promise that they would go to work and farm. And at a council held September 21 the Iowas agreed to break up their old villages and settle on small tracts.⁶⁹ The next year their efforts at farming were described as "quite successful"; some were cultivating seeds sent by the commissioner of Indian affairs in Washington.⁷⁰ In 1856 it was said that several young married and engaged men had selected farms, started making rails, and applied for wagons, oxen, and plows. Hay, corn, beans, and pumpkins were raised in large quantities that season.⁷¹ Two years later 250 acres were planted to corn, wheat, oats, beans, pumpkins, and potatoes; many fields were enclosed in good rail fences, and the oxen were in good condition.⁷² The following year 600 acres were said to be under cultivation, in 68 scattered fields and patches.⁷³ When a new agent took over in 1861, he reported that, although the Indians here were indifferent to schools, they did want houses, farms, tools, and money, and they wished to be assured that their reservation was permanent.⁷⁴

From this point on there was frequent evidence of a decided change in the Iowas' pattern of living, even if we discount the usual practice of Indian agents to contrast the progress under their administrations with the lamentable state in which they found the Indians. John A. Burbank, the appointee of the Lincoln administration, reported in 1862 that when he took over there were only five houses on the Iowa reservation; a year later there were 13 completed and three more under way. Six of these were built by the government, the other 10 by Indians with little aid. These were only 16- by 18-foot log cabins, but they were none the less improvements over the wigwams and tents in which 27 of the 43

68. *Ibid.*, p. 629; Plank, *op. cit.*, pp. 318, 320. Plank stated only that the mission ceased to exist "about 1863." This phrase also appears on the highway marker near the site of the old agency. David H. McCleave, citing *Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions*, specifically dates the closing of the mission in 1866. For the last six years of its existence it was operated as a boarding school for orphans. (See David H. McCleave, "A History of the Indian Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Kansas," *The Aerend: A Kansas Quarterly*, Hays, vols. 15 and 16 [1944 and 1945], p. 55.) Irvin told Lewis Henry Morgan in 1862 that he had disconnected himself from the mission two or three years earlier and was then conducting a school in the basement of his church in Highland, where he had about 65 pupils, 20 of whom were boarded.—See Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

69. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1854, p. 99.

70. *Ibid.*, 1855, pp. 87, 88.

71. *Ibid.*, 1856, p. 107.

72. *Ibid.*, 1858, p. 105.

73. *Ibid.*, 1859, p. 142.

74. *Ibid.*, 1861, pp. 53, 54.

families were said to be living. The custom of living in villages had been abandoned by that time.⁷⁵ Burbank said a year later that the Iowas were coming to realize that they must live like whites if they were to be permitted to remain where they were; a "small patch of ground in the timber" was not enough to qualify them as farmers. He promised government help to those who wanted to work.⁷⁶ In 1864 he reported six frame and 18 log houses, with only "a few" Indians still living in wigwams. Although only 289 acres were under cultivation, this was enough to give the Indians a surplus of vegetables to sell in near-by towns. At this time they owned 276 cattle, 326 hogs, 98 horses, 22 wagons, and 19 yoke of oxen.⁷⁷ Besides their crops, the Iowas also hauled wood to market and returned with flour, meat, coffee, sugar, etc.⁷⁸ In 1866 they raised 100 bushels of wheat, 8,000 bushels of corn, 500 bushels of beans, 150 bushels of potatoes, 50 bushels of turnips, plus many small vegetables for their own consumption.⁷⁹ The government farmer by this time was no longer raising crops; the Iowas cultivated their own farms, and his work was limited to the duties of carpenter and joiner.⁸⁰

There was improvement in another respect, too: more effective measures were being taken to reduce drunkenness. The Iowas themselves took the initiative in 1855 by destroying two barrels of whisky on the border of the Sac and Fox territory. Unfortunately, as the agent reports, they had second thoughts after breaking open the barrels and tried to salvage all they could.⁸¹ The next year a stringent law was passed for the suppression of drunkenness which was for a time effective.⁸² In 1863 a police force of 10 of the most responsible braves was set up to prevent the bringing of whisky on to the reservation. It was said that they were obeyed.⁸³ Three years later a temperance organization was doing well.⁸⁴ Temperance was said to have improved by 1868, and the next year the agent claimed that the Iowas were less demoralized and "entirely temperate."⁸⁵ But a new agent in 1870 found intemperance "rare"

75. *Ibid.*, 1862, pp. 133, 134.

76. *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 263.

77. *Ibid.*, 1864, p. 374.

78. *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 415.

79. *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 219.

80. *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 418.

81. *Ibid.*, 1855, p. 87.

82. *Ibid.*, 1856, p. 107.

83. *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 264.

84. *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 220.

85. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 232; 1869, p. 338.

rather than nonexistent.⁸⁶ About this time a police force of five men was appointed (the earlier one apparently having been disbanded), their salaries to be deducted from the tribe's annuity. This force was disbanded in 1877, at the request of the tribe and on their promise to behave in a manner so as not to require its services. Since the promise was not kept, the force was immediately reorganized.⁸⁷ From this time on intemperance is seldom mentioned in the annual reports, and it may be surmised that it was less of a problem than earlier. That it persisted in some degree, however, is shown by the killing of an Indian in 1880 by the chief of police, who was trying to quell a disturbance caused by the introduction of liquor.⁸⁸

Despite the improvements in farming practices, living habits, and temperance, neither the Iowas nor their successive agents were satisfied with conditions on the reservation during the 1850's, 1860's, and 1870's. For one thing, there was the problem of school attendance, already mentioned in connection with the Presbyterian mission. The new school, 33 by 21 feet in size, erected in 1860, by no means solved the problem.⁸⁹ Although the attendance was larger than that of the old mission school—42 in 1861, 62 in 1862, 48 in 1863—it was already being described in 1864 as a failure because it was too far from the children's homes and because the parents exercised no control over the children.⁹⁰ In its sixth year it was down to 38 scholars, and the next year (1866) it had only 15 regular pupils.⁹¹ John N. Gere, who assumed the duties of teacher in October, 1867, admitted that the school was not a success. Most of the children understood no English, he said, and so an interpreter was needed. He recommended the employment of a teacher who knew the Iowa tongue.⁹² Yet Irvin and Hamilton had met with no greater success despite their labors to learn the Iowa language and to reduce it to writing.

In part, the decline in attendance at the Iowa school was due to the continuing decrease in the tribe's numbers. By 1857 there were said to be only 430. There were about the same number two years later, but by 1861 Burbank found only 305 Iowas and 70 Sacs and Foxes. In 1864 only 293 could be mustered, but two years later

86. *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 246.

87. *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 141.

88. *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 117.

89. *Ibid.*, 1860, p. 100.

90. *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 52; 1862, p. 135; 1863, p. 265; 1864, p. 374.

91. *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 416; 1866, p. 220.

92. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 233.

they were up to 303, probably as a result of soldiers returning from the Civil War. C. H. Norris, the agent in 1867, reported a decline of 49 in the previous year, leaving only 254. From this figure they declined to 245 in 1868, 228 in 1869, 214 in 1870, 225 in 1872, 213 in 1878, 171 in 1880, 130 in 1881, and 132 in 1883.⁹³ By the 1880's substantial numbers had migrated to the Indian territory, but the greater part of the decline prior to 1880 may be attributed simply to an excess of deaths over births.

Among the other problems facing the Iowas and their agents was that of a group of Winnebagoes who had settled among them. The first appearance of these strangers, about 1850, seems to have come as a result of the removal in 1848 of the Winnebago tribe from its reservation in northeastern Iowa to the Long Prairie reservation in central Minnesota. Many were lost during this removal, and, although most of these drifted back to their former Wisconsin homes, about 300 made their way to the mouth of the Great Nemaha and camped on the Iowas' lands. According to Agent Richardson, they were raising crops and wished to remain; many had intermarried with the Iowas.⁹⁴ He at first recommended that these vagrants be paid their share of their tribe's annuities, but when the Indian office refused to accede to this suggestion, he asked that they be removed, in fairness to the Iowas, on whom they were dependent.⁹⁵ Although Agent Vanderslice reported in 1860 that they had been induced to leave, there is no evidence that they all did so, for in 1863 there were 57 still squatting on the reservation. With the removal that year of the main body of the Winnebagoes from their Blue Earth reservation in Minnesota (incident to the general hostility toward Indians after the Sioux uprising), there was another influx to the Iowa lands, so that by 1864 there were 117 of them, largely destitute. Although the agent again asked for their removal, nothing seems to have been done by the government.⁹⁶ In 1868, however, some difficulty arose between the Iowas and the Winnebagoes, as a result of which the latter, including some 30 or 40 who had married into the Iowa tribe, were stricken from the rolls and all headed down the Missouri in canoes, intending to return to Wisconsin or Minnesota.⁹⁷ No further mention of the Winnebagoes

93. 35th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2* (Serial 942), p. 446; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1859, p. 142; 1861, p. 53; 1864, p. 374; 1866, p. 219; 1867, p. 275; 1868, p. 231; 1869, p. 338; 1870, p. 246; 1872, p. 224; 1878, p. 93; 1880, p. 116; 1881, p. 123; 1883, p. 92.

94. *Ibid.*, 1851, p. 100.

95. *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 100; 1852, p. 72.

96. *Ibid.*, 1860, p. 99; 1864, p. 375.

97. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 231.

appears in the annual reports. For nearly 20 years they had been something of a drain on the economy of the Iowas and, it may be supposed, a source of dissension in the tribe as well.

The continuing hostility of the white settlers and their lack of respect for the Indians' rights constituted another problem during these years. The treaty of 1854 did not solve the problem. In some respects it only complicated it, as may be gathered from the agent's remark in 1857 that progress that year had been slight owing to the settling of whites on the recently ceded lands.⁹⁸ Two years later the whites were asking, "When will the Ioways sell out?" and this made the Indians restless. The agent recommended that the lands be allotted in severalty and guaranteed to the owners until they should be considered competent and citizens.⁹⁹ This suggestion was to be repeated again and again in succeeding years, as in 1865, when Agent Burbank asked that the government make a treaty with the Iowas permitting those who wished to obtain certificates of competency and become citizens.¹⁰⁰ How much of this supposed desire to become citizens represents the actual wishes of the Indians and how much reflects their agents' notions of what would be best for them is impossible to determine. Certainly it was a widespread view in this period that the only way to civilize the Indian was to make a citizen and landowner out of him—a view which culminated in the Dawes act of 1887.

An illuminating example of the white attitude toward the Indian is afforded by the case of one Michael Ferry, who on July 12, 1858, shot and killed, without provocation, an Iowa named Wah-gre-rah-quah. Agent Vanderslice had Ferry arrested and sent up to be identified. A mob tried to rescue him on the 16th but failed. Delayed by high water, Vanderslice found that the sheriff had taken Ferry on the 20th to Troy, the county seat. Since the sheriff had an improperly executed writ of *habeas corpus*, the judge refused to admit any of the evidence submitted by the agent and released the prisoner. Vanderslice then had another affidavit and writ prepared, and Ferry was taken into custody once more. Again efforts were made to rescue him and to get possession of the writ. A mob tried to get Ferry to run and pushed him toward the door of the courthouse. At dusk he fled but was captured and returned to the agency the next day. After three days' examination at Iowa Point, he was committed for trial before the First district court. In default

98. 35th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2* (Serial 942), p. 446.

99. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1859, p. 143.

100. *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 416.

of bail, he was confined in the jail of Leavenworth county, from which he escaped in a few weeks. The technicality which prevented his immediate trial when first arrested was that there were no white witnesses to the shooting. From this incident the agent concluded that "a white man may kill as many Indians as he pleases, provided it is only done in the presence of Indians, and go unpunished."¹⁰¹ More revealing for the modern reader is the obvious public sentiment in favor of Ferry—and presumably in favor of any white man who killed an Indian.

The Civil War had its effects, some disruptive, on the Iowa reservation. By late 1862 12 Iowa men had enlisted out of 78 in the tribe.¹⁰² Ultimately 43 saw service. Although one died of illness in a hospital and two at home on leave and two were wounded, not one was killed in action. Among the good effects was the learning of English by those who served.¹⁰³ The effects of the war on the school were both good and bad. J. Washburne, the teacher in 1862, reported that attendance had improved after he had furnished the children with military caps.¹⁰⁴ But some of the money invested by the government in the Iowas' behalf was in state bonds, and the Southern states were not paying interest, which amounted to a loss of some \$15,000 by 1864.¹⁰⁵ The treaty of 1861 had provided an annual school fund of \$300; this was omitted during at least part of the war, and as a result the children were without the clothing they needed to attend school.¹⁰⁶ When the war was over, there was an attempt by the chiefs and braves to obtain \$10,000 from the trust lands owned by the Sac and Fox tribe to buy oxen and farming tools for the returning soldiers.¹⁰⁷ These Indians were thus quite in the American tradition in their attitude toward rewarding veterans after a war.

Whether the progress of the Iowa tribe toward acculturation was delayed or accelerated during the Civil War, there is no question that the process was more rapid in the years following the war, and especially after 1869, when Thomas Lightfoot, a Quaker, was appointed agent, and the Society of Friends began taking an active interest in the welfare of this Indian group. Corruption and inefficiency in the Indian bureau had been a matter of common knowledge before the war, and Lincoln had promised to do some-

101. *Ibid.*, 1858, pp. 106-108.

102. *Ibid.*, 1862, p. 134; 1864, p. 374.

103. *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 416.

104. *Ibid.*, 1862, p. 135.

105. *Ibid.*, 1864, p. 374.

106. *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 265.

107. *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 416.

thing to remedy the situation if he lived long enough. Even if the agents were honest, they were almost invariably uninformed on the specific tribe placed under their jurisdiction. C. H. Norris, agent at the Iowa and Sac and Fox reservation from 1866 to 1869, admitted that he entered upon his duties there "knowing nothing of the history of the Indians belonging to it, or the condition of their business prior to that time."¹⁰⁸ Under the Grant administration certain Indian reservations were placed under the supervision of the Society of Friends, and later other religious groups were given responsibility for particular reservations.

Lightfoot took charge of the agency on June 7, 1869, and immediately began agitating for the establishment of an "industrial home" and the employment of a farmer.¹⁰⁹ (Apparently there had been no government farmer since 1865, when the last report was submitted.) His daughter, Mary B. Lightfoot, assumed the duties of teacher at the Iowa school and soon had the children flocking in, attracted by the news that they would receive a noon lunch of crackers or fruit and a supply of summer clothing, all provided by the Philadelphia Indian Aid Society.¹¹⁰ In 1870, when she reported 63 students, so well provided with clothing were the children that no blanket entered the schoolroom. The Philadelphia Friends also furnished English word cards which were attached to miniature objects on charts as an aid to the teaching of English. Soon another innovation was attempted: an agency store, selling only necessary articles at little more than cost, in charge of a factor with a fixed salary.¹¹¹ For years various agents had objected to the iniquitous system which made the Indian dependent on the trader, but nothing much had been done to improve the situation. How successful this store was is not clear, for there is little mention of it in the annual reports after 1871, when it was said to be flourishing.¹¹² About this time a coal mine was opened on the reservation, leased for 25 years to a mining company, the royalty to be paid to the Indians.¹¹³ Nothing further appears in the reports concerning this mine, and it is doubtful that it had much effect on the income of the average Iowa Indian.

Lightfoot's principal project, the industrial home or school, was realized in 1871, when such an institution was established under

108. *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 219.

109. *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 355.

110. *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 356.

111. *Ibid.*, 1870, pp. 232, 247.

112. *Ibid.*, 1871, p. 458.

113. *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 232.

the auspices of the Society of Friends. It was very small at first, accommodating only 14 pupils, mostly orphans, the first year of operation and only 16 the second year.¹¹⁴ In 1873 an addition, 18 by 30 feet, was built and the enrollment increased to 41 the next year, after which it fluctuated between 30 and 40 for several years.¹¹⁵ In April, 1875, it was taken over by the federal government.¹¹⁶ One of its first effects was to improve attendance at the day school, for the children of the two schools competed in punctuality, according to Miss Lightfoot.¹¹⁷ Although the industrial home was destroyed by fire in January, 1879, it was rebuilt two years later in time for the last two months of the term to be spent in the new building. But the average attendance at this time was only 20, increased in 1882 to 24. It appears to have been conducted by this time in connection with the day school, and in that year the Sac and Fox school was consolidated with it.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile the Iowas continued to progress as farmers. Much of their advance was due to the assistance of the Society of Friends, who began as early as 1869 to provide them with tools which they had hitherto lacked.¹¹⁹ In 1877 this group donated 325 apple and 75 peach trees and 75 grape vines, and the following year more trees were purchased with the profits from the trading post conducted under the supervision of the Friends.¹²⁰ Although the Iowas used flour for bread, they ordinarily raised little or no wheat. Agent Norris had suggested in 1868 that they be given an annual supply of 100 bushels of seed wheat.¹²¹ With the Friends providing the seed, wheat raising was attempted on a large scale in 1871, but the crop failed because of chinch bugs. At this time the Iowas owned only 60 cattle, half of which were work oxen. Now the Friends provided milk cows, to be paid for in two years. Apparently the Indians had continued their old practice of occupying their houses only during the growing season, for Lightfoot reported in 1871 that, now that stoves were being furnished, people would live in their houses the year around, instead of repairing to their tents during the winter.¹²²

The number of houses increased from year to year, until by 1875

114. *Ibid.*, 1871, pp. 457, 458; 1872, p. 224.

115. *Ibid.*, 1873, p. 195; 1875, p. 316; 1877, p. 142.

116. *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 316.

117. *Ibid.*, 1871, p. 458.

118. *Ibid.*, 1879, p. 101; 1881, p. 124; 1882, p. 95.

119. *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 338.

120. *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 141; 1878, p. 93.

121. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 232.

122. *Ibid.*, 1871, p. 457.

nearly all the Iowas were said to be living in houses. The agent admitted, however, that some of these houses did not afford much protection, and in a few cases more than one family occupied a single dwelling. All but one or two families, he said, cultivated their lands as the white farmers surrounding them did. Some women still wore the blanket at this time, and, in the words of the agent, M. B. Kent, "all would be improved by more attention to habits of [personal] cleanliness."¹²³ Two years later he reported that some of the Indians' houses were better furnished than those of some whites near by; four sewing machines were in use, a number which had increased to seven by 1880.¹²⁴ Indicative also of a substantial improvement in their material well-being was the statement, made in 1878, that no rations had been issued to the Iowas (except school children) for several years.¹²⁵ Two years later the agent found it appropriate to point out to the commissioner that the Iowas were receiving no help from the government but were supported entirely by their own efforts and from the interest on funds held in trust under the provisions of earlier treaties.¹²⁶

Satisfying as the progress of the Iowa tribe had been, the picture was not without some flaws. Besides difficulties caused by intermittent drought, at least one grasshopper invasion, and other natural misfortunes, the Iowas had to contend with the hostility and envy of their white neighbors and with a certain amount of unrest and dissatisfaction within their own group. Agent Kent described his agency thus in 1880:

The agency is composed of two small tribes . . . occupying contiguous reservations in Northeastern Kansas and Southeastern Nebraska, containing about 22,000 acres, mostly fine farming and grazing land, closely surrounded by enterprising white settlers, many of whom appear to act out the idea that an "Indian has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." They have long looked with covetous eyes upon this small tract of land, and spare no effort to dispossess the Indians of it . . .¹²⁷

Realizing, as they probably did, that when white men want Indian land, they sooner or later find ways of getting it, the Iowas began seeking a way out of their predicament. One solution would be to have their land allotted in severalty, after which the responsibility for its retention would rest on the individual. Another would be to migrate to Indian territory, where, many supposed, they would

123. *Ibid.*, 1875, pp. 315, 316.

124. *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 141; 1880, p. 116.

125. *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 93.

126. *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 117.

127. *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 116.

be secure in the possession of such lands as they might obtain. When the Sac and Fox tribe in 1867 made a treaty (never ratified) to cede 1,600 acres and move to Indian territory, the Iowas became anxious, and some expressed a wish to leave.¹²⁸

Nothing came of this idea then, but in 1876 the agent reported that half the tribe wanted allotment of lands. The rest opposed the use of their money for a survey, however, thinking that it would probably cut across boundaries long established by custom.¹²⁹ Individuals were moving to Indian territory on their own during this period; in 1880 the agent said that over 30 had gone in the past two years, and the following year the number (mostly "discontented drifters") was set at 47.¹³⁰ In 1882 there was said to be still talk of the whole group's moving to the territory, but a good crop that year had somewhat allayed the dissatisfaction.¹³¹ In the spring of 1883 the two tribes asked to have part of their annuity money used to pay delegates to go to the territory and select homes. The Indian bureau granted the funds with the proviso that all Indians at the agency should remove. Nearly all decided to stay until the two delegates returned and explained the benefits of removal.¹³²

There were by this time enough Iowas in Indian territory (said to be half the tribe in 1885) so that an executive order was issued August 15, 1883, setting up a reservation there of 225,000 acres adjacent to the Sac and Fox reservation.¹³³ It was apparently the intention of the government now to induce the Indians remaining in Kansas and Nebraska to move to this tract and thus permit the opening to white settlement of the land at the Great Nemaha agency.¹³⁴ In pursuance of this objective congress on March 3, 1885, passed an act authorizing the appraisal and sale of the Iowa and Sac and Fox reservations, with the consent of a majority of the men expressed in open council. The results of the preference poll were interestingly interpreted by the government. Among the Iowas there were 58 adult males eligible to vote; of the 29 already in Indian territory 26 voted in favor of the act; of the 29 still on the old reservation 11 favored it, 12 opposed it, and six were absent. Since a total of 37 out of 58 approved the act, they were declared

128. *Ibid.*, 1867, pp. 273, 276.

129. *Ibid.*, 1876, p. 95.

130. *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 116; 1881, p. 123.

131. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 94.

132. *Ibid.*, 1883, p. 93.

133. Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 843, 844; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1885, p. lxiv; 1887, p. 95.

134. This agency and the Pottawatomie agency were consolidated October 1, 1882 (see Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1883, p. 92).

to have given their consent, despite the fact that the plan had not received a majority of the votes in the group that would be most seriously affected by it. As I. W. Patrick, agent for the Kansas Indian groups, remarked, only a fraction of the Iowas under his jurisdiction voted to remove, and these were the "blanket" or unprogressive portion of the tribe. The rest, who were considered civilized, wanted to stay where they were.¹³⁵ Objections from the Iowas delayed action, and in 1887 the act was amended to provide for allotments to those who wished to remain, 160 acres each to heads of families, 80 acres to single persons over 18 or orphans under that age, and 40 acres to minor children. Patents were to be issued, but the land was to be held in trust for 25 years.¹³⁶ Actual allotment began in 1892 and continued at intervals until 1908, by which time all the land on the former Iowa and Sac and Fox reservations had been allotted and much of it had found its way into the hands of white men.¹³⁷

The history of the Iowa Indians does not end with the act of March 3, 1885, but this act, coming as it does almost a half century after the treaty by which the reservation was established, provides a convenient terminal point for a study of the acculturation of this tribe. Acculturation was not complete by that date, but it was so far advanced that its completion within a relatively short time was inevitable. Living and dressing like white men (even to the extent of using sewing machines) and making their living in the same fashion as their white neighbors, the Iowas were justly called "civilized" by their agents.

Although seldom mentioned in these official reports, the biological assimilation of the Iowas had also progressed a long way by 1885. As early as 1844 the agent reported that some whites who had been living among the Iowas were now being ordered out, even though one of them had lived with them for 30 years.¹³⁸ Even earlier than that, French traders had intermarried with the Iowas and, in many cases, taken up residence among them. Article 10 of the second treaty of Prairie du Chien had provided for a half-breed reserve for the Iowas, Otoes, and certain other groups, between the Great and Little Nemaha rivers. According to Morgan, this provision brought in a number of French traders who had married Indian women.¹³⁹ French names are conspicuous among

135. Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 228, 229; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1885, pp. lxiv, lxx, 112.

136. *Ibid.*, 1886, p. xlvii; 1888, p. 141; Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 245.

137. H. E. Bruce, "Kansas Indians of Today" (mimeographed, 1943), p. 4.

138. 28th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 449), p. 447.

139. Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 307, 308; Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

the present-day Iowas, whose tribal roll includes such names as DeRoin, Dupuis, LeClere, Partelow, and Roubidoux.¹⁴⁰ By 1883 Agent H. C. Linn was able to say that white blood predominated more or less among the Iowas, in contrast to the Sacs and Foxes, who were mostly fullbloods.¹⁴¹ And in 1952 an Indian bureau study revealed that of 580 Iowas in Kansas and Nebraska, only 20 were fullbloods.¹⁴² One member of the community, who claims one fourth Indian blood, is actually only one 64th Indian, according to an investigation made by a recent agent for the Kansas groups.¹⁴³ The Oklahoma group has a higher proportion of fullbloods, and in 1952 was said to have 10 older people (out of a population of 112) who could neither speak, read, nor write English.¹⁴⁴

Despite the great infusion of white blood and their almost total assimilation into the larger community, the Iowas have managed to retain their Indian identity and are doing their best to hold on to what they have left. In 1937 they organized as the "Iowa Tribe of Indians of the Iowa Reservation in Nebraska and Kansas" and adopted a corporate charter.¹⁴⁵ By far the greater number of the Iowas now live off the old reservation lands. Of the 580 counted in 1952, only 180 lived on restricted lands; by 1960 there were only 111, 70 in Kansas and 41 in Nebraska, and the lands they occupied were down to 969 acres in Kansas and 496 in Nebraska—a total of 1,465 acres, plus 191 acres owned by the Sac and Fox tribe, remaining of the 400 square miles the two tribes were granted in 1836.¹⁴⁶ Because they continue to receive certain benefits so long as they retain an interest in these lands, the Iowas have opposed termination of federal supervision whenever it has been proposed. At meetings held in Falls City, Neb., in February, 1958, they refused even to discuss termination until certain pending claims were settled. The Sacs and Foxes, none of whom lived on the reservation lands by this time, were said to favor termination then, but they later rejected it.¹⁴⁷ The lands remaining in Indian hands are highly fractionated, and every land transfer involves considerable

140. Interview with Buford Morrison, area field representative, Pottawatomie Area Field Office, Horton, June 5, 1961.

141. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1883, p. 93.

142. 83d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Reports* 2680 (Serial 11747), p. 80.

143. Morrison interview.

144. 83d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Report* 2680 (Serial 11747), p. 80.

145. 82d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Report* 2503 (Serial 11582), p. 397. The Iowas of Oklahoma did the same in 1937 and 1938.

146. 83d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Report* 2680 (Serial 11747), p. 80; Bureau of Indian Affairs, *United States Indian Population and Land*, 1960 (Washington, 1960), pp. 12, 16.

147. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, February 5, 1958; Topeka *State Journal*, March 25, 1958.

red tape. In fact, it is said that the principal service now rendered by the Indian bureau to the Iowas is in connection with such land transfers and in matters relating to the use of the tribal land, which makes up about half the remaining holdings.¹⁴⁸

If everyone with a trace of Iowa blood be regarded as an Iowa Indian, it is evident that the tribe's numbers have greatly increased since 1885, when only 58 adult males could be mustered for the vote on allotment. The figure of 580 was given in 1952 for the Kansas-Nebraska group, but an even higher figure is probably justified. In June, 1961, when a referendum was being held concerning amendments to the tribal constitution, a list of 463 eligible voters was prepared by tribal officials and the Pottawatomie Area Field Office. Of these, 174 had addresses indicating that they lived in or near the old reservation area, 107 were living elsewhere within a radius of 100 miles, and 182 were scattered throughout the country—in Oklahoma, California, Missouri, Colorado, Maryland, Oregon, Iowa, Texas, New York, and 14 other states from coast to coast.¹⁴⁹ Most of them retain family and other ties with those living on the old reservation, and many undoubtedly come "home" occasionally and attend meetings and other functions in the little stone community hall built in 1941 as a W. P. A. project.¹⁵⁰

The Iowa Indians broke into the news briefly in 1951 and 1952, when dissension arose over the succession to the chieftainship (a purely honorary and unofficial distinction) left vacant by the death of Louis White Cloud. He had in 1940 succeeded James White Cloud, son of Mo-hos-ka, or White Cloud, described by Agent Richardson at the time of his death in 1852 as the "somewhat notorious Iowa ex-chief."¹⁵¹ This Mo-hos-ka was at least the second to bear that name, having succeeded his father, the most famous chief of the Iowas, a few years before their settlement on the Great Nemaha reservation.¹⁵² James White Cloud was born about 1840 and had served in the Civil War. Pictures showing him sporting a bristling mustache suggest that the infusion of white blood in the old chief's family must have occurred at an early date. His last few birthdays, as he approached the age of 100, were mentioned prominently in Kansas newspapers. After his death in July,

148. Morrison interview.

149. "List of Eligible Voters, Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, for Referendum of June 24, 1961" (hectographed), prepared by the Pottawatomie Area Field Office, Horton.

150. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, April 5, 1941.

151. Kansas City *Times*, March 19, 1947; Kansas City *Star*, October 6, 1940; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1852, p. 71.

152. McKenney and Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 291, 301.

1940, he was succeeded by Louis, who died in March, 1947.¹⁵³ After a search for the descendant of Mo-hos-ka boasting the highest proportion of Indian blood, the choice fell on 15-year-old Jimmie Rhodd, a high school sophomore in St. Joseph, Mo. Although he was supposedly being elevated to the chieftainship on October 28, 1951, his selection for this honor seems to have precipitated a power struggle which dragged on for another year. His uncle, Dan White Cloud, claimed to be more directly in the line of descent, and tried to secure the position for himself. The council decided in the spring of 1952 that 10-years' residence in Oklahoma disqualified him for the chieftainship of the Kansas-Nebraska branch of the tribe, and young Rhodd was finally invested with the purple in November, 1952.¹⁵⁴ In February, 1958, he married a non-Indian named Shirley Jean Shorts, who was given the tribal name of Ma-Has-Kah, now apparently reserved for females. A newspaper story about the wedding provided the added information that the couple would live in Omaha, where the groom was employed as an instructor in a ballroom dancing studio.¹⁵⁵

With the honorary chief of the Iowa tribe, a lineal descendant of the first White Cloud, earning his living as a teacher of ballroom dancing, one might agree with the Indian bureau's statement in 1952 that "acculturation appears to be complete."¹⁵⁶

153. *Kansas City Times*, September 24, 1937; *Topeka Daily Capital*, June 12, 1938; *Kansas City Star*, October 6, 1940; *Kansas City Times*, March 19, 1947.

154. *Kansas City Times*, October 12, 1951; *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 28, 1951; *Wichita Morning Eagle*, November 9, 1952. A slightly different version appeared in an article titled "Jimmie Almost Gets To Be Indian Chief," *Life*, Chicago, v. 31 (November 12, 1951), pp. 113, 114, 116.

155. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 10, 1958.

156. 83d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Report 2680* (Serial 11747), p. 80.

The Westmoreland Interurban Railway

ALLISON CHANDLER

THE YEAR 1912 marked a unique occurrence in northeast Kansas transportation annals when a short-line steam railroad was converted into a gasoline auto interurban. The original rail line was the eight-mile Kansas, Southern & Gulf railroad operating north and south between Westmoreland and Blaine in the heart of Pottawatomie county. The prime mover of the change was Charles E. Morris and the finished product was called the Westmoreland interurban railway.

Bullet-shaped Pottawatomie county, with straight lines bounding its northern and eastern sides, the Kansas river on the south and the arching Big Blue river as its western boundary, had long known steam railway lines. The Union Pacific had pushed west along its southern border in 1866 to serve the towns of St. Marys, Wamego, and St. George. The Kansas Central had extended a parallel route through the northern part of the county between 1877 and 1880 to serve the towns of Havensville, Savannah, Onaga, Wheaton, Blaine, Fostoria, Olsburg, and Garrison. Still later, the Topeka & Northern had cut across the northeastern part of the county to include the towns of Emmett, Aiken, and Onaga.

Westmoreland, founded in 1871 and established as the county seat after an 11-year term by its southern neighbor, Louisville, had been without a railroad long after a dozen or more of Pottawatomie county communities were enjoying rail service. As early as 1892, the county had attained a certain prominence for agricultural products.

Steam railroad promoters in 1899 succeeded in organizing, financing, and building the eight-mile line from Blaine to Westmoreland, to give the county seat its only rail connection with the outside world. A news dispatch, October 26, 1899, in the *Westmoreland Recorder*, said the line was chartered as the Kansas and Southern Railway Company and that it contemplated extending southwest from Westmoreland through Manhattan to strike the Missouri, Kansas & Texas line at White City or Council Grove. Irving H. Wheatcroft was president of the company, with Norton Thayer as secretary and treasurer. The Thayer-Moore Brokerage Co. of Kansas City, Mo., was the original owner.

ALLISON CHANDLER, of Salina, who is employed in the advertising department of the *Salina Journal*, has made a hobby of collecting information on Kansas interurban railroads. This article is a chapter from his book-length manuscript entitled, "Trolley Through the Countryside," which is scheduled for publication by Sage Books (Alan Swallow, pub.) of Denver, late in 1962.

The company acquired a steam locomotive, several freight cars, and a combination baggage-and-passenger coach. Schedules were announced and the road began operation before the turn of the century.

However, troubles in management and financing appeared to dog the steps of the little line and the forces of nature were none too friendly. In 1902 much of the roadbed was washed out in a flood, upon which, it was said, the road's management threw up its hands and quit. The little steam engine was run off to Kansas City and sold. Receivers were appointed, and the city of Westmoreland made a compromise agreement whereby the city itself operated the line for something like 18 months.

In March, 1904, the Thayer-Moore Brokerage firm bought back the line and changed its name to the Kansas, Southern & Gulf railroad, the reported sale price being \$13,500. With a newly acquired secondhand ex-Rock Island No. 218 engine, a passenger-baggage coach, two box cars, two flat cars, and one coal car, the road moved substantial quantities of freight over the 56-pound, four-feet, eight-and-one-half-inch steel rails. Standard size freight cars of other lines were regularly switched off the east-west railroad at Blaine. This road, by the 1900's called the Leavenworth, Kansas & Western, was some 165 miles in length. The K. S. & G. baggage-passenger coach, too, provided a steady means of revenue between Blaine and Westmoreland, and the several rural stations en route.

Crewmen recalled by Westmoreland residents on the old K. S. & G. included John H. Smith, engineer; C. W. Armentrout and Warren Kelley, firemen; and Charlie Cree, conductor.

Despite its brave efforts to give the heart of Pottawatomie county adequate rail service, the Kansas, Southern & Gulf eventually ran into financial straits. Early in 1909 the line, reputed to have lost something like \$20,000 for its owners and operators, was declared bankrupt.

It was at this point that Charlie Morris stepped into the picture to brighten the transportation situation for years to come. Morris, aged 60 in 1909, had come to northeast Pottawatomie county in 1870 where he had homesteaded a farm near Wheaton. Between 1888 and 1892 he had served the county as sheriff and had moved his residence to the county seat. He had become interested in the Farmers State Bank of Westmoreland and had also returned to active politics, being elected to the Kansas state legislature for the 1909 and 1911 sessions as the county's representative.

Early in 1909 Morris became receiver for the defunct K. S. & G.

and for something like three years tussled with the problem of making the little eight-mile-long steam line pay. Then in 1912 his plan to revolutionize and improve the midget railroad was revealed. The January 25, 1912, issue of the *Westmoreland Recorder* announced that the Wamego and Rock Creek Railroad Co. had been chartered to connect the K. S. and G. with the Union Pacific main line at Wamego over a roadbed running southeast from Westmoreland to Louisville and on south into Wamego, a distance of some 15 miles. Morris was elected president of the new company. The plan was to give the K. S. and G. a southern outlet to a main-line railroad at Wamego, thus greatly increasing its value via the projected 15-mile southern extension. During 1912 the route was surveyed, right-of-way was secured and grading was partly completed from Westmoreland to Louisville. Unfortunately, further operations were halted and the line never reached Wamego, let alone the Gulf-of-Mexico part of its brave little title.

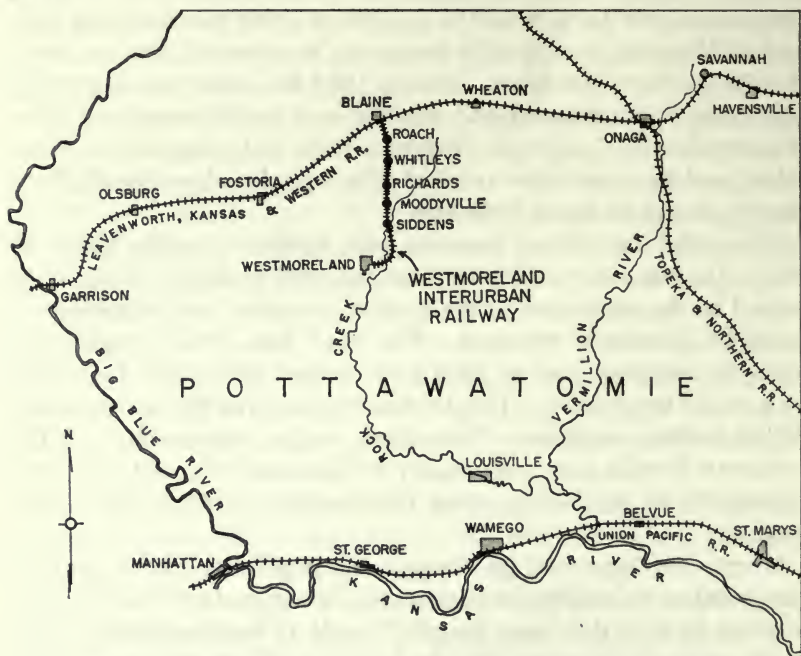
Of parallel importance, however, was another move by Morris in 1912. He was convinced that there was still profitable business to be had on the steam line, if the costs of operation and maintenance could be drastically trimmed. The line's lone steam engine was costly to maintain, and in 1909 had stymied operations for weeks by a major breakdown. This locomotive required the services of a skilled railway engineer. The steam engine, the coach, and the numerous freight cars were heavy vehicles and the old ties, predominantly of soft wood, were deteriorating rapidly under such weight.

Morris was impressed by the growing popularity of the gasoline automobile now making its appearance throughout the country, and resolved to give this "new fangled" mode of transportation a trial on his railroad. In early 1912 he bought a White steamer of 1907 vintage, a touring car, and had it put on railroad trucks in front and railroad wheels in the rear to fit the rail line. The success of this vehicle in supplementing passenger service from Westmoreland to Blaine led him to retire the heavy passenger-baggage coach from the steam train.

In the same year Morris purchased a new 1912 Mitchell touring car and had it fitted similarly, for freight service. Ole Olson of Westmoreland was hired to custom-build four little wooden freight cars of "hayrack" proportions, mounted on railroad wheels.

The White steamer proved adequate as a passenger carrier and the Mitchell touring car soon demonstrated it could successfully

pull two or three of the 8 x 12-foot freight cars each trip. The heavy steam locomotive and some of the freight equipment were retained for several months to handle carload freight, but it was eventually found cheaper to make three or four trips with the Mitchell and the hayrack freight cars than to use the locomotive and one standard freight vehicle. Some time in 1913 the steam engine and freight cars were sold, the passenger-baggage coach was retired and central Pottawatomie county could point to a unique form of rail transportation.



The Railroads of Pottawatomie County in the Early 1900's.

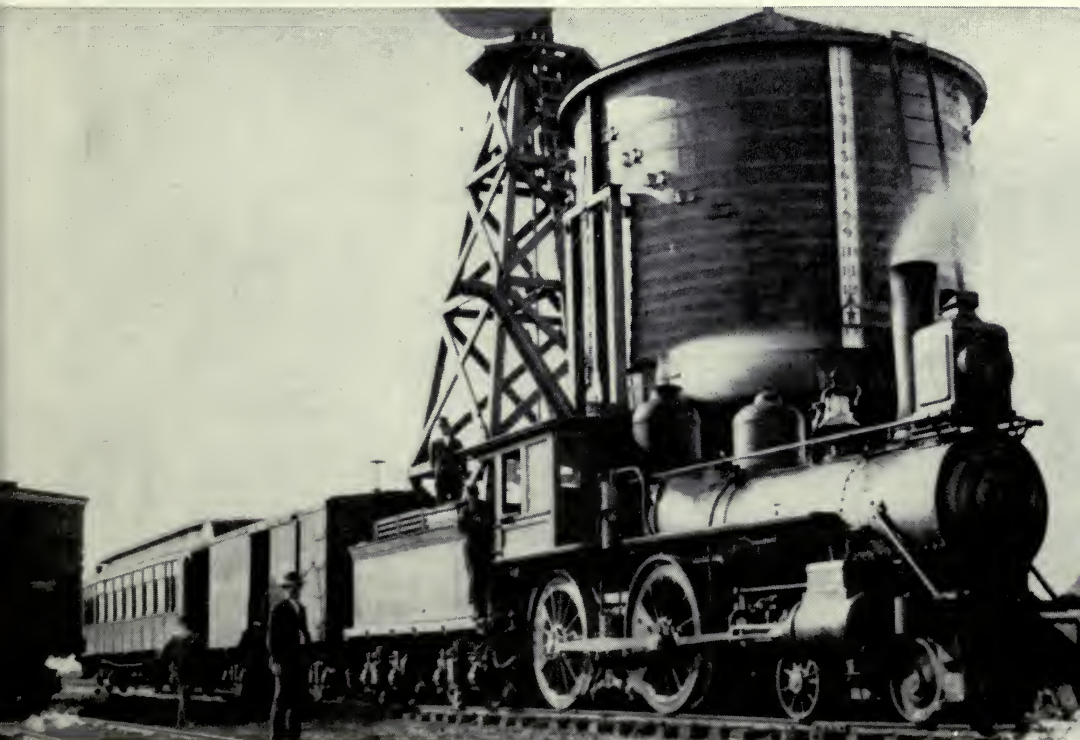
Guy Morris, one of Charlie's sons, became bookkeeper for the firm and a regular driver of the interurban autos; while Chet Walden of Westmoreland assisted in the auto piloting duties. Charlie Morris himself was known to take a turn occasionally at driving the autos along the rails.

The line began in the northeast part of Westmoreland. The original K. S. & G. roundhouse was remodeled and enlarged into a car barn and ticket-selling depot, with John Smith, ex-K. S. & G. engineer, in charge. A small depot, independent of the L. K. & W. station, also sold interurban tickets in Blaine.

ROLLING STOCK OF THE KANSAS, SOUTHERN & GULF RAILROAD



Views of "Old Betsy," formerly Rock Island's No. 218, the steam locomotive which provided most of the power for this Pottawatomie county railroad from 1904 to 1913. Although its early operators were ambitious to make it a Gulf road, the line succeeded only in serving the Westmoreland-Blaine territory, a distance of eight miles! All photos courtesy Shelby F. Cambell, Westmoreland.



At the Union Pacific water tank at Blaine.

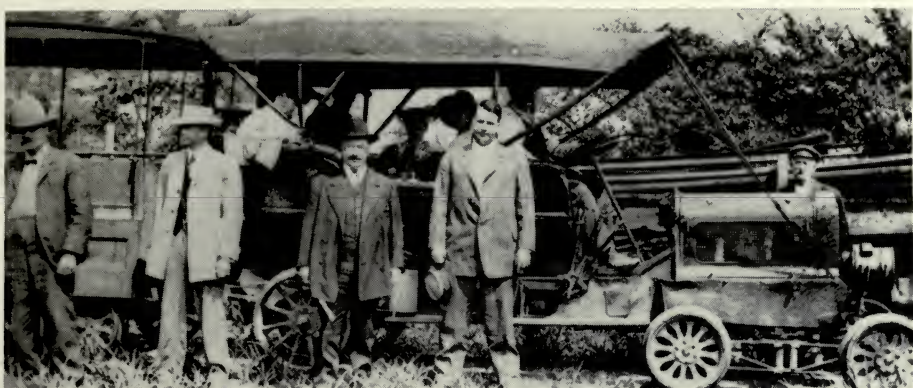


Lacking locomotive turntables or wyes, the steam train could not turn around. Thus it is said that no matter which way the engine traveled it was always "headed" for Blaine! At the height of steam service, the line had, besides the locomotive, a passenger-baggage coach, one coal, two box and two flat cars.

Upper: At the Westmoreland depot.

Lower: Close-up of "Old Betsy." L. W. Crowl, one-time owner, is at left.



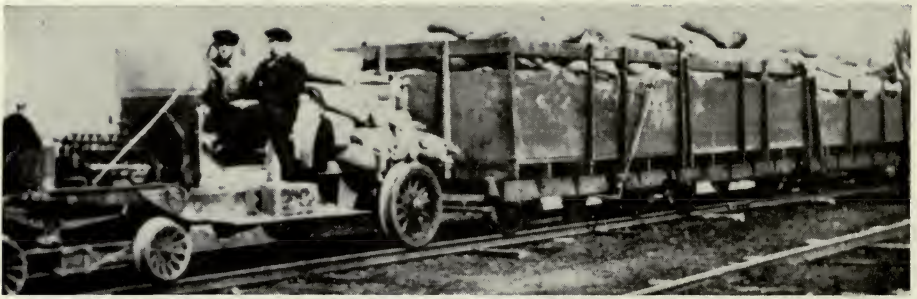


The locomotive proved too expensive to operate, and as early as 1912 converted motor cars were being used as motive power.

Upper: The company's first rail auto was reportedly a converted 1907 White steamer, which pulled a canopied trailer. At the left is Charlie Morris, operator of the line from 1909 till his death in 1915.

Center: The 1912 Mitchell rail auto and custom-made trailers, at the Westmoreland auto turntable.

Lower: The wreck of the Mitchell rail auto on Rock creek bridge, November 27, 1914.



Upper: Another view of the Westmoreland interurban auto service, loaded with a reported 15 tons of freight.

Center: Part of the Westmoreland depot with drayman Frank Bowers behind the wagon. The other individual is not identified.

Lower: The engine ditched northeast of Westmoreland, in the early 1900's.

Competition from privately-owned automobiles and trucks, together with the gradual improvement of county roads, forced the abandonment of this 18-year-old interurban railroad by late 1918.

The route swept northeast from Westmoreland in a new-moon arch across Rock Creek twice, to Siddens station and stockyards, and on to Moodyville, four and one-half miles northeast of the county seat. Here the company maintained a ticket-selling depot, a passing track, and a stockyard, with a Mr. Moody acting as agent. From this point the line arched slightly northwest through the stations of Richards, Whitleys, Roach, and finally to the south end of Blaine.

The road's passenger schedule included a 7:30 A. M. morning trip from Westmoreland to Blaine and back in the White steamer, a similar four o'clock run in the afternoon and, in later years, a final trip in the late evening to meet a passenger train on the L. K. & W. at Blaine. The autos were fitted with headlights, making after-dark operation possible. The Mitchell touring car and its four hayrack freight vehicles operated on no set schedule, but were known to have made as many as five trips a day when the occasion demanded. It was the custom to load two of the little freight cars in Westmoreland, or intermediate points, and pull them into Blaine, leaving the cars to be unloaded at the L. K. & W. junction, to be returned for on a subsequent trip.

There was no loop, no "Y", no "V" on the line; the autos used turntables at both Westmoreland and at Blaine. The old K. S. & G. steam locomotive, which could not turn around, was said to have made its runs always headed toward Blaine!

Mail, baggage, and express shipments were made between stations by the passenger auto. However, when passenger traffic warranted it, the Mitchell freight auto would also carry human fares, thus assuming the proportions of a "mixed train daily."

The company maintained no trade-getting amusement park in either Westmoreland or Blaine, as did many Kansas interurban railways. However, a recreational area at Moodyville, near the halfway point, boasted a small lake and facilities for picnicking, swimming, fishing, and boating. The little park attracted many interurban fares in its heyday, during the pre-World War I years.

Construction features of the line, originally installed by the steam railroad, included two wood-pile bridges over Rock creek northeast of Westmoreland, a deep cut into the hillside near Siddens and another called the Valburg cut just south of Blaine. The cuts were a source of worry to the management during the winter months, for heavy snows would block these areas until the deep drifts could be removed. Harry Chilcott of Westmoreland, for three years in

charge of track maintenance during the interurban years, remembers the anxious days of heavy snows when rail service was temporarily stymied by the elements. "I also remember leaning out in front of the moving interurban auto," said Chilcott, "and sweeping the snow off the tracks as we slowly proceeded."

The two wood-pile bridges gave interurban crews no particular trouble, except on one occasion. The afternoon of November 27, 1914, a group of boys were accused of playing on one bridge and of inadvertently leaving a bar of angle iron lying half-hidden on the trestle. The Mitchell auto and one freight car, returning to Westmoreland, approached the bridge from the north and the auto struck the angle arm, separating the car from the front railroad trucks, throwing the wheels into the creek bed and leaving the car dizzily suspended on the bridge. Damage was assessed at \$200. Fortunately, the little freight car was securely attached to the auto, holding the motor vehicle on the bridge and preventing bodily injury to the driver.

The agricultural pursuits of Pottawatomie county sustained the life of the little railway for years. The Mitchell auto and its freight cars were said to have hauled anything the people desired, including lumber, coal, sand, cattle, wheat, corn, poultry, produce, and general merchandise. At its best, the company of the mid-1910's employed seven people. Relations between management and labor were said by ex-employees to have been smooth. Charlie Morris was said to have regularly met his paydays and there were no instances recalled of disputes or strikes.

In May, 1914, the line emerged from five years of receivership in a sheriff's sale. Charlie Morris purchased the road for a reported \$6,800, reorganized it, set up a board of directors, and on July 1, changed the name to the Westmoreland Interurban railway. Morris retained most of the new company's stock in his own name. During his term as receiver Morris was said to have bought and had installed over a thousand oak ties along the roadbed to replace softwood ties.

The year 1915 loomed as the brightest yet for the reorganized concern. Unable to succeed in the projected 1912 southward extension, Morris that year expanded by utilizing another, already existing, line in the county. Passenger schedules on the L. K. & W. apparently had deteriorated and were unsatisfactory both east and west out of Blaine. Morris proposed to the Union Pacific railroad, then in control of the L. K. & W., that he be allowed to run a passenger auto over L. K. & W. tracks the 12 miles from Blaine east to

Onaga. This would give the Westmoreland railway a direct connection with the morning and evening motor rail cars of the Topeka & Northern railroad at Onaga, also a Union Pacific affiliate. Morris was reported to have gotten a favorable reception from U. P. officials and had made plans by early summer for the purchase of a new passenger auto to be fitted with railway trucks for service on the expanded schedule.

But on the afternoon of Thursday, June 17, 1915, the elements dealt the Morris line a crippling blow. Northeast Kansas had been experiencing a period of frequent storms. That afternoon new outbursts of rain sent Rock creek nearly bankfull. Mr. Morris, his son Guy, and six other men, drove the 1907 White steamer northeast of Westmoreland to check the possibilities of flood. There, on supposed high ground between the two bridges, the eight men were trapped by a wall of water and were swept into the flooded stream. Charlie Morris, Guy Morris, and John C. Gunter, proprietor of Westmoreland's Star Drug Store, were drowned. The other five men—Chester Walden, Harry Chilcott, Warren Kelley, and Wayne Grutzmacher, all of Westmoreland, and F. P. Smithmeyer, a Poehler Mercantile Co. salesman from Lawrence—managed to grasp tree limbs, then climb up into the trees, from which they were rescued hours later.

After the county recovered from one of its most tragic days, during which there were also two deaths by lightning near Wamego and six deaths from a tornado near Onaga, the fate of the road hung in the balance. However, in July a group of men headed by George F. Richardson of Westmoreland bought the property from Mrs. Charles Morris and her six surviving children. Richardson rebuilt the Rock creek washout and daily service was restored by the middle of August.

Richardson further improved the line by purchasing an International truck, fitted with railway wheels, to be used on freight runs. However, the proposed extension of passenger service to Onaga was never consummated and the interurban remained an eight-mile railroad.

The rapid increase of privately owned automobiles and trucks and the gradual improvement of Pottawatomie county roads cut deeply into revenues by World War I years. Business was uncertain enough so that in 1918 Richardson negotiated with a railroad salvage firm to junk the line, to take advantage of high war-time prices for steel. But fate again dealt the management a cruel economic blow when the war suddenly ended and the price of steel scrap tumbled.

The salvage firm backed away, and Richardson was forced to junk and sell the equipment as best he could.

The Westmoreland *Recorder* of October 3, 1918, reported: "A meeting will be held at the City Hall, Westmoreland, Wednesday, October 9, at 8 P. M. to consider what steps, if any, shall be taken to keep the Westmoreland Interurban railroad in operation. This is an important matter to the people of this community. Attend the meeting." The notice was signed by Mayor C. D. Powell of the city. The same paper on October 17 declared that the interurban line would probably be junked, saying that it would cost about \$4,000 to repair the road and equipment and that highway truck competition was steadily gaining on the road. It was understood that if the line were junked the city of Westmoreland, once the owner of the company, would share in the receipts of sale.

Finally on November 14 the *Recorder* declared: "The junking of the Westmoreland Interurban railroad will commence this week. The iron has been sold to be delivered F. O. B. at Blaine. . . . Westmoreland is already arranging to bring in its goods and ship out produce, etc., by trucks."

By early 1919 the railway was history and the eight-mile roadbed had been denuded of its steel rails.

The once-vital Leavenworth, Kansas & Western railroad through Blaine held onto life as a Union Pacific branch for another decade and a half, although its service left much to be desired. On this point, the March 27, 1919, issue of the *Recorder* said that by using both the L. K. & W. and a star mail route via truck from Blaine to Westmoreland, "it takes as long for a letter to go from Wheaton to Westmoreland [about 20 miles] as it does from Chicago." In the later years of its life, the east-west L. K. & W. was affectionately dubbed the "Look, Kuss & Wait." By the summer of 1935, this strip of railroad steel, too, was gone, with only the roadbed to show for the one-time 165 mile line.

Passenger and mail service northward from Westmoreland was taken up by a star mail route from Wamego to Blaine upon the demise of the interurban. The mail truck would also take passengers each way. Finally, private autos became the sole means of covering the eight miles between the two towns.

By 1962 Westmoreland and Blaine had long since returned to their original status as inland towns. Westmoreland remains the county seat and has a population of 460, the census count showing a fluctuation of less than 100 over a period of 60 years. Blaine re-

mains a town of under 200. Wamego is the "big town" of the county, still on the Union Pacific's Kansas City-to-Denver main line, with a population of 2,363. St. Marys, also on the U. P. main line, is the only other town in the county to best the thousand mark, with a count of 1,509. Onaga, on the U. P.'s converted heavy freight line, the old T. & N., from Topeka to the company's main line junction at Grand Island, Neb., boasts a population of 850.

Westmoreland is today a town of modern autos, trucks, service stations, and garages. Little remains along the eight-mile countryside north to Blaine to remind the citizenry of the interurban years, save clefts in the hills or raised mounds of earth in the meadows and fields. But in the north part of Westmoreland, the wooden body of the old K. S. & G. baggage-passenger coach, rotting and rusting in a back yard, keeps its date with destiny, and gently reminds of the days when the town was the proud terminal of a bona fide railroad.

German Settlements Along the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway

A Translation From the German

J. NEALE CARMAN, Translator and Annotator

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE PROBABLE author of the following paper is C. B. Schmidt, general European immigration agent for the Santa Fe railroad at the time of its composition (for biographical sketch of Schmidt see *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), pp. 485, 486). In 1881 the Santa Fe issued in German a pamphlet to promote immigration to Kansas. Most of it is a translation of the English pamphlet current at the same time, however a number of pages were added describing the German communities in Kansas. It would have been C. B. Schmidt's function to write these pages, and the internal evidence in them points to his authorship. The following is a translation of these pages (39-46) of *Neuestes von Kansas und seinen Hilfsquellen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ländereien der Atchison Topeka und Santa Fé Eisenbahn*.

No date of publication is given, but the contemporary allusions fix the time about 1881. The name Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company which Schmidt keeps repeating has been abbreviated in the translation. Schmidt's account is fairly accurate. It is also fairly complete, though he omits settlements in Reno, Rice, Stafford, and Edwards counties which had already been founded.

II. THE TRANSLATION

According to the census of 1880 the population of the state of Kansas amounted in round numbers to 1,000,000 persons, of whom about 200,000 use the German language. Of these latter half were born in Germany and immigrated here, while the other half is merely of German origin. By far the greatest part of the Germans in Kansas are from the older states of the Union, to which they came some years ago from the mother country, and then moved on to Kansas. The reason for this migration has in most cases been the sharp rise in the cost of farms in the older states, which has made it difficult for the farmers to provide for their sons as they grow up. Whole families have therefore gone to Kansas, after they had

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advantageously sold their expensive farms and when they were in a position with the money received to secure in many cases 20 times as much land in Kansas as they had owned before, and land, besides, that surpassed the old farms in productivity. The most significant contingent of this class of German population in Kansas has come from the states of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania. It should be significant to European emigrants that the well-to-do German farmers of those rich Middle Western states of the Union have preferred to settle in Kansas.

As in all American states, the German element in Kansas is scattered. In the cities we find our fellow countrymen in the stores and workshops; we find Germans as doctors, teachers, preachers, lawyers, newspaper editors, and politicians. In short no career is barred to them. In the majority of cases, however, the German is established in the country as a wheat and corn farmer, as a fruit, wine, and vegetable gardener, and as a cattle raiser. Wherever the German farmer has once set foot, there is no place left for the American farmer to stay. The former, because of his industry and great endurance, surpasses and finally absorbs the farm of his American neighbor. Thus along the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway, populous, blooming German colonies have sprung up, the most important of which we mention below.

Not far from Cottonwood railway station in Chase county in the Diamond creek valley (creeks are small tributary streams) we find a settlement of North Germans, Lutherans in faith. They occupy themselves with great success with cattle raising and dairying, to which that region is particularly well adapted on account of its wealth of running water. The post office for this settlement is called Woodhull.¹ Land in great quantity is still available in the near neighborhood with 11 years credit, priced at from \$2 to \$17 an acre. Mr. G. W. McWilliams, the local land agent of the railroad at Cottonwood Falls is ready at any time to show the lands in this neighborhood. About 23 miles southwest from Cottonwood we reach the station of Florence, situated like Cottonwood station on the Cottonwood river. Here two branch lines of the Santa Fe originate. One, the Marion and McPherson railroad, runs in a northwesterly direction through Marion Center, McPherson Center, and Lyons to Ellinwood, and the other directly south to El Dorado under the name of the Florence, El Dorado, and Walnut Valley railroad.

Let us first follow this last to Burns station, 18 miles south of

1. Woodhull was on Diamond creek, Sec. 29, T. 18, R. 7 E. The settlement never became important.

Florence. Here we find the German colony of St. Francis. A society with 100 members, all Roman Catholic in religion, which was organized in the city of Cincinnati and sponsored by the Franciscan fathers of that city, in 1879 bought 3,200 acres of land from the railroad company in the immediate neighborhood of the station; an additional 3,200 acres are held in reserve for the society. Only 25 families have settled there so far; the rest will follow as soon as they have settled up their business.² The Franciscan order here is superintending the erection of church, school, and monastic buildings, for which purpose an allotment of land has been set aside next to the colony. Mr. Jacob Miller in Florence, Marion county, Kan., the true founder of this colony, is at any time ready to give information by letter concerning it. The region between the two streams Martin creek and Middle creek in Marion county, 10 to 20 miles north of Florence,³ is now ardently sought by German farmers from northern Illinois around Chicago. Mr. Henry Stassen of Monee, Ill., gave the first impetus to this movement, when he bought several sections of land in this neighborhood as representative of a Protestant (Baptist) congregation. Almost every week this settlement receives an additional group from Illinois regularly consisting of well-to-do and distinguished agriculturists.

The next railroad station is Marion Center, charmingly located on the Cottonwood river at the mouths of Mud and Martin creeks. Marion Center⁴ is the county seat of Marion county and counts some 1,100 inhabitants, among whom there are many German and Bohemian-German merchants. About six miles eastward is located Youngtown⁵ post office, in the midst of a settlement of German Lutherans from the neighborhood of Halberstadt. Prominent among them is Mr. Carl Doty (Address: Youngtown, Marion county, Kan.). He has been living here for several years in the company of two brothers and other relatives, who all have farmed with good success. North of Youngtown in the neighborhood of Lincolnville,⁶ still in Marion county, is the Saxon colony of Carola founded in the spring

2. The present Catholic establishment in Burns is on the original site, an important, though not completely possessive, element in the town's life.

3. Straight north from Florence would conflict with other settlements described later. Apparently the Elk community somewhat farther east is meant (post office in 1885 on Sec. 7, T. 19, R. 6 E.). It did not become strongly Baptist, but has Methodist and Missouri Lutheran (formerly German Lutheran) churches. In 1948 the Immanuel Lutheran church had 149 baptized.

4. Marion Center has become Marion. There were more Volga Germans than Bohemian Germans there at the time. Schmidt should have said "Mud and Clear creek."

5. Youngtown (on Sec. 20, T. 19, R. 5 E.) was from the beginning primarily an Evangelical (now E. U. B.) settlement. A church of that denomination (83 members in 1948) was organized in 1874. It is all that marks the location of the place.

6. Lincolnville is a strong Missouri Lutheran community. St. John's church in 1948 had 358 baptized; it was organized in 1877. German settlement began in 1869.

of 1880, now consisting of 10 families, who will be followed in the course of this year by many families from Saxony. From this group west to Mud creek is situated a Bohemian colony of about 25 families founded eight years ago.⁷ The railroad company still has for sale hundreds of thousands of acres of its best lands in an area of 150 square miles within which all these last four colonies are situated. The most closely situated stations are Florence on the main line and Marion Center on the branch line. The railroad land agents Thomas Morrison in Florence and Case and Billings in Marion Center are always ready to show lands in this area to immigrants.

Westward from Marion Center stretch for 50 miles from the Cottonwood river to the little Arkansas over a width of 10 to 15 miles north to south the frequently reported settlements of Mennonite immigrants from South Russia, specifically from the Crimea.⁸ The immigration of these model farmers in its time caused a great deal of comment.⁹ It began in the year 1873 and has continued up till now. The number of their colonies in Kansas comes to about 20 with a population of 12,000, principally in Marion, McPherson, Harvey, and Reno counties, all within the area served by the Santa Fe. Precisely as a consequence of the unexampled blooming of these model German colonies the construction of the branch line from Florence to McPherson became necessary.

The various separate settlements all bear German names, as for example Gnadenau, under the congregational elders Jacob Wiebe and Peter Eckert, Bruderthal with William Ewert as elder, Johannesthal with Benjamin Unruh; Alexanderfeld, Rosenort, Hoffnungsau, Hoffnungsthal, Weidefeld, Hochfeld, Grünfeld, Springfeld, Gnadenthal, Gnadenfeld, Emmathal, and, the largest of all, New-Alexanderwohl under the congregational elders Jacob Buller and Heinrich Richert.¹⁰ The whole neighborhood now has the character of a 25-year-old culture, although eight years ago it was nothing but an immense, undulating prairie. Now it is a huge, beautiful garden. The cities of Marion Center, Peabody, Hillsboro, Halstead, Burrton, Hutchinson, and most especially Newton particularly thank these great German colonies for their prosperity and their brisk business life. Newton in Harvey county is the favored market for the whole Mennonite territory. In the neighborhood of Lehigh

7. These are the Pilsen Czechs.

8. Only a few were from the Crimea. Most of the Mennonites were from Molotschna river settlements just above the Crimea.

9. The comment still goes on. See particularly C. Henry Smith, Harold S. Bender, Cornelius Krahn, and Melvin Gingerich, eds., *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (1955-1959, Newton, Hillsboro, and Scottsdale, Pa.).

10. Many of these names have persisted as the names of Mennonite churches but some of them have disappeared. See the reference in Footnote 8.

station, 25 miles north of Newton (pronounced Liehei) in the spring of 1880 a company of Wurtembergers from the neighborhood of Stuttgart and Cannstadt settled. During the course of this year (1881) they expect a further numerous contingent from their old home.¹¹

One of the most prosperous German settlements in the whole west of the United States is that of the West Prussians in Butler county, easily accessible from the cities of Peabody in Marion county and Newton in Harvey county.¹² It consists of about 30 families, the first of whom emigrated in the year 1876 from the Vistula delta near Marienburg. These immigrants, on account of their solid prosperity, awakened the attention of the whole country. They have provided their new home with every comfort and their buildings are extensive and imposing. Most of them own a full square mile (640 acres) of land and much livestock.

On the way from Newton to these Prussian settlements we pass through the German colony of Goldschar,¹³ which is also rich. It was founded by Mr. Herman Sudermann (address, Newton, Kan.) who with a number of friends immigrated from South Russia and West Prussia, also in 1876. We also pass through the Polish German colony of Gnadenberg,¹⁴ consisting of more than 50 families.

Newton may be regarded as the center of the great German colonies in Kansas.¹⁵ As the main office of the Santa Fe's bureau for European immigration is located here, all German emigrants are advised to come here first where the German general agent, C. B. Schmidt, or his representatives will extend to them all needed help in the choice of a new home. From here a branch line runs through Wichita, Wellington, and Winfield to Caldwell and Arkansas City on the south border of Kansas. Wichita, 27 miles south of Newton, is a city of 5,000 inhabitants of whom 2,000 are German.¹⁶ It lies in

11. The Wurtembergers became nearly lost among the Mennonites to the south and the Volga Germans to the north. Schmidt's failure to mention the Volgans in Marion, at Strassburg, just northwest of Marion, north of Lehigh, and near Durham a little farther north is curious. These groups were already well established by this time, and some were more prosperous than other groups which he mentions. The Scully purchases doubtless had something to do with the omission.

12. These people were (and are) also Mennonites. The towns they are in and near are Whitewater and Elbing. Elbing is a name they imported.

13. Another Mennonite group from various European settlements. The Goldschar settlement was rather east than south of Newton, two and one-half miles out. The church organized there in 1878 moved into town in 1884.

14. Gnadenberg (church name changed to Grace Hill in 1954, 197 members in 1955) is still another Mennonite settlement. These people were from near Berdichev—Volhynians but separate from the group discussed in Barton county further on, Footnote 24.

15. Schmidt exaggerates for his advertising purposes, but Newton was (and is) an important German center, mainly but by no means exclusively for Mennonites. Zion Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, had 372 baptized in 1948. The Mennonite churches have about 1,400 members.

16. There were in Wichita 570 foreign-born Germans in a population of 16,000 in 1885. In 1895 Wichita contained 740 foreign-born Germans with whom lived 715 children. The city's population was then 20,841.

a rich agricultural district and is surrounded by German colonies from all sections of Germany. The most important of these is St. Mark's colony,¹⁷ 12 miles west of Wichita consisting of about 100 Catholic families from the neighborhood of Trier. They lived first in Minnesota for several years and moved to Kansas in 1873 because of the long winters prevailing there.

Ten miles west of Newton on the main line of the Santa Fe lies the little German city of Halstead with 1,880 inhabitants. It is the shopping center and supply point for a rich settlement from the Palatinate, which was founded here in 1873.¹⁸ These colonists had been settled for many years in southern Illinois and southern Iowa and had arrived at significant prosperity there. So as to increase their land holdings, in January, 1873, 30 of their families bought from the Santa Fe 43,000 acres and shared with the railroad company in the founding and advancement of the town of Halstead. A German newspaper: *Zur Heimath*, edited by David Goerz, appears here, and enjoys a wide circulation. The colony from the Palatinate stretches as much as 25 miles¹⁹ north from Halstead and has acquired since its beginning at least 100 families.

The little city of Ellinwood on the Arkansas river in Barton county, 75 miles west of Newton is the center of the "Germania" colony, founded in the year 1873 by the German general agent of the Santa Fe, Mr. C. B. Schmidt. It consists of about 500 families of every religious denomination from all parts of Germany, Austria,²⁰ and Switzerland.

Mr. F. A. Steckel, whose residence in Ellinwood is pictured in this pamphlet from a photograph, is in an excellent position to give information concerning the Germania colony, and will gladly do so. Ellinwood has 800 inhabitants and here is the junction of Marion and McPherson branch and the Santa Fe main line. Barton county besides Germania colony has other important German, Austrian, and Russian German²¹ colonies. This county, because of its remarkable wheat land, has been the preferred goal of German farmers ever since the construction of the railroad, so that now half of its popula-

17. The Germans in this Colwich-Andale-St. Mark's region numbered about 1,300 in 1895.

18. Many of these people were Mennonites. About 1955 the Mennonite churches had 500 members, the town 1,300 inhabitants, but only about 100 of the Mennonites lived in town. A German Methodist church flourished till World War I.

19. As this statement indicates, the Palatinate group cuts through the Russian Mennonites. Except for a flourishing Missouri Lutheran church, Immanuel (271 members in 1948), these Germans are Mennonites too.

20. The Germania colony made Ellinwood and its neighborhood. Apparently with the word "Austria" Schmidt meant to include the Moravian Germans at Odin, 15 miles north and three west. There were 600 Germans there in 1895.

21. Schmidt says no more of the Russian Germans in the north part of the county because they were a Kansas Pacific settlement. They were from the Volga area.

tion is German by language. The most fertile part of the county is the valley of the Walnut river. At its junction with the Arkansas is situated the county seat, Great Bend. In the Walnut valley 12 miles above Great Bend lies the Russian German colony, Gnaden-thal,²² consisting of about 50 Protestant families who in the year 1874 and 1875 immigrated here from the Saratov government in Russia. This colony borders on a flourishing Austrian settlement to the northeast. It is called Tribenz²³ after the old home town of the first colonists in Moravia.

In the immediate vicinity of the railroad between the stations of Great Bend and Pawnee Rock stretches a row of buildings²⁴ three miles long inhabited by Germans from Volhynia. These people were weavers in the old country, and most of them held plowhandles here for the first time. Nonetheless this colony too is making encouraging progress. The most western outposts of German colonization are to be found in Ford county, near Offerle and Spearville stations, 150 miles west of Newton. There are three of them, St. Joseph's colony (Catholic) made up of Alsations,²⁵ the Catholic Aurora colony, organized in Cincinnati in the year 1877, consisting of 100 families that own about 10,000 acres, in the middle of which the little city of Windhorst²⁶ is situated, and finally a Lutheran Saxon colony,²⁷ whose founder, Mr. Friederich Israel, came from Illinois to Kansas in the year 1876. The nearest post office and railroad station to the three colonies is Offerle in Edwards county, although the settlements themselves are situated in bordering Ford county.

Besides these closed colonies, mostly based on religious kinship, we find a far larger number of German and Austrian farmers scattered among American settlers in all parts of the state. Above everything it is to be emphasized that the immigrant, even if he is ignorant of the English language, need not feel himself isolated here, that on the contrary he will find many neighborhoods just as German as the one he left in the old country.

22. These were Volgans; Saratov is on the Volga. Twelve miles above Great Bend on the Walnut is two miles east of Albert and is at the edge of the present Volga German territory in Rush county, which extends many miles to the west beyond Santa Fe grants, since the railroad, following the great bend of the Arkansas, turns southwest.

23. This is Olmitz, also a Moravian name. The inhabitants of the area are part Czech, part German, all Catholics, about 600 in 1895.

24. Schmidt says *Wirtschaftsgebäuden*, which usually means farm buildings, including outhouses. As a matter of fact, these were boxcars. These people were Mennonites who arrived at the end of 1874, desperately poor. Their religious brethren helped, but the Santa Fe provided the boxcars on the siding. They did make "encouraging progress." Their church had 223 members in 1953.

25. The St. Joseph colony was in the extreme northeastern corner of Ford county—in fact extended into Hodgeman county. The church was rather long ago moved into the town of Offerle.

26. Windhorst some 25 miles east of Dodge City appears on 20th century maps. It consists almost entirely of a thriving Catholic establishment.

27. This Lutheran group is just east of the Windhorst Catholics. Their churches are not two miles apart.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART SEVEN, 1833-1834

1833

About the first of January, Kiowa (and Comanche?) warriors attacked 12 Missouri-bound traders on the Canadian river route, in the present Texas Panhandle. (With "Judge" [J. H.?] Carr as captain, these men, with a mule pack-train carrying \$10,000, or more, in gold and silver, had left Santa Fe in December.)

"Pratt and Mitchell" were killed, several other men were wounded, and all the party's animals were lost during a 36-hour siege. Under cover of night, leaving their baggage and most of the money behind, the 10 survivors headed eastward on foot. Five of them soon left the river, took a direct route (crossing "Kansas"), and reached Missouri safely. Three of those who continued down the Canadian, near starvation, arrived at the Western Creek settlements after 42 days; while the last two (one of them William R. Schenck) were never heard from again.

Ref: James Mooney's "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* . . ., 1895-96, Pt. I, pp. 254-257; Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* . . . (New York, London, 1844), v. 2, pp. 49-53; Albert Pike's *Prose Sketches and Poems* . . . (Boston, 1834), pp. 80, 132; *Missionary Herald*, Boston, v. 29 (1833), p. 369; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, March 5, 1833; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, v. 44 (March 23, 1833), p. 51; *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, March 20, 1833; William Waldo's "Recollections," in *Glimpses of the Past*, St. Louis, v. 5, pp. 66-68 (Waldo identified four of the party as: Thomas Eustace, Judge Carr, Washington Chapman, and John Harris). The Kiowas recorded the event in their "calendar," but some accounts say the Indians were Comanches.

¶ On February 5 Agent R. W. Cummins wrote Sup't William Clark about property lost by Delaware chief Captain Pipe, William Monture, Isaac Hill, and Solomon Jonnicake (later "Journeycake"), while their party (about 30 persons) was en route from the Little Sandusky river, Ohio, to present Kansas. These men—all influential in their nation—were among the last of the Delawares to emigrate to the West.

Captain Pipe and his group left Ohio in the autumn of 1831, and spent the winter of 1831-1832 in Indiana. Presumably, despite the date of Cummins' letter, they had arrived in "Kansas" in the spring or summer of 1832. (Sup't William Clark's St. Louis records of emigrating Indians show a payment of \$25 on April 29, 1832, for a "horse furnished Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief"; another of \$10 on May 15 to "Moonshine" to "defray expenses" of some Delawares "on their way to Kansas river"; one of \$15 to George Ketchum [a Delaware], on June 4, for the same purpose; and other payments as late as Septem-

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ber 30, 1832, to various persons supplying provisions to small parties of "emigrating Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and Kaskaskias.")

Ref: Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, "Records" (SIA), v. 5, pp. 321, 330; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), pp. 691, 705, 722, 725, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 125, 126, v. 5 (Serial 248), pp. 12, 13, 57-61, 100-103; Grant Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, c1946), p. 69. For note on the "Journeycake" family see *Kansas Historical Collections (KHC)*, v. 12, p. 186.

¶ Following a three-day visit (February 23-25) by Baptists Johnston Lykins and Daniel French among the Delawares, the missionaries of "Shawanoë" Baptist Mission began regular preaching trips to Chief Nah-ko-min's village—the most remote of the Delaware settlements—over 10 miles from "Shawanoë" (and across the Kansas river—near present Edwardsville, Wyandotte co.). In this way Delaware Baptist Mission got its start.

On April 3 Isaac McCoy wrote: "We have made an arrangement with Mr. Blanchard . . . to remain with them [the Delawares]. . . . He will put up a little cabin for himself, and make a small garden—all by consent of the Indians." (Ira D. Blanchard, of Ohio—a young, self-appointed missionary—had been living among the Delawares for more than a year, learning their language. On April 21 he was baptized at "Shawanoë" Baptist Mission.)

Early in 1834 Nah-ko-min finally gave permission for Blanchard to build a house near the settlement. It was erected in the spring and early summer (on a site now within the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26, T. 11 S., R. 23 E., Delaware tp., Wyandotte co.); and on July 28, 1834, Jotham Meeker wrote: "Br. Blanchard commences housekeeping alone." McCoy's report, at the end of 1834, referred to the "small comfortable [18' x 20', story-and-a-half log] dwelling"; and stated that Blanchard was giving lessons at his house and at three other places among the Delawares; that arrangements had recently been made for erection of a schoolhouse; and that the Delawares who were Baptists met for church at "Shawanoë" Baptist Mission.

In February, 1835, Blanchard went East. He returned in June with his bride—Mary (Walton) Blanchard, and Sylvia Case (teacher). Meantime, work had been started on the 20-foot-square school, a kitchen, and other buildings.

The Blanchards and Miss Case were missionaries at Delaware Baptist Mission for some 12 years thereafter, and conducted a boarding (manual labor) school—almost as long as the mission was at the "Edwardsville" site. In the 1840's they had a native assistant—Charles Johnnycake (Journeycake). Another dwelling (18' x 20'; one-and-a-half stories) was added in 1843. Though the 1844 flood caused the near-by Delawares to move several miles away, the mission was unharmed, and work was disrupted for a few months only. In December, 1846, a frame meeting house (36' x 26') was completed—on a new site; and the mission was prospering in 1847. Late in 1847(?) Delaware Baptist Mission was turned over to the Rev. John G. Pratt, who moved it to a new location (about four miles northwest) before the year was over. The dismissal

of the previous missionaries was stated to be: "on account of immoralities of two of . . . [the mission's] members. . . ."

Ref: Isaac McCoy's "Journal," in Kansas State Historical Society (KHi) ms. division (especially entries in the February, 1833-December, 1835, period); Meeker's "Diary," in KHi ms. division, July 28, 1834, February 9, June 15, 27, 1835, entries (and various others, scattered); Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register*, January, 1835, pp. 25-27; a ms. report of the Shawnee and Delaware missions (dated September 10, 1835), in McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 22 (in KHi ms. division) for description of buildings; *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Boston, vols. 16-28 (1836-1848)—particularly the annual reports of North American missions; Comm'r of Indian Affairs (CIA) "Reports" (for 1842 and 1843); W. A. Seward Sharp's *History of Kansas Baptists* (Kansas City, 1940), pp. 33, 34; KHC, v. 12, p. 183n; *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (KHQ), v. 2, pp. 227-250; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (in lieu of his "Journal"), pp. 455, 456, 463; Johnston Lykins' letter of March 26, 1836, in Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 23; A. J. Paddock papers (in KHi ms. division) for some biographical data on the Blanchards. Five daughters (Lydia, Olive Ann, Myra, Abigail, and Rebecca) were born to the Blanchards at Delaware Baptist Mission.

¶ At Fort Leavenworth, in February, Maj. Bennet Riley's command (four Sixth U. S. infantry companies—about 120 men) was enlarged when Capt. Matthew Duncan's Company F (over 100 men) of the Mounted Rangers reported for duty.

(This sixth, and last-formed ranger company had been enlisted from the Vandalia, Ill., area, and mustered into service there, on November 5, 1832.)

For the Mounted Rangers' service in "Kansas," see, also, entries of May 15, and October.

Ref: *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 41, pp. 462-464; R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-1906), v. 22, pp. 253, 254 (for Maximilian's comment on the post garrison in April, 1833); J. T. Irving, Jr., *Indian Sketches* . . ., edited by John F. McDermott (Norman, c1955), pp. 24, 28, 44. This work is hereinafter cited as: J. T. Irving (McDermott edition). John F. McDermott's extensive research, and editorial notes, for this volume, and other works he has edited, have been of much help to the compiler of these annals. Special acknowledgement is due him, and herewith given.

¶ An act of March 2 provided for the raising of a United States dragoon regiment, to be headed by a colonel, with a command of 10 companies (60 privates to a company), and a complement of officers and noncoms; also, the President was authorized to discharge the Mounted Rangers.

[The U. S. dragoon regiment of 1833 became the *First U. S. dragoons* when, by act of May 23, 1836, another dragoon regiment was authorized. In 1861, by act of August 23, the First U. S. dragoons became the First U. S. cavalry.]

Henry Dodge (ranger commander) was made colonel of the (First) U. S. dragoons. Stephen W. Kearny (Third infantry) was selected as lieutenant colonel; and Richard B. Mason (First infantry) became the regiment's major. Appointed as captains were ex-infantry officers Clifton Wharton, Edwin V. Sumner, Reuben Holmes, Eustace Trenor, David Hunter; and ex-ranger officers Lemuel Ford, Nathan Boone, Jesse B. Browne, Jesse Bean, Matthew Duncan. (Holmes died November 4, 1833; and, as of that date, David Perkins was promoted captain.) The senior first lieutenant was Philip St. George Cooke.

Companies A-E were organized at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., during the summer and autumn. Under Col. Henry Dodge they set out November 20 for Fort Gibson (Okla.), and arrived at that post December 17 (after a journey, of some hardship, across Missouri and Arkansas territory).

Ref: U. S. *Statutes at Large*, v. 4, p. 652; [James Hildreth's] *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains* . . . (New York, 1836), pp. 35-37, 59; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 44 (March 16, 1833), p. 36, v. 45 (November 16, 1833), p. 192; *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, v. 5, p. 280; Louis Pelzer's *Henry Dodge* (Iowa City, 1911), pp. 80-87; Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), pp. 108, 109, 115.

¶ About 800 Osages from the Neosho towns (on the reservation in "Kansas"), and from the Verdigris towns (in "Oklahoma"), were present at Fort Gibson (Okla.) between March 13 and 28 when U. S. Comm'rs Stokes, Ellsworth, and Schermerhorn held treaty councils with them in an *unsuccessful* attempt to promote an exchange of the existing Osage reserve (granted under the 1825 treaty—see map, facing p. 177), for another farther north (between the Neosho and Kansas rivers). The commissioners also met continued resistance from Clermont's band to removing from the Verdigris to the Osage reservation in present Kansas. (The Verdigris Osages—more than a third of the whole nation—were some 50 miles south of the reserve.) Auguste P. Chouteau (trader) and his brother Paul Liguette Chouteau (Osage agent) had influential roles at these councils.

In a letter of April 2, the commissioners stated:

The Osages are a poor, almost naked and half starved people. The unexampled freshets in the fall [of 1832] swept away most of the corn and vegetables they had stored up for winter's use. The number of Osages is estimated by the agent at 6,000, and all but Requoius's [Missionary William C. Requa's, or the Hopefield] band were suffering from the want of food when the council was called. . . .

The Osage tribe have been divided by many jealousies and private feuds . . . Great rivalry as to rank has existed in the nation, and . . . at the council, it was a matter of contest who should be head chief. . . . [Clermont was considered the "principal or first chief" of the Osage nation. Of the reservation Osages, White Hair was the leader; Walking Rain (the Little Osages' chief) was subservient to him.]

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 207-230.

¶ By letter of March 30, Sup't William Clark, St. Louis, was notified (by the comm'r of Indian affairs) that his office would receive the following funds for the Delawares formerly of Missouri (per October 26, 1832, treaty terms):

To purchase stock and open farms—\$3,000; to pay "a person to attend their mill [then under construction?—see July entry], and for repairs for same for 1833"—\$500 (and Clark was instructed to take measures to establish the school and select a teacher); for merchandise—\$5,000; for payment of some Delaware

debts (money owed to traders William Gilliss [or, Gillis] and William Marshall)—\$12,000; annuities of \$100 each for Delaware chiefs Patterson, Tahwhee-la-len (or, Ketchum), and "Nea-coming" (Nah-ko-min; Nat-coming, etc.)—\$300.

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 634, 635; C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 370-372.

☐ The *Assiniboine* (Bernard Pratte, Jr., master), new steamboat of the American Fur Company (and larger, but lighter-draught than the *Yellowstone*), was sent up the Missouri early in the spring—in advance of the older craft.

Ultimately the *Assiniboine* went as far as Fort Union (at the mouth of the Yellowstone); left that place on June 26 with a full cargo of peltries, and reached St. Louis again on July 11.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 22, p. 240, v. 23, p. 12; H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade* . . . (New York, 1902), v. 1, pp. 357, 358; *Missouri Republican*, July 16, 1838.

☐ April 21.—The *Yellowstone*, on her third voyage to the upper Missouri, passed the mouth of the Kansas. Maximilian, prince of Wied-Neuwied (on a scientific journey), his servant, and a young Swiss artist, Charles Bodmer, were passengers; as were, on some stages of the journey, Indian agents John Dougherty and John F. A. Sanford; also Asst. Surg. Benjamin F. Fellowes; and the American Fur Company's Kenneth McKenzie and Lucien Fontenelle. In all, about 100 persons, mostly company employees, were aboard.

Maximilian noted the Kansas river's "clear green water," as contrasted with the muddy Missouri. "The steam-boat," he wrote, "has navigated the Konzas about seven miles upward, to a trading-post of the American Fur Company [the Chouteaus' post, of late 1828 origin—*see* p. 45]. . . ." Which steamboat?; and when (between 1828 and 1832) was the trip made? From the time of the *Western Engineer's* 1819 excursion of about a mile up the Kansas (*see* KHQ, v. 27, p. 501), to the voyage (or voyages?) referred to by Maximilian, no other steamboat had ventured up that river, so far as known. *See* further comment below.

Early on April 22 the *Yellowstone* reached the Fort Leavenworth landing—where she was thoroughly searched for contraband liquor. About seven barrels of "shrub," one of rum, one of wine, and two of whisky, were confiscated. Late in the afternoon, the trip upriver was continued.

On the 23d the steamboat passed Cow Island (Isle au Vache—*see* KHQ, v. 27, pp. 354, 382) "six miles in length, and covered with poplars [cottonwoods] and shave grass." Above the mouth of Independence creek, Maximilian noted the "naked grassy eminences, where a village of the Konzas formerly stood . . . [and the] Spaniards [*i. e.*, the French—*see* KHQ, v. 27, p. 88] had a post of a few soldiers. . . ."

The *Yellowstone* reached Fort Pierre (S. D.) the last of May; and shortly set out on the return trip. She arrived at St. Louis on June 21 with "a rich

cargo of skins." Maximilian and Bodmer continued upriver to other American Fur Company posts, then spent the winter of 1833-1834 at Fort Clark (N. D.). For their return to St. Louis see May, 1834, annals.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 22, pp. 237-328 (for Maximilian); *Missouri Republican*, June 25, 1833 (for the *Yellowstone's* return); Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade*, v. 1, p. 357. In the 1839 Coblenz edition of Maximilian's *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* . . . , v. 1, p. 271, the item on a steamboat voyaging up the Kansas reads: "Mit dem Dampfschiffe hat man den Konzas etwa 7 Meilen weit aufwärts beschifft, bis zu einem Handelsposten (Trading-Post) der American-Fur-Company, welchem gegenwärtig ein Bruder des Herrn Pierre Chouteau vorstand." The April 19, 1832, issue of the St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon* noted that the steamboat *Otto* "will leave today" for the "mouth of Kansas river." Was it, perhaps, the *Otto* which went up the Kansas to the Chouteaus' post? Or, could it have been the *Yellowstone*, which, in 1832, took an unusually long time (from April 16 to May 1) to travel from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth?

¶ In late April or early May White Hair and some 200 Osages (on foot) clashed with a mounted Kiowa war party (also around 200? in number), somewhere in northern Oklahoma of today. A heavy rainstorm terminated the battle. Probably this was the engagement reported by Missionary W. F. Vaill—see May 7 entry—in which 22 "Pawnees" [Kiwias?], and two Osages were reported killed.

Meantime, in late April, Clermont and some 300 Osage braves, having found and *back-tracked* the trail of the Kiowa war party, attacked the defenseless village (in present southwestern Oklahoma); massacred the women, children, and old men therein; cut off their victims' heads; burned the lodges; and departed for home with (it is said) over 100 new, and old (Kiowa-taken) scalps, and two Kiowa prisoners (a brother and sister, about 10 and 12).

At Clermont's town, in early May, the Osages spent several days celebrating the great "victory" over the Kiowas; while to the northward, at White Hair's and other Neosho river towns, at nearly the same time, Osages were celebrating a victory over the "Pawnee" (Kiowa) war party.

Ref: Grant Foreman's *Advancing the Frontier* . . . (Norman, 1933), pp. 118-119; *Missionary Herald*, v. 29 (1833), pp. 368-370 (W. F. Vaill's journal); Foreman's *Pioneer Days* . . . , pp. 117-119; *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* . . . , 1895-96, Pt. II, pp. 257-260. Vaill called Clermont's Kiowa victims "Pawnees"; and it appears that White Hair's braves battled Kiowas rather than "Pawnees." As noted in Foreman's *Pioneer Days* . . . , p. 116: "Pawnee was the elastic term by which they roughly classified prairie Indians in the southwest and denoted particularly Pawnee Picts or Pique, Tawehash or Wichita Indians."

¶ **MARRIED:** William Thomas Ward, of Fayette, Mo., and Christiana McCoy, on May 2, at the home of the bride near "Westport," Mo., by her father, the Rev. Isaac McCoy. (This was one of the first marriages in the vicinity of soon-founded "Westport.") See, also, September 10 entry.

(In June, 1832—see p. 197—Isaac McCoy had started building a house east of state line. As later recollected by pioneer William Mulkey: "Isaac McCoy came with his family and settled out just south of where Westport is now. He

built the first house in that section, a big double log cabin . . . which stood on a big hill. . . .")

Ref: McCoy's "Journal," May 2, 1833; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, March 12, 1933 (for Mulkey quote—in article by W. H. Harris on Westport, Mo.), also in "Wyandotte County Clippings," v. 6, p. 8, in KHi library. McCoy, in his "Journal," gave the groom's name as "Mr. T. I. Ward," but in the Jackson county, Mo., "Marriage Records," it is correctly entered as "William Thomas Ward." See, McCoy's "Journal," September 5, 1838, entry for item on Ward's death, September 2, 1838.)

¶ On May 7 four missionaries—William B. Montgomery and William F. Vaill (of Union), John Fleming (of the Creek mission), and Hugh Wilson (of the Chickasaw mission) left Union Mission (Okla.) on a 17-day preaching tour to the Osage villages.

They rode 25 miles to Clermont's town; found the Indians celebrating the great "victory" over the Kiowas (*see* a preceding entry); remained three days despite the commotion, excitement, and "unusual signs of depravity"; left for Hopefield on May 11; preached there next day; then moved northward to the towns on the Neosho (in present Neosho county), but found those Indians also in a state of excitement, having just come in from a buffalo hunt cut short by a fight with some Pawnees (Kiowas?); 22 enemy warriors killed and two Osages lost, as Vaill was told. The missionaries (joined by the Rev. Amasa Jones of Harmony [Mo.] were at White Hair's village on May 15; at another town farther north on the 16th (returning to Boudinot Mission to spend the night); at Wasoshi's village on May 17, where they found the occupants preparing for a female dance. Wrote Vaill: ". . . great preparations were going on. Some were opening the roof of a lodge that spectators may look in; females dressing in their best attire, with scarlet calico, ribbons, and feathers; and the men were shaving and painting, caparisoning the horses for the mounted grooms who dash about the streets to keep order. . . ."

After spending the night at the Osage Agency, the missionaries returned to Wasoshi's town on May 18 and "obtained an audience for an hour or two." But the Indians were impatient to go to a dance at White Hair's village. (On this tour, the Little Osages, whose town was still higher up the Neosho, were not visited. According to Vaill, they were then "dispersed as follows—300 had gone to war, a party on a buffalo hunt, and the women planting their corn.") The missionaries returned to Boudinot for the night; recrossed the Neosho again next day (fordable despite a heavy rain during the night); gathered a small audience at White Hair's (the day was Sunday); then returned to Boudinot once more, where services were held. On May 20th the four men started home, reaching Union Mission on May 22d.

Ref: *Missionary Herald*, v. 29 (1833), pp. 366-371 (for Vaill's journal of the tour—he mistakenly referred to the Indians killed by Clermont's warriors as Pawnees, rather than Kiowas).

¶ From the Lexington-Liberty, Mo., area, in May, newly associated partners William Sublette and Robert Campbell launched their fur trade activities for the year. (Sublette was to direct operations on the Missouri, and open trading posts in competition with the American Fur Company. Campbell was to make the journey overland—to the trappers' rendezvous—with supplies it was hoped the Rocky

Mountain Fur Company would buy; then with acquired furs, he was to join Sublette at the mouth of the Yellowstone—which place the latter would reach by keelboat. There they would build a fort in opposition to Fort Union.

Robert Campbell's expedition—a mule pack-train, and company of 50—45(?) employees, three guests, and an Arapaho boy (whom Fitzpatrick had found on the Plains in 1831—the day Jedediah Smith was killed), left Lexington about May 7, and shortly thereafter headed west, bound for the upper Green river valley, beyond the continental divide. Campbell's chief assistants were "old mountain man" Louis Vasquez, and "Mr. Johnesse" [Antoine Jaunisse?], a clerk. Making the journey as a pleasure trip were Capt. William Drummond Stewart (a later-wealthy Scotchman, and half-pay British army captain), Dr. Benjamin Harrison ("wild and adventurous" son of the former President), and Edmund Christy of St. Louis (who subsequently entered into a copartnership with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company). In the outfit were some 120(?) mules, a number of horses, two bulls, and three cows. Provisions included "twenty sheeps two loads of Bacon 500 weight of corn meal. . . ."

From the statements of Charles Larpenteur, then aged 25 (whose later-written journal and narrative provide details of this trip—his first to the mountains), it appears that the expedition left Independence about May 12; traveled the Santa Fe trail for two or three days; then turned northwestward to the Kansas—following the established pathway (*see* pp. 50, 170, 194, 195). Larpenteur wrote: "the first river of any consequence that we crossed was the Caw river where there is an agensy for the Caw Indians which is kept by General [Marston G.] Clark relation of old General [William] Clark. . . ." The party forded the river on May 15, and after camping for one or two days near the agency, resumed the journey to the mountains by way of "Sublette's Trace"—across Jefferson, Shawnee, Pottawatomie, and Marshall counties of today. On May 23 Campbell's expedition reached the Platte; and on July 5 arrived at the rendezvous on Horse creek, well ahead of the "opposition" party led by Lucien Fontenelle which set out from Fort Pierre on June 8.

Ref: Charles Larpenteur's *Forty Years a Fur Trader* . . ., ed. by Elliott Coues (New York, 1898), v. 1; Dale L. Morgan's letter of May 10, 1962, to L. Barry, containing pertinent data, including a quotation from a Robert Campbell letter of September 12, 1833 (Campbell estate papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis) that his party numbered "fifty men in all including two or three who went on a trip of pleasure"; Bernard De Voto's *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947), pp. 27-34; John Sunder's *Bill Sublette* . . . (Norman, Okla., c1959), pp. 117, 123-130; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 45* (Serial 254) for "Soublette and Campbell" trading license of April 15.

¶ In a treaty signed May 13, the Quapaws (remnant of the Arkansa Indians, numbering fewer than 500? persons) were granted 150 sections of land "between the lands of the Senecas and Shawnees" (*i. e.*, west of Missouri's southwest corner); and gave up the tract of land on Red river, Louisiana (in the Caddo country), occupied by most of the nation following the November 15, 1824, treaty, when they had been persuaded to cede their Arkansas territory lands.

("They were the first Western Indians to feel the ill effects of the removal scheme."—*KHC*, v. 8, p. 81.)

The 1833 treaty stipulated the Quapaws would be moved at government expense; be furnished stock and agricultural implements; a government farmer, and a blacksmith would live among them; educational aid of \$1,000 a year would be provided; cabins would be built for them; also, there was an annuity provision.

Distrusting Wharton Rector (appointed to remove them), only about 160(?) of the 460(?) Quapaws journeyed to their new home in 1834. More arrived before 1838—the year in which the reserve was surveyed and discovery was made that these Indians had been settled on the Seneca-Shawnee lands. It is said this knowledge—that they would be required to move again—so disheartened the Quapaws that many wandered off, and about 250 established a village on the Canadian river. Eventually most of the nation gathered on their own reserve.

The Quapaws' reserve was laid out *above*, rather than *between*, the lands of the confederate Senecas & Shawnees. It was principally in the northeast corner of present Oklahoma; but 12 of the 150 sections of land were north of the 37th parallel, in what is now southern Cherokee county, Kansas.

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 395-397; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 724-726; CIA "Report," 1839, p. 474; *KHC*, v. 8, p. 81; Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 308-311. See *KHQ*, v. 1, p. 105, for this statement in its proper context: ". . . the thirty-seventh parallel did not become the effective southern boundary of Kansas until the treaty of February 23, 1867, when the Quapaws, last of the tribes to conform, ceded all their right, title and claim to land in Kansas."

☐ "Round Prairie, near Missouri line," on May 15, was the set rendezvous for the spring caravan to Santa Fe. When Capt. William N. Wickliffe (Sixth U. S. infantry) and the government-provided military escort (144? men) reached that place (from Fort Leavenworth) on May 23d, most of the traders were still at Independence, Mo. Heavy rain and muddy roads had caused delays.)

The rendezvous was shifted to Council Grove—about 115 miles westward. Wickliffe's command (Capt. Matthew Duncan's company of more than 100 Mounted Rangers; and 25 Sixth infantry troops, under a lieutenant; also a fieldpiece and six wagons), hampered (as were the traders) by bad weather, arrived at Council Grove three weeks later—on June 13. The trading caravan which assembled there, and set out for Santa Fe on June 19(?), totaled 184(?) men, 103(?) wagons and carriages, goods variously listed as worth \$100,000 and \$180,000. (It was reported that Charles Bent took merchandise estimated at \$40,000.)

At Diamond Spring(s)—15 miles beyond Council Grove—on June 20, the traders elected Charles Bent as their captain; and Messrs. Legrave, Barnes, Smith, and Branch, as lieutenants. On July 2, at the Great Bend of the Arkansas, the shorter, direct "dry route" to the Arkansas crossing was selected. Wickliffe's command lost the trail, and before reaching the river again on July 6, the troops' horses suffered for lack of water and forage.

The caravan forded the Arkansas, at the lower crossing, on July 10. Next day the traders and the military escort parted company. The former, including

Capt. Richard B. Lee (on leave from the army) who had been with the escort, began the march through Mexican territory—reaching Santa Fe safely sometime in August; the latter headed back to Fort Leavenworth—arriving there August 3d. (See September entry for return of the caravan.)

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, April 23, July 12, 1833; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Columbia, July 20, 1833; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 44 (issue of August 3, 1833), p. 374; *Arkansas Gazette*, August 7, 1833; *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 41, pp. 462-464 (for military escort data); J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), pp. 16, 18, 19, 28 (for other information on the rangers); Josiah Gregg (*op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 160) gave the 1833 statistics as: 105 wagons, 185 men (60 proprietors), goods worth \$180,000; *Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 31 (1954), p. 114 (for quote of a statement by James Aull, May 15, 1833, on Charles Bent's goods).

¶ About May 21, 375 Kickapoos, and 119 Pottawatomies (attached to the Prophet's band), reached the new Kickapoo reserve (north of the Delawares' land—see map facing p. 177), after an overland trip from southwest Missouri. Their conductor was James Kennerly. At the settlement site, about five miles above Fort Leavenworth, Special Agent William Alley first issued rations to the 494 immigrants on May 21.

Sup't William Clark had estimated the Kickapoos (and Pottawatomies attached) in Illinois and Missouri, at about 650 persons—the Prophet's band of 352 (including 110 Pottawatomies), on the Vermilion river, Illinois; and Kishko's band of about 300 on the Kickapoo reserve in southwest Missouri. Kennekuk (the Prophet) and his followers departed from Illinois in the fall of 1832; attended the Castor Hill (Mo.) treaty councils (of late October) *en masse*; and after the treaty were conducted (by John McCausland) to the Kickapoo reserve in Missouri, to spend the winter of 1832-1833.

Though Pa-sha-cha-hah (Jumping Fish) was head chief (the first signer of the 1832 treaty), Kennekuk (the Prophet) was the dominant figure who "exercised unlimited sway over the larger portion of the Kickapoos, but the rest despised him" (according to Missionary J. C. Berryman). Kishko (a "war chief"—13th on the list of 1832 treaty signers), and some of his band (about 70?), after migrating to "Kansas" in May, 1833, refused to live on the reserve (see September 2 entry). It was Kishko's influence which, for several months, kept the Kickapoos in turmoil. The Rev. W. D. Smith (Presbyterian), then visiting "Kansas," stated in a July 29 letter:

"They [the Kickapoos] are not yet settled. . . . They live at present in the only unhealthy place I have seen in the [Indian] country. Their village is . . . on the northern edge of a low wet Prairie which runs up along a creek from the low bottoms of the Missouri. Their huts are built so closely as to prevent a free circulation of air, and to accelerate the accumulations of filth."

Between May 21 and June 30 store houses and an "issuing house" were built in the settlement. (Workmen on the project were John Bridges, Louis Chamezous, Solomon Groom, James Kennerly's "negro boy Ananias," and Smith Story's Negro man.) It was, presumably, the latter building which J. T. Irving, Jr., saw in August: "In the centre of the town is a small log house, the residence of the agent appointed to reside with the tribe. . . ." (He

referred to disbursing agent William Alley—hired by Sup't William Clark at \$50 a month—to distribute rations to the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies.)

Ref: SIA, v. 5, pp. 55, 56; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 1 (Serial 244), pp. 644, 647, v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 511, 512, 518, 640, 706, 707, v. 5 (Serial 248), pp. 68-81; Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence, microfilm, KHi ms. division (for W. D. Smith quotation); J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), p. 42 (for Irving's statement); Hiram W. Beckwith's *The Illinois and Indiana Indians* (Chicago, 1884), p. 137.

¶ In May there was a flood of unprecedented proportions on the Arkansas river—at least on the lower Arkansas—in the Fort Gibson (Okla.) and Fort Smith, Ark. ter., areas. The waters of two of its tributaries—the Verdigris and the Grand (Neosho) rivers—were also reported “higher than ever known before.”

On the lower Verdigris, the flood swept away the trading houses of Auguste P. Chouteau (his loss was said to be over \$10,000), and Hugh Love; and the government lost two of its Creek Agency buildings, together with contents.

How high upstream these rivers flooded does not seem to be recorded. As noted (*see* May 15 for the rain-delayed Santa Fe traders; and next entry for comment on the “great and continued fall of heavy rains”), the spring of 1833 was an extraordinarily wet one.

Ref: Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, pp. 107, 108, 201.

¶ William Gordon (special agent for Sup't William Clark, St. Louis), arrived in “Kansas” in May or June, to distribute annuity merchandise and agricultural equipment to several Indian nations (in accordance with the October, 1832, treaty terms—*see, also*, March 30, 1833, entry).

Gordon delivered the items for the Kaskaskias & Peorias and the Weas & Piankeshaws to Agent R. W. Cummins “near his agency” (present Johnson county). He later reported: “The great and continued fall of heavy rains . . . kept the roads in an impassable state for a considerable length of time after my arrival in the vicinity of the Indians.” The Delawares received their goods on June 25. After more delay, Gordon reached Fort Leavenworth with supplies for the Kickapoos. The tribe accepted the agricultural tools, but refused the goods; and Gordon was forced to arrange to pay their annuities in cash—which he did on July 20th. By report, the merchandise was worth less than half the represented value; and was also rejected by post sutler Alexander C. Morgan, who had considered buying it. Subsequently, the *John Nelson* freighted the goods back to St. Louis! (Compare with October 13, 1834, entry.)

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 522-525 (Gordon's letter of August 12, 1833), v. 5 (Serial 248), pp. 62, 66, 71; SIA, v. 10 (an unpagged “Clark” daybook); Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence (the Rev. W. D. Smith letter of July 22, 1833, for item on Morgan, and other comment on quality of the goods).

¶ In June a school was opened at the Peoria Methodist Mission by the Rev. James H. Slavens and his wife. The mission (founded in

1832?—see below) was on the Marais des Cygnes' north bank, near the Peoria & Kaskaskia village (and near present Peoria, Franklin co.). It was a one-story, hewed-log structure (dwelling and school house combined), 42 by 18 feet, with a 10-foot passageway in the middle, and a chimney at either end. There was a separate "cooking house" 16 feet square.

(Probably the Peoria Methodist Mission had its origin in late 1832. Slavens was appointed missionary to the Peorias at the Methodists' Missouri conference in the fall of 1832. Isaac McCoy [in his January, 1835, *Annual Register*] stated that the Peoria Methodist Mission was "commenced in 1832.")

On August 5, 1833, the Rev. W. D. Smith (a visitor) commented: "Among the Peorias . . . the Methodists have a station with a school . . . which is doing well." The Rev. Thomas Johnson reported (on August 16, 1833) that the Peoria school had 24 young students (23 males and one female). In the autumn of 1833 the Rev. Nathaniel Talbott was appointed to the Peoria mission (and Slavens was assigned to Chariton, Mo.). The church membership, in 1835, was given as two whites and 26 Indians.

Talbott and his wife continued as the principal missionaries to the Peorias till late 1841, when they were succeeded by the Rev. Nathan T. Shaler and wife. Mrs. Shaler died in March, 1843. Though a July, 1843, report described the mission as "doing well," and having a church membership of over 40, it appears the Peoria Methodist Mission closed before the end of that year.

Ref: Thomas Johnson's letters of August 16, 1833 (typed copy in KHi ms. division), and July 21, 1834 (in Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 22); D. R. McAnally's *History of Methodism in Missouri* (St. Louis, 1881), pp. 629-631; *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 168, 199, 200, 211, 226, 227 (though some of Lutz's statements are inaccurate), v. 16, pp. 238, 249-251, 253, 254; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Registers* for 1835, 1836; Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence, for W. D. Smith item; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. R.* 474 (Serial 263), p. 70 (for May, 1834, report); CIA "Reports" for 1834, 1837, 1838. The Talbotts had three children according to a July, 1834, report Thomas Johnson wrote Isaac McCoy—McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 22.

¶ From June 18 to late August, Presbyterian missionary William D. Smith was a visitor in eastern "Kansas"—on a tour to determine mission locations.

Smith made his headquarters at the home of Joseph Barnett (a well-educated, part-Shawnee) and family, on the Shawnee reserve. Accompanied by Barnett, he began a journey about June 20, which took him first to the Delaware settlements; then to Fort Leavenworth (where he met Chief Ietan of the Otoes, and Chief Big Elk of the Omahas and visited the near-by Kickapoos); then southwest to the Kansa Agency (about July 12) and to the Kansa villages; then back to the Shawnee reserve. Subsequently, he paid visits to the Ottawas (in late July); to the Weas & Piankeshaws, and Peorias & Kaskaskias (in early August); went again to Fort Leavenworth; and from there to the Iowas (in mid-August); then returned to Barnett's house. In late August he visited the Weas & Piankeshaws again; and made preliminary arrangements for a Presbyterian mission among them. (Among the Iowas, also, he had found a promising field for a mission.)

Ref: Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence, for William D. Smith's six letters—all written at Shawnee Village, Kansas river—dated June 19, July 22, 29, August 5, 20, 27, 1833; Joseph Barnett's letter of June 23, 1833, in *ibid.*

¶ "On the 24th June," wrote Isaac McCoy, "Shawanuk [a young chief] . . . & 22 others started from Delaware Town on a War excursion against the Pawnees, to avenge the death of some Delawares killed by the Pawnee last summer or fall [see March, 1832, entry]. The party passed thru the Kanza villages, the latter were to join them in the expedition."

Shawanock (Sou-wah-nock) and his warriors reached the Platte early in July(?); found the Grand Pawnees' village deserted (the 2,500 inhabitants were absent on a hunt); burned the town, and also destroyed the nearby fields of corn and vegetables.

(When Comm'r Henry Ellsworth and his party visited the Grand Pawnees in October they found that the Indians had completed the rebuilding of their village.)

Ref: McCoy "Journal," entry of July 7, 1833; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 523, 654; J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), pp. 6, 130, 242, 247.

¶ In the summer (June?, or July?), the Friends (of Indiana yearly meeting) sent a committee of three (Henry Harvey, Simon Hadley, and Solomon Haddon) to visit the Shawnees—particularly the Shawnees who had removed from Wapaghkonetta, Ohio, to "Kansas" late the year before (see November 30, 1832, entry), among whom the Friends had maintained a mission, in Ohio, for about 11 years. The report they submitted included this statement:

"The Indians are settled on an excellent tract of land, nearly one-half of which is rich, dry prairie; the remainder well timbered, with good mill streams, and apparently healthy, and they appear to be satisfied." (The Shawnee reserve included Johnson, Douglas, and parts of Shawnee, Osage, Wabaunsee, Morris, and Geary counties of today. How much of it the committee personally inspected is not known.)

Three more years elapsed before a Shawnee Friends Mission was constructed (in 1836) in "Kansas"; and the mission school was not opened till 1837.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 8, pp. 261, 262, 267, 268; *KHQ*, v. 13, p. 36; Henry Harvey's *History of the Shawnee Indians* . . . , 1681 to 1854 . . . (Cincinnati, 1855), p. 234.

¶ About July 8—the date can only be approximated—cholera broke out aboard the steamboat *Yellowstone*. She was then ascending the Missouri (on her second voyage upstream in 1833) and approaching present Kansas City, Mo. In a short space of time eight(?) men died—leaving only the captain (Andrew S. Bennett) and Joseph La Barge (aged 17, a company clerk).

La Barge is quoted as stating (at a later time): "There is a spot just below Kansas City . . . where I buried eight cholera victims in one grave." Captain Bennett started for St. Louis to hire another crew. Frightened Jackson county, Mo., residents threatened to burn the *Yellowstone* (which was lying below the Kaw's mouth). La Barge fired up the boilers and piloted the boat out of Missouri jurisdiction—anchoring her on the Missouri's right bank, but *above* the Kaw's mouth (present Wyandotte county). Then he set out, afoot,

for the Chouteaus' Shawnee reserve post—about eight miles distant—for instructions on handling the Chouteaus' supplies aboard. A guard posted (because of the cholera threat) about a mile from the trading house, relayed his message. When a reply came, it was late in the day, and La Barge prepared to camp out overnight. Later, young Edward Liguette Chouteau (a former school chum, visitor at the Chouteaus' post) brought him food, and a buffalo robe to sleep on. Next day he returned to the *Yellowstone*.

Isaac McCoy's journal entry of July 13 adds this note to the episode: ". . . A boat had, a few days ago, been compelled by Cholera to stop on her way up. Some eight or ten had died. She stopped, and is still lying about 5 miles from our [Westport, Mo.] house. Our neighbourhood is considerably uneasy."

Some time elapsed before Captain Bennett and a new crew arrived—aboard the *Otto*—to resume the voyage. The *Yellowstone* reached "Cabanne's" (Pilcher's) post at the Council Bluffs in August.

Ref: KHC, v. 9, pp. 281, 282; H. M. Chittenden's *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River; Life and Adventures of Joseph La Barge* (New York, 1903), v. 1, pp. xi, xii, 18, 19, 31-37; McCoy's "Journal"; *Missouri Republican*, July 16, 1833. The *Assiniboine*, which reached St. Louis on July 11, had met the *Yellowstone*—then at the Kaw's mouth, three hands and her pilot dead—but did not stop because of the cholera.

¶ July 13.—Baptist missionaries Moses and Eliza (Wilcox) Merrill (from Michigan territory) arrived at Isaac McCoy's home near "Westport," Mo. (They had reached Independence Landing about July 11, after a journey up the Missouri on a steamboat which had "three cases and one death of cholera" aboard.)

Before July 21 the Merrills moved into quarters at Shawnee Baptist Mission, in "Kansas." According to Eliza Merrill's journal, they had arrived to find the empty house "filled with fleas, and . . . very dirty. . . . Mr. Merrill killed a rattlesnake in the house. . . ." By the end of the month, however, they were settled. On Sunday, August 4, Moses Merrill journeyed to the Delawares to hold service, while Eliza Merrill walked a mile and a half to collect some Shawnee children for her first Sunday school. On August 10 she noted: "The past week we opened our day school with seven scholars. The second day we had eight. They are very wild. Some of them had nothing on but a shirt." On a later Sunday she wrote: "This morning Mr. Merrill and myself walked to the Indian village. . . . We succeeded in gathering 14 children to teach. . . . The men, most of them, were out racing horses, or gambling or hunting, and the women were at their work." One Friday she recorded: ". . . [today] we had 18 scholars. I gave those who had been a week some clothing. They appeared very happy as they exchanged their ragged, filthy garments for new ones. . . ."

After residing for 15 weeks in "Kansas," the Merrills left to found a Baptist mission at Bellevue (Neb.), for the Otoes. See October 27 entry for their departure; but, see, also, September 5 entry.

Ref: Nebraska Historical Society *Transactions*, Lincoln, v. 5 (1893), pp. 205-240 (wherein are excerpts from Eliza Merrill's journal); Isaac McCoy's "Journal," July 13 and 21, 1833, entries.

¶ By July, if not earlier, the Delawares' saw and grist mill (provided by the government under terms of the October 26, 1832, treaty) was

in operation. *It was the first such mill in "Kansas."* Construction probably had been started early in the spring. The first-known reference to its being in use is in a July 29 letter by a "Kansas" visitor, the Rev. W. D. Smith, who wrote: "They [the Delawares] have also a good grist mill and saw mill in operation."

Up to September 30 Agent R. W. Cummins had paid out: \$2,975.50 to Michael Rice "for building Delaware mills and bolt, and repairing the same"; \$10 to James and Robert Aull "for saw for Delaware mill"; \$32 to Edward Brafford and \$6 to William Barnes "for attending Delaware mill." On October 1 William Barnes was appointed miller at a salary of \$500 per year. (He was still in charge in 1836.)

Comm'r Henry Ellsworth (in a November 8 letter) noted that the Kickapoos "are anxious to have a mill erected soon, and Mr. Cummings [Cummins], their agent, has some experience in this business, having just finished a mill for the Delawares, and also one for himself." (Cummins' mill was east of the state line, probably just north of "Westport" in Jackson county, Mo.) The following items from the diary of Jotham Meeker—then residing at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county)—indicate at least three grist mills were operating within a half-day's journey of the mission in 1834-1835: February 8, 1834, "Go with wagon to [James H.] M'Gee's mill [within present Kansas City, Mo.]. Bring home chopped corn & meal"; November 6, 1834, "Take load of corn to Delaware Mill"; November 24, 1834, "Return home [from the Delaware reserve] and bring meal from the Delaware Mill"; September 9, 1835, "Purchase and bring from Cummins' Mill, Flour & Bran"; December 15, 1835, "Rode to Cummins' mill,—bro't home a bag of flour"; December 16, 1835, "Went again to mill, and engaged 500 lbs. flour."

Ref: Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence, for Smith's letter; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 490* (Serial 259), p. 160; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), p. 659 (for Ellsworth; 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 150* (Serial 274), p. 26 (for Barnes' salary, 1833-1834); 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 109* (Serial 280), p. 7 (for an 1836 reference to Barnes); Jotham Meeker's "Diary," in KHi ms. division. On the original land plat (of the mid-1850's), of Sec. 21, T. 11, R. 24 E., on Mill creek, about a mile and a half west and south of Muncie, Wyandotte co., is shown a Delaware mill site (not necessarily, but perhaps, the same location as the mill of the 1830's).

¶ Between July 29 and August 14, Isaac McCoy, his son John C. McCoy, and nine assistants, were occupied in surveying the lines of the small Peoria & Kaskaskia reservation (bounded on the east by the Wea & Piankeshaw lands; and on the west by the Ottawa reserve). *See map facing p. 177; see, also, p. 47.*

The McCoys' assistants were: Stephen Cantrell and Peter Duncan, chainmen; hired hands C. Bowers, B. C. Cooper, Thomas Linville, Ira Hunter, W. H. H. Cantrell, Charles Morris, and George Brace. Also along was John C. McCoy's servant to serve as cook and hostler. They had a dearborn drawn by two horses; and three pack horses.

Ref: SIA, v. 1, pp. 60-65 (for survey field notes dated "Shawnee Jackson Co. Mo. Aug. 31, 1833"), and p. 56 (for plat); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 5 (Serial 248), pp. 248-250 (for itemized expenses of the survey); Isaac McCoy's "Journal," July 29-August 16, 1833, entries.

¶ About August 1 eight(?) of the 10 residents at the Upper Missouri Indian Agency—Bellevue (Neb.)—were stricken with cholera. Seven died; Agent John Dougherty barely survived an attack. (Bellevue was about 170 miles above Fort Leavenworth.)

Joshua Pilcher (American Fur Company agent) wrote, on August 21: "The cholera was very fatal at *Belle Vue*: the Sub Agent [R. P. Beauchamp], both Blacksmiths [George Casner (or Cassner?), and Vincent Guitar(?)], Mrs. Cossner [Cassner?], the Interpreter [Francis Sanssouci] & wife all went off in a few hours, and Major Daugherty escaped narrowly and is still in very bad health. . . ." (Some persons died of cholera at Pilcher's near-by post, also.)

Ref: J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), pp. xxix, 45n; SIA, v. 21, p. 80 (for names of Bellevue Agency employees, as of June 30, 1833); Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 24, p. 14 (for Maximilian's comment on the deaths at Bellevue, and at Pilcher's post). On a visit to Fort Leavenworth (in August), the Rev. W. D. Smith *heard* that the cholera had been taken up to Bellevue by the *Yellowstone* (which had not been allowed to land at the military post because of *reported* cholera aboard).—Smith's letter of August 27, 1833, in Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence.

¶ August 3.—U. S. Comm'r Henry L. Ellsworth, Edward A. Ellsworth (his son), John Treat Irving, Jr. (nephew of Washington Irving), and John Dunlop ("a Scotch gentleman"), arrived at Fort Leavenworth, on horseback. With them was Lt. John Nicholls, Sixth U. S. infantry, who had joined the group at Independence, Mo.

From St. Louis, the party's journey (begun at Washington early in July) had been overland, with hired hands driving two supply-laden dearborns. Ellsworth and his companions, it appears, spent the night of August 2 at blacksmith Lewis Jones' log cabin (exact location unknown), on the Shawnee reserve. They crossed the Kansas, on the morning of August 3, by way of Grinter's ferry, and stopped, briefly, at the house of the Delawares' blacksmith, Robert Dunlap, before proceeding to Fort Leavenworth, 23 miles northward.

John Treat Irving, Jr. (aged 20), who spent about three and a half months (August to mid-November) in "Kansas" and "Nebraska" in company with the Ellsworths and Dunlop, subsequently wrote of his 1833 adventures in a work entitled *Indian Sketches* . . . (first published at Philadelphia in 1835). This book is a principal source of information on Comm'r Henry Ellsworth's activities during the summer and autumn of 1833—activities which are noted in some following annals entries.

Ref: Used for the above (and later) entries—J. F. McDermott's edition of John T. Irving, Jr.'s *Indian Sketches* . . . , which includes valuable introductory material, extensive and useful footnotes, and incorporates pertinent information from the 1888 revised edition of the *Indian Sketches*.

¶ At Fort Leavenworth, in August, there were (by later report) "a great number" of cholera cases, but very few fatalities. It would appear, from available information, that the presence of this often-swiftly-fatal malady created no great alarm at the post. The army doctor—Asst. Surg. Benjamin F. Fellowes—was commended by Comm'r Henry Ellsworth (whose son, Edward, got the cholera, but survived) as "a skillful man and well qualified for the situation."

In May, 1834, Fellowes told Maximilian "He had been very successful with his cholera patients [in 1833], for, out of a great number, one only had died, because he always attacked the disorder at its very commencement." Three Mounted Rangers died at the post in August (Samuel Carey on the 20th; John K. Green and Benjamin F. Phelps on the 28th), but *perhaps* only one was a cholera victim.

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. xxix, 44n; Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 24, p. 114 (for Maximilian).

¶ August 26.—In charge of Lt. William R. Montgomery, a party of 68 Prairie Pottawatomies, headed by Chief Qui-qui-to (Que-ah-que-ah-ta), and Michi-che-cho-ca-ba (who was "next in authority among the religious Indians to the celebrated Kickapoo prophet"), arrived at Fort Leavenworth aboard the steamboat *Otto*. Their destination was the Kickapoo reserve—a few miles northward—where they had been invited to live.

In December, 1832, "two Pottawatomie chiefs from the prairies in Illinois, with their bands, amounting to 200," had gone to the Logansport, Ind., vicinity "in a very distressed situation," and asked permission (of Indian Agent William Marshall) to remain till spring, when they would remove west. In the summer of 1833, after much manoeuvring, 68 of these Prairie Pottawatomies, were induced to begin their migration westward. They left Logansport, Ind., on July 27th; traveled overland to Alton, Ill.; reached that place August 14; and departed August 16, aboard the *Otto*, for the mouth of the Missouri, and the journey upstream.

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 1 (Serial 244), pp. 276, 277, 775-780, 800, 897, v. 3 (Serial 246), p. 734, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 135-137, 187, 416-418.

¶ September 2.—Comm'r Henry Ellsworth journeyed from Fort Leavenworth to the Kickapoo settlement (five miles northward) and held a council with some of the chiefs. Kishko—leader of the dissident faction which was holding out for a reserve on the Marais des Cygnes river—presented his objections to the assigned lands.

Ellsworth reported there were 30 camps of Indians on the reserve; and that the Kickapoos who had refused to move there (Kishko's 70? followers) were "on the other side of the Kansas river, on the Shawnee lands, occupied I think in drinking and rioting." Nothing in particular was accomplished at this meeting. But, *see* November 13 entry.

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 639-642.

¶ The first week of September Comm'r Henry Ellsworth, his son Edward, John T. Irving, Jr., John Dunlop, Dr. Ware S. May, and Agent John Dougherty, left Fort Leavenworth to travel to the Otoe and Missouri village. Seven Sixth infantrymen served as escort; also there were drivers for two dearborns, and two ox-drawn, heavy wagons; and a Negro cook. Traveling northward—keeping from 20 to 30 miles west of the Missouri river—this mounted company arrived at the Indians' town (near the Platte) on September 17, after a journey of about 180 miles.

Ellsworth negotiated a treaty with the Otoes and Missourias on September 20 and 21. The Indians ceded claim to lands south of the Little Nemahaw river. (For general bounds of the lands to which they retained claim, *see* map facing p. 177.) Also, they declared their willingness to "abandon the chase" for an agricultural life. In return, the government was to continue their annuities (to 1850); provide agricultural aid of various kinds, money for educational purposes, etc. Witnesses to the treaty included Edward Ellsworth, Dougherty, May, Dunlop, Irving, and Ira D. Blanchard (Baptist missionary to the Delawares).

For two weeks following the treaty-signing, Ellsworth and his party remained among the Otoes and Missourias; then, on October 4, accompanied by Chief Ietan and some 20 of his warriors, and three of the infantrymen, they set out for the Grand Pawnees' town—some 80 miles higher up the Platte. (*See, also*, October 7 entry.)

Ref: J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), pp. xxxiii, 44-113; Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 400, 401.

¶ September 5.—A mounted party of three—the Rev. Moses Merrill, of Shawnee Baptist Mission, Ira D. Blanchard (Baptist affiliate, residing among the Delawares), and a guide—set out from the Kansas river, northward, for the Otoe-Missouri village on the Platte river, 200 miles distant. They were making a preliminary investigation of the route, and of conditions at Bellevue (Neb.) where the Baptists proposed to establish a mission.

On September 16 they reached the Otoe-Missouri village (a mile? from the Platte, and some 20? miles above its mouth); next day they crossed the Platte and rode 35(?) miles to the Bellevue Agency, on the Missouri river. (Apparently they left the Indians' village the same day Comm'r Henry Ellsworth's party arrived.) Merrill and Blanchard were, again, at the Otoe-Missouri town on September 20 when Ellsworth held a treaty council there. On September 21, the day the treaty was signed (Blanchard was a witness), they started the 200-mile homeward journey. The missionaries were back at the Kansas river by October 2d. (*See* October 26 entry for their second journey to Bellevue.)

Ref: Nebraska Historical Society *Transactions*, v. 4 (1892), p. 160, v. 5 (1893), p. 221; J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), pp. 47, 73, 89, 103. In June, 1831, Lt. Philip St. George Cooke, on a leave of absence from Cantonment Leavenworth, had journeyed from that post to the villages of the Otoe and Omaha Indians, and to "Bellevue," in company with "Mr. B.," an "officer of the Indian Department" (presumably Subagent R. P. Beauchamp). *See* his *Scenes and Adventures* . . . (Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 95-107. Their route must have been much the same as that of Merrill and Blanchard.

¶ MARRIED: Thomas Jefferson Givens, of Potosi, Mo., and Sarah McCoy, on September 10, at the home of the bride near "Westport," Mo., by her father, the Rev. Isaac McCoy. (*See, also*, May 2, entry.)

Ref: Jackson county, Mo., "Marriage Records"; letters in Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 22, for general information.

¶ September 15.—Conducted by their interpreter, Joseph Parks (an educated, and much-respected half-breed), 67 Shawnee Indians from Wapaghkonetta, Ohio, arrived at the Shawnee reserve in "Kan-

sas." (See November 30, 1832, entry for earlier migrants from Wapaghkonetta.)

These Indians had left Ohio early in June, and traveled overland, by way of St. Louis. Originally the emigrating party numbered more than 80, but Parks reported that two had died on the way, one family ("Barnett's bro.") turned back, three "went over to the Delawares," and one family did not leave Ohio. Leading men in this band of Shawnees were: Little Fox, George Williams, Quilina, and Peculsee-coe(?). They were among the last of their nation to remove to "Kansas."

Ref: Joseph Parks' mss. (in KHI ms. division); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 2 (Serial 245), pp. 594, 595, v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 649, 650, 698, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 174, 200, 201; *KHC*, v. 8, pp. 252-255, and v. 10, pp. 399-401 (for notes on Joseph Parks). Parks later became head chief of the Shawnees. He died in the early part of April, 1859, and was buried "at the Shawnee burial ground" with Masonic honors.—*Leavenworth Daily Times*, April 13, 1859, p. 2, col. 4.

¶ Between September 18 and October 12, Isaac McCoy, his son John C. McCoy, and nine assistants (all well armed), were occupied in surveying the Shawnees' *southern* boundary (which extended 120 miles west from the Missouri line), and the 19-mile-long *western* boundary. (For visual reference, see map facing p. 177. The Shawnees' west line ran through present Morris and Geary counties. The stream labeled "Boundary Cr[eeke]" on the map is, evidently, Lyons creek of today.)

The McCoy's assistants were: Stephen Cantrell and Peter Duncan, chainmen; hired hands Thomas Linville, Jacob and Daniel Crandell, William Lovelady, Hiram Abbot, W. H. H. Cantrell, and Charles Morris; and a servant who was cook and hostler.

On September 18, at a point 20 miles west of Missouri, on the Shawnees' south line, the McCoy's and party started westward; on the 26th they camped at the 60th mile point. From that place they digressed 19 miles straight northward (crossing the Santa Fe trail) to the southeast corner of the Kansa reserve, in order to "ascertain the situation of the Shawanoe lands at this place." Their camp on the 27th was on a creek four miles from the Kansas river. (This would seem to place them on present Shunganunga creek, southwest of Topeka, in Mission township.) On September 30 and October 1 they returned southward to the 60th mile point on the Shawnees' southern line; and then started westward again. On October 10 they reached the 120-mile point (the southwest corner of the Shawnee reserve) and turned north; on the 12th they established the northwest corner of the Shawnee lands (a few miles south of present Junction City, near the Smoky Hill river). This was the end of the survey.

Ref: SIA, v. 1, pp. 106-119 (for field notes of the survey), and p. 120 (for plat); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 5 (Serial 248), pp. 249, 250 (for Isaac McCoy's itemized expenditures in making the survey); Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 464.

¶ September 27.—Nathaniel J. Wyeth, traveling down the Missouri in a "bull boat," with a few voyageurs, arrived at Fort Leavenworth. (For Wyeth's overland expedition of 1832 to the Far West, see May, 1832, annals.) In his journal, Wyeth wrote:

"I . . . was received with . . . politeness . . . [and] was

offered all the stores which I might require by Leiut. [Asa] Richardson the officer of the day. . . . I took . . . ["my boy Baptiste and the Indian"] to Doct [Benjamin F.] Fellow[e]s quarters to be vaccinated the Docts wife and another lady ["really beautiful women"] happened to be present. . . . Baptiste . . . told the other Boys . . . that he had seen a white squaw white as snow and so pretty."

Wyeth (whose journey down the Bighorn, the Yellowstone, and the Missouri had begun in mid-August) continued downriver on September 28, to Liberty, Mo. At Liberty Landing, on the 30th, he boarded the steamboat *John Nelson* which was going up as far as Fort Leavenworth. About October 3d he was again at the military post, where, he wrote, "I . . . was treated with great politeness by the officers . . . especially a Capt. Nichols [*i. e.*, Lt. John Nicholls] who invited me to dinner." The *John Nelson*, with Wyeth as a passenger, reached St. Louis on October 9th.

Ref: *Sources of the History of Oregon*, Eugene, v. 1 (1899), pp. 71, 209, 218, 219; SIA, v. 10 (an entry in this daybook of the St. Louis Indian superintendency shows payment, on October 12, to the *John Nelson* for freight of Kickapoo goods); Jotham Meeker in his "Diary," on October 2, noted the Meekers' arrival at Independence Landing on the upbound *John Nelson*; J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), footnotes on pp. xxiii and 15 for items on Lt. John Nicholls. Wyeth took the two Indian boys East with him. See Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost's *Ten Years in Oregon* (New York, 1844), p. 112.

¶ As reported for the year ending September 30 (*i. e.*, October 1, 1832-September 30, 1833), the following persons had been employed at the Indian agencies in "Kansas":

At the *Kansa Agency*: Marston G. Clark (subagent); Clement Lessert (interpreter); John McGill (gun and blacksmith); Joseph Groom (striker to blacksmith); Joseph Jim [Joseph James] (sundry work); Andrew Gordah [Gordon?] (blower and striker, April 1-September 30, 1833). Among other agency payments were these: to Daniel M. Boone \$120 for transporting 12,000 pounds of flour, bacon, corn meal, salt, tobacco, lard, powder, lead, and \$3,600 in specie to the agency; to James P. Hickman \$220 for his labor in putting up a double log house (this was, apparently, for Fool Chief), and for instructing the Kansa in agriculture; to William Ward \$21 for making fence, gathering corn, and aid in agriculture; also for aid in agriculture, \$142 to Moses Grantham, \$131 to Joshua Hitchcock, and \$14 to George Sawyer.

At the *Osage Agency*: Paul Liguette Chouteau (agent); Alexander W. McNair (subagent); Thomas Anthony (subagent for nine months); Baptiste Mongrain (interpreter); Gabriel Philibert (gunsmith); Joseph Trumblee [Tremblé] (blacksmith); Joseph Bertrand (blacksmith from June 30-September 30, 1833); Lewis Peltier (striker, for six months).

At the *Shawnee-Delaware Agency*: Richard W. Cummins (agent); John Campbell (subagent); Anthony Shane, James Connor, and Baptiste Peoria (interpreter); Robert Dunlap (gun and blacksmith for Delawares); Lewis Jones (gun and blacksmith for Shawnees). Among the Jackson and Clay county, Mo., merchants who had supplied provisions for the agency Indians were: James E. E. Sloan, James and Robert Aull, S. G. Flournoy, Samuel C. Owens, Richard Fristoe, Francis G. Chouteau, and Cyrus Curtis. Another payment (\$101.55) went to the Steamboat *Heroine*, for transporting annuities.

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st. Sess., *H. Ex. Doc.* 490 (Serial 259), pp. 74, 75, 136, 158-160. Noted in a preceding entry are the Shawnee-Delaware Agency disbursements for the Delawares' mill.



Catlin's portrait of TENSQUATAWA—the SHAWNEE PROPHET. A brother of Tecumseh, he was born about 1768(?), and originally named Laulewasika. Prior to the Indians' defeat at the Battle of Tippecanoe, in November, 1811, this one-eyed oracle was a man of great influence. Afterwards, he had few followers. Isaac McCoy noted the presence of the "old prophet" in "Kansas" in 1828. Tensquatawa died in present Wyandotte county in November, 1836.



KENNEKUK—the KICKAPOO PROPHET, portrait by Catlin. Born about 1797(?), this "tall bony Indian, with a keen black eye, and a face beaming with intelligence," had risen to power before he arrived in "Kansas" (present Leavenworth county) in May, 1833. Kennekuk's self-evolved religion (despite its absurdities) had a beneficial influence on his people up to his death (on the reserve above Fort Leavenworth) in 1852. Photos courtesy Smithsonian Institution.

THE HISTORY
OF
**OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR
JESUS CHRIST;**

COMPREHENDING ALL THAT THE

FOUR EVANGELISTS

HAVE RECORDED CONCERNING HIM;

ALL THEIR RELATIONS BEING BROUGHT TOGETHER IN ONE NARRATIVE, SO THAT NO CIRCUMSTANCE IS OMITTED, BUT THAT INESTIMABLE HISTORY IS CONTINUED IN ONE SERIES, IN THE VERY WORDS OF SCRIPTURE, BY THE REV. SAMUEL LEIBERKUH, M. A.

TRANSLATED INTO THE
DELAWARE LANGUAGE, IN 1806,

BY REV. DAVID ZEISBERGER,
Missionary of the United Brethren.

RE-TRANSLATED, SO AS TO CONFORM TO THE PRESENT
IDIOM OF THE LANGUAGE,

BY I. D. BLANCHARD.

J. MEEKER, PRINTER, SHAWANOE BAPTIST MISSION.

1837.



JOTHAM MEEKER

(1804-1855)

Baptist Missionary and Pioneer
"Kansas" Printer.

Between March, 1834, and March, 1837, at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), Meeker printed numerous Indian language publications. The two title pages of the last book he printed there (before going to the Ottawas as missionary) are shown here—reproduced from the Society's copy. (See annals entry of March 21, 1834, for further details.)

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NRVLALKWF KRTHWALKWF

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NHIME TCLI WEHWMAT.

JAWANOUF,

TALI KEETWN.

1837.

☐ October 1.—Dr. F. W. Miller officially succeeded John Campbell as subagent at the Shawnee Agency (headed by R. W. Cummins). Campbell (subagent since April, 1825) had been notified in August of his "removal from office," but was paid through September; and Miller did not arrive to assume his duties till October 29.

(In a letter of April 9, Agent Cummins had referred to his subagent as being old and inefficient. The Rev. Thomas Johnson, of Shawnee Methodist Mission, subsequently made charges against Campbell—charges which Campbell answered, without avail, in a May 20th letter to Sup't William Clark, St. Louis.)

Miller was subagent for only nine months. His job ended in July, 1834.

Ref: Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), "Registers of Letters Received," v. 4, pp. 53, 58, 267; 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 150* (Serial 274), pp. 26, 52; Christopher Collection, in KHi ms. division, for photostat of Campbell's May 20, 1833, answer to charges, and for other data on Campbell collected by Mrs. Orville H. Christopher, of Kansas City, Mo. Miller was addressed as "Doctr. F. W. Miller" in an OIA circular sent to all subagents on July 2, 1834—see OIA, "Letters Sent," v. 13, p. 94. In SIA, v. 5, p. 76, is one letter ("Shawnee Agency Apl 1st 1834") by Miller to Sup't William Clark. See p. 49 of Spring, 1962, *Quarterly* for annals entry on Campbell's arrival in "Kansas." John Campbell eventually was cleared of the charges made against him.

☐ October 4.—Baptist missionaries Jotham and Eleanor D. (Richardson) Meeker (from a mission among the Ottawas in Michigan territory), and Cynthia Brown (also a missionary), arrived at Isaac McCoy's home near "Westport," Mo. (They had reached Independence Landing on October 2, after a trip up the Missouri on the *John Nelson*.)

Jotham Meeker brought with him a printing press (purchased in Cincinnati, Ohio) which subsequently was set up at Shawnee Baptist Mission. It was the *first printing press in "Kansas."* (See March 8, 1834, annals entry for the first items printed on the "Meeker" press.)

Meeker, on October 13 and 14, paid a visit to the small Ottawa settlement; set out on the 19th for the Kickapoo reserve; arrived on the 20th, interviewed Kennekuk (the Prophet), and returned on the 22d; then visited the Delawares on the 24th and 25th (in company with Agent R. W. Cummins, Dr. Johnston Lykins, and Ira D. Blanchard). On October 29 Jotham and Eleanor Meeker moved to Shawnee Baptist Mission (from McCoy's home) and became "Kansas" residents. (They occupied the quarters vacated two days earlier by the Merrills—see October 27 entry.)

The Meekers remained at Shawnee Baptist Mission till 1837; then opened a mission among the Ottawas in Franklin county of today.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary"; *KHC*, v. 8, p. 80; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 464.

☐ About October 7 Comm'r Henry Ellsworth and party—about 30 in all—(see p. 334) arrived at the Grand Pawnees' village, on the Platte's south bank—distant about 80 miles from the Otoe and Missouri town (which they had left about October 4).

On October 9 the commissioner began councils with delegations

from all the Pawnee bands assembled there; and on October 10 the Pawnees signed a treaty. By its terms, they *ceded all claim to lands south of the Platte river*, in return for annuities, and agricultural and educational aid.

Heading the treaty signers were: Shah-re-tah-riche (for the Grand Pawnees), Blue Coat (for the Pawnee Republicans), Little Chief (for the Tappage Pawnees), and Big Axe (for the Pawnee Loups). Members of Ellsworth's party were witnesses (Edward Ellsworth, Dougherty, May, Dunlop, Irving); as were, also, trader Alexander La Force Papin and interpreter Lewis La Chapelle.

Ellsworth and party (including the Otoes), a few days later, crossed the Platte and journeyed up the Loup Fork to the villages of the three other bands (Tappage-Republican, Little Republican, and Pawnee Loup); afterwards they returned to the Grand Pawnees' town; and set out from there (the company now enlarged by some 80? Pawnees—including four Indian-peace-council delegates from each band) about October 18(?) for Fort Leavenworth. At least part of this company reached the fort before the end of October.

(See p. 340 for John T. Irving's experiences on the return trip; and see p. 342 for the Indian peace council.)

Ref: J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), pp. xxxiii, 113-219, 240; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 601-604 (for the Pawnee council proceedings); Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 416-418.

☞ October 9.—To John O. Agnew, and to J. H. Flournoy & Co., licenses were issued (by Agent R. W. Cummins) which permitted them to trade with the Kickapoos, the Delawares, and the Kansa—at a specified location within each of the three Indian reserves.

These were apparently the first permits issued for trading places on the Kickapoo and the Delaware lands. As described in the Agnew and Flournoy licenses, and in those given to other traders subsequently, the specified locations were:

On the *Kickapoo* reserve: "at the first point of bluffs above the mouth of Salt creek, about 3½ miles above Fort Leavenworth" (present northeast Leavenworth county).

On the *Delaware* reserve: "a bluff on the north side of the Kansas river, near the mouth of the second creek [present Mill? creek] which empties into that river, where the Delaware blacksmith now lives" (present Wyandotte county—and the place is further identified by J. T. Irving's account [August, 1833] of crossing the Kansas at Grinter's ferry: "We disembarked and galloped up the bank. On the top was a large log house, inhabited by the blacksmith of the Delaware Indians. . . .").

Agent Cummins, on October 10, licensed Francis G. Chouteau (agent for the American Fur Company) to trade with the Kickapoos at the location on their reserve described above. But, see, also, October 25 entry.

(The *Kansa* reserve trading point had been specified earlier—when Frederick Chouteau was granted a license in 1832—see p. 193.)

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273); J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), p. 18. Agnew and Flournoy, were Independence, Mo., merchants.

¶ October.—During this month the fall caravan of returning Santa Fe traders crossed “Kansas.” Apparently this company was accompanied by a military(?) escort (*see below*). At Columbia, Mo., a November 9 newspaper issue noted the traders’ return with “from 80 to 100 thousand dollars in specie, furs, mules, etc.”; and it was reported the party included about 100 of those who had gone out in the spring. Josiah Gregg (who had traveled to Santa Fe in the spring of 1831) was in this company.

Earlier (on September 21) the Columbia paper had stated that the returning caravan had a Mounted Ranger escort. Possibly it was the same force which had accompanied the traders in the spring (*see* May 15 entry), and then had returned to Fort Leavenworth on August 3d. But no *official record* has been found which shows that the Fort Leavenworth-based rangers made an autumn trip westward to rendezvous with the fall caravan. The Columbia newspaper report might be written off as hearsay, except for this additional item supplied by Maximilian, prince of Wied-Neuwied (a surprising source, since he was then—about December 19—on the upper Missouri, at Fort Clark). He wrote:

“Some of Mr. Soublette’s people arrived [at Fort Clark] from St. Louis, which they had left on the 14th of October. . . . They told us . . . that the party escorting the caravan from Santa Fe had been so closely hemmed in by the Indians (probably Arikkaras [Pawnees?]), that they had been compelled, by want of provisions, to slaughter fourteen of their horses.”

Ref: *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 21, November 9, 1832; Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 24, p. 46 (for Maximilian); Gregg, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 305; R. E. Twitchell’s *Old Santa Fe* . . . (Santa Fe, c1925), p. 218. Gregg, in his table of Santa Fe trade statistics—1822-1843—published in v. 2, p. 160, of his *Commerce of the Prairies*, recorded under 1834: “2nd U. S. escort.” He certainly knew of the 1829 escort; and had returned in 1833 (above) with a caravan perhaps under military escort. (In any case the *west-bound* 1833 caravan had been escorted by the Mounted Rangers.) So, for 1834, he should have recorded: 3d U. S. escort.

¶ October 25.—Issued to the American Fur Company (by Sup’t William Clark, at St. Louis) were trading licenses which renewed permits for three fur posts in “Kansas,” and granted permission, additionally, for trade with the Kickapoos, and with the Delawares.

The old sites were: (1) Francis & Cyprian Chouteau’s Kansas river (south bank) post, on the Shawnee reserve (present Wyandotte county); (2) Frederick Chouteau’s mouth-of-American Chief (Mission) creek post on the Kansa reserve (present Shawnee county); (3) the Chouteau brothers’ branch-of-the-Marais des Cygnes post on the Wea & Piankeshaw reserve, about one mile east of the Wea villages (present Miami county).

The new sites were: (1) a Chouteau-operated post on the Delaware reserve; and (2) a trading house operated by Laurence Pensineau on the Kickapoo reserve. (For locations, *see* October 9 entry.)

Though these October licenses listed only five American Fur Company trading houses in “Kansas,” there was still one more—the post on the Osage reserve

(present Neosho county) for which a renewal permit had been granted on January 1, 1833.

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273); 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 45* (Serial 254)—for Osage reserve license. For references to Laurence Pensineau as trader among the Kickapoos, see G. J. Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City* . . . (Chicago, 1920), pp. 53, 54, and his *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), v. 1, p. 387.

❧ Late in October, in the Big Nemaha country, John Treat Irving, Jr., of Comm'r Henry Ellsworth's party, became separated from his companions on the journey from the Platte to Fort Leavenworth (see p. 338). Though he reached the military post not long after the others—around the first of November(?)—the experiences during several days of solitary travel provided material for three chapters in his subsequently-written *Indian Sketches* (1835).

Irving's wanderings brought him southward, so that he arrived on the bank of the Kansas—probably in the general area of present Topeka. There he met a mounted Kansa, who, reluctantly (as Irving tells the story in light-hearted vein), gave him assistance, and eventually guided him (by a circuitous route) towards the Kansa Agency some miles downriver. In the middle of the night, after a rest-stop, they forded the Sauterelle—now Delaware—river; then passed White Plume's abandoned stone house (see p. 32); and, near daylight, reached the Kansa Agency. Irving was fed and housed by the government blacksmith (John McGill, apparently). A few hours later, he met Agent Marston G. Clark; and in his company (Irving riding a mule), set out that evening for Fort Leavenworth, about 40 miles distant. They arrived at the post early next morning.

Ref: J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), pp. xxxiii, 218-240.

❧ October 27.—Missionaries Moses and Eliza Merrill, and Cynthia Brown (who had come with the Meekers—see October 4 entry) left Shawnee Baptist Mission to travel some 230(?) miles northward—beyond the Platte—to Bellevue (Neb.), where they were to open a Baptist mission for the Otoe and Missouri Indians. Ira D. Blanchard accompanied them to the vicinity of the Platte, then returned to his place among the Delawares (on November 29). Also in the party were a guide, and a teamster to handle the oxen and wagon. (See July 31 entry for the earlier Merrill-Blanchard round-trip over much this same route.)

Mrs. Eliza Merrill's journal (excerpts only are available) discloses their three-weeks' journey was one of privations and hardships. They were nearly surrounded by prairie fires (in present Leavenworth? county) on the 29th; then became lost; ran short of food; became both exhausted and disheartened before finally reaching the Platte on November 13. There they made a raft, but could not cross till the 17th, because of high winds. Late on November 17 the three missionaries reached Bellevue, and occupied a log house there. Seven days later they opened a Baptist mission school.

(On April 1, 1835, Moses Merrill was appointed government teacher for the Otoes and Missourias. On September 18, 1835, the Merrills and Miss Brown moved from Bellevue to a new mission site—near the place selected for the relocation of the Otoes—on the north side of the Platte, about six miles above its mouth.)

Ref: Nebraska Historical Society *Transactions*, v. 5 (1893), pp. 222-226; Jotham Meeker's "Diary," October 26 and 27, 1833, entries; *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 16 (June, 1836), pp. 129, 130; 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 109* (Serial 280), p. 8 (for Merrill's 1835 appointment).

❧ October 28.—Alexander G. Morgan (sutler, and postmaster, at Fort Leavenworth) was issued three Indian trading licenses (by Sup't William Clark, St. Louis). They permitted him (and one associate) to trade with (1) the Kickapoos, (2) the Kansa, and (3) the Delawares. (See October 9 entry, for trading location on each reserve.)

On November 1 Morgan was also licensed to trade on the Des Moines river, at the Sac & Fox village—again with one other person. It appears that Alexander G. Morgan's associate was "free hunter" Johnston Gardiner (by report, also "one of the best pilots on the whole course of the Missouri"). Maximilian's party (coming down the Missouri in 1834) included Gardiner, and the prince made this comment: "Near this post [Fort Leavenworth] is the village of the Kickapoos. . . . Major Morgan [*i. e.*, Alexander G. Morgan] who kept a large store of provisions and other necessities, had a share in Gardner's [Gardiner's] fur trade; the latter accordingly quitted me at this place."

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273); Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 24, p. 114 (for Maximilian). In Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade*, v. 2, pp. 941-945, are items relating to "Johnson Gardner," including a copy of a free hunter's contract of July 5, 1832, with Gardiner's X-mark "signature." In 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 45* (Serial 254), is an item on the trading license issued to Johnston Gardiner (by William Clark) on July 3, 1833, for 13 persons to trade "On the Cowskin [now Elk] river," etc., with the Senecas of Sandusky (in present northeastern Oklahoma).

❧ About November 1 the difficulties which had been accumulating between the Mormons and anti-Mormons of Jackson county, Mo., began to involve the settlers in serious clashes.

Jotham Meeker (at Shawnee Baptist Mission) noted on November 2: "A very great excitement about the Mormons. Fear disastrous consequences." Isaac McCoy (a Jackson county resident) wrote on November 4: "A war among our neighbours is about commencing"; he also described the clash which occurred late that day. Meeker (on the 5th) noted the "battle . . . fought yesterday evening in real warlike style between the Mormons and Anti-Mormons, in which several[?] were killed and wounded on both sides." McCoy envisioned having his property destroyed, and considered taking his family elsewhere.

By November 10 the "warfare" had subsided (for the time being). Meeker, on November 11, wrote: ". . . Learn that the Mormons have all fled." (In January and February, 1834, there were further "Mormon troubles.")

Ref: McCoy's "Journal," and Meeker's "Diary."

¶ November 4.—Hiram W. Morgan began work as blacksmith to the Kickapoos (under terms of the October 24, 1832, treaty).

Whether his employment ended on March 31, or early in July, 1834, is uncertain. Agent R. W. Cummins spent \$250 in erecting buildings for a blacksmith on the Kickapoo reserve, apparently in the spring of 1834.

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 150* (Serial 274), pp. 29, 56; *SIA*, v. 10 (for item on "Hiram" W. Morgan). Morgan probably was related to the Fort Leavenworth sutler—Alexander G. Morgan.

¶ The Indian peace council (called by Comm'r Henry Ellsworth) opened at Fort Leavenworth about November 8. Some 100 Pawnees, Otoes, and Omahas met delegates from the immigrant nations—the Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Ottawas, Weas, Peorias & Kaskaskias. (The Kansa arrived late—on the 14th; the Iowas and Sacs on the 15th.)

Ellsworth wrote, on the 8th: "Peace will be concluded at this council between the hostile Indians upon terms highly satisfactory; the wampum has been exchanged, but the speeches not finished." (Baptist missionaries Johnston Lykins and Jotham Meeker attended the November 8 and 9 meetings; Methodists Thomas Johnson and Jerome Berryman were present for some council sessions.)

The treaty, signed on November 12 by the nations then present, contained agreements: to cease all hostile acts; to take no private or personal revenge; and to allow other tribes to become parties to it. Signers included:

Delawares: Patterson, Nah-ko-min, Ketchum, Nonon-do-quo-mon, Sha-wah-nock, and Long House; *Shawnees*: John Perry, William Perry, Wy-lah-lah-piah, Cornstalk (and four others); *Kickapoos*: Pa-sha-cha-hah and Kennekuk; *Pottawatomies*: Qui-qui-to and Noh-sha-com; *Ottawas*: Oquanoxa and Chi-cah (She-kauk); *Peorias & Kaskaskias*: White Shield, Big Harry, Jim Peorias, and Le Coigne; *Weas*: Quih-wah (Negro legs), Wah-pon-quah (Swan) (and three others). Ietan headed the Otoe signers; Wah-con-ray signed first for the *Omahas*; Shah-re-tah-rich for the *Grand Pawnees*; Ska-lah-lay-shah-ro for the *Tappage Pawnees*; Ah-shah-lay-roh-she for the *Republican Pawnees*; and Pah-kah-le-koo for the *Pawnee Loups*. On November 16 the *Kansa* delegates—11 of them, headed by Nom-pa-wa-rah (White Plume), Ky-he-ga-wa-ta-ninga (Fool Chief), and Ky-he-ga-war-che-ha (Hard Chief)—signed; as did, also, the Iowa and Sac Indians. But most of the delegates had left for home by this date.

Witnesses, on the 12th, included all of Comm'r Henry Ellsworth's party, several army officers (Maj. Bennet Riley, Capt. William N. Wickliffe, Lieutenants Asa Richardson, John Nicholls, Robert Sevier, and John Conrad), Indian agents John Dougherty and Richard W. Cummins; Subagents A. S. Hughes, J. S. Bean, and F. W. Miller; post sutler A. G. Morgan; interpreters Anthony Shane, James Conner, Baptiste Peoria, Peter Cadue, and Lewis La Chapelle. Agent Marston G. Clark, and interpreter Clement Lessert were among the witnesses to the Kansa signers. (See, also, November 20 annals entry.)

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 654, 659, 702, 703, 726-732; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. R. No. 474* (Serial 263), pp. 80, 105-112 (for treaty, with *Osage* signers); J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), pp. 241-254.

¶ November 12-13.—A great meteor "shower" which (as reported)

began around midnight of the 12th and lasted for several hours, was a phenomenon memorable to all who saw it. (The "falling of the stars" was visible in every part of the country.)

Missionary Jotham Meeker (at Shawnee Baptist Mission), arising at five A. M. on November 13, witnessed "a constant flying of innumerable meteors." He also noted (in his diary): "The Ind[ian]s are much alarmed about it."

On his way to "Kansas" (and camped out in western Missouri), another Baptist missionary, Robert Simerwell, "awoke [on the night of the 12th] and beheld an innumerable quant[it]y of vapors or shooting stars passing toward the earth which was magnificent beyond description."

At Fort Leavenworth, on the 13th (as Methodist missionary Jerome C. Berryman later recalled), Comm'r Henry Ellsworth told the Indians assembled in council that the Great Spirit had caused the shower of stars to show Divine approval of their councils, and of the peace treaty which had been negotiated on the 12th. This amused the more enlightened of the Indians present, but doubtless impressed many of the delegates.

Ref: Meeker "Diary," and Simerwell "Diary," in KHi ms. division; McAnally, *op. cit.*, p. 438 (for Berryman's story).

¶ November 13.—At Fort Leavenworth, Comm'r Henry Ellsworth held a second council (*see* September 2) with the Kickapoos. This talk was with all the chiefs. Of its results Ellsworth wrote:

"There is an entire satisfaction [of the assigned reserve], if Kishkoo and a few followers are excepted. . . . When Kishkoo's followers find he is not able to give them land on the Osage [Marais des Cygnes] river, most of them, I think, will leave him, and join their friends [here] on the Missouri river."

(In a June 25, 1834, letter, the Rev. Joseph Kerr of Wea Presbyterian Mission in present Miami county, mentioned the presence of a "roving band" of Kickapoos near the Piankeshaw settlements. These Indians, he wrote, had planted corn and would probably remain for the summer. Presumably this was Kishkoo's band.)

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 639-644; Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence.

¶ November 14.—Baptist missionaries Robert and Fanny (Goodridge) Simerwell, and their three children, recently of Michigan territory, arrived at Isaac McCoy's home near "Westport," Mo.

From Decatur, Ill., on October 10, they had set out overland (in two covered wagons—one horse-drawn, and driven by an Indian youth; the other pulled by oxen), on the last stage of the journey westward. The Simerwells spent the winter of 1833-1834 in a rented house about two miles east of the state line. On May 16, 1834, they moved five miles westward to Shawnee Baptist Mission, and became "Kansas" residents. They took over the quarters vacated by the Rev. Alexander Evans (recently dismissed by the Baptists); and shared the mission premises with the Jotham Meekers.

Ref: Robert Simerwell's "Diary"; Bessie E. Moore's "Life and Work of Robert Simerwell" (thesis, 1939); Jotham Meeker's "Diary," entries of November 14, 1833, and May 16, 1834, and his letter of November 29, 1833. The Simerwells' children (as of November, 1833) were: William (7), Sarah (4), and Ann (1).

¶ November 14.—The Rev. Benedict Roux (Jesuit missionary, from the St. Louis diocese) arrived at “mouth of the Kansas,” overland, from Independence, Mo. On the 18th he journeyed to the Kickapoo settlement (above Fort Leavenworth), and spent a few days at Laurence Pensineau’s American Fur Company trading house.

Kennekuk (the Prophet) was absent—60 miles away. But a messenger brought back an address he dictated; and on November 22, in the presence of several Indians, the trader, and his son Paschal Pensineau, the Prophet’s speech was given in Pottawatomie, translated into Kickapoo by “Mechouet,” and into French by Laurence Pensineau.

Father Roux, after a “short week” among the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies, returned to the Kansas river and spent the winter of 1833-1834, also the following spring, as guest at Francis and Cyprian Chouteau’s Shawnee reserve trading house. (He was “about ten miles from the majority of the French families . . .”—the “Kaw’s mouth” residents of “Kansas City,” Mo.)

Ref: Garraghan’s *Catholic Beginnings* . . . , pp. 35, 42-54; and his *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, p. 387.

¶ Kickapoo Methodist Mission had its beginning in November, when the Rev. Jerome C. Berryman (with the Rev. Thomas Johnson’s aid), selected a site, and got work started on temporary buildings—a dwelling and a schoolhouse (both of round logs)—on a high bluff overlooking the Missouri, three (or more?) miles above Fort Leavenworth.

(Berryman, his wife, Sarah C. [Cessna] Berryman, and her assistant, Dyza Tucker, had arrived at Shawnee Mission early in November, after a journey overland from eastern Missouri. The two women remained there till the Kickapoo Mission—some 30 miles distant—was habitable.)

Perhaps around the beginning of January, 1834, the mission opened. On March 4, 1834, Berryman started a day school. In January, 1835, he reported the school had averaged 45 students. Also, beginning in January, 1835, Berryman became a government teacher (by appointment), and thereafter conducted classes in the U. S. schoolhouse (*see* December 1, 1833, entry), about a quarter of a mile from the mission. Subsequently (in 1835?), permanent Kickapoo Methodist Mission buildings were erected on the government school grounds (in present northeast Leavenworth county).

There was a flourishing church society. The 1834 report showed two white members, and 230 Kickapoo and Pottawatomie members. (In 1838 the figures given were: three whites and 161 Indians.) Berryman also preached at Fort Leavenworth, by invitation, and the missionaries enjoyed their relations with the army people. The school continued to do well till the summer of 1839. (From 1835 on, it was operated chiefly as a boarding school, with as many as 16 Indian children living at one time at the mission.) In 1834-1835 the Rev. John Monroe taught there; in 1837-1838 the Rev. David Kinnear was the government teacher; and in 1839 Elizabeth Lee conducted the school. After a

son of Kennekuk (the Kickapoo Prophet) killed the government blacksmith in mid-July, 1839, the Kickapoos showed increasing reluctance to have their children at the mission. Apparently no school was conducted after 1839. (A few Kickapoo children went to Shawnee Mission.)

But the Kickapoo Methodist Mission continued to function till the late 1850's. When the Berrymans removed to Shawnee Mission in late 1841, their replacements (for two years) were the Rev. Nathaniel Talbott and his wife (from the Peoria Mission). After that the changes of missionaries were frequent.

Ref: KHC, v. 9, pp. 207-211, 226-230, v. 16, pp. 209, 211-219, 241, 242; CIA "Reports," for 1834, 1837-1839, 1845, 1848, 1853, 1859-1861; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Registers* for 1835 (p. 30), 1836 (p. 31), 1837 (p. 33), 1838 (p. 67); 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 109* (Serial 280), p. 8.

¶ On November 20(?) Comm'r Henry Ellsworth left Fort Leavenworth and began a journey to the Osages' country, and to Fort Gibson. He was accompanied to "Oklahoma" by about 50 Pawnee and Otoe Indians (on foot); also Agent John Dougherty, Edward A. Ellsworth, and the interpreter Baptiste Peoria were in the party.

At Shawnee Agency (present Johnson county), Ellsworth added *Piankeshaw* signers to the Indian peace treaty he carried with him (*see* p. 342). On the 22d, in the morning, he conferred with the Rev. Isaac McCoy; on the 23d, from Independence, Mo., he forwarded a *copy* of the treaty to Washington. Evidently he then took the road south from Independence to Harmony Mission; crossed back into "Kansas" to approach the Osage towns by way of Boudinot Mission (as later noted by the Rev. N. B. Dodge). On December 3 he wrote from "Osage Agency," of his party's safe arrival there. Many of the Osages were absent, hunting, he reported.

If Ellsworth followed his stated intention, his party then went on to Fort Gibson, and afterwards visited Clermont's band of Osages. His actual movements are, apparently, not on record. It was perhaps around mid-December when Clermont, Tallia, White Hair, and other Osages added their names to the Indian peace treaty. Comm'r Montfort Stokes was present on that occasion. Witnesses were the two Ellsworths, Stokes, Dougherty, Auguste P. Chouteau, Agent Paul Liguiste Chouteau, Subagent Thomas Anthony, Edward L. Chouteau, Lt. Jefferson Van Horne, Samuel B. "Wright" ["Bright?"—of Harmony Mission], interpreters Baptiste Peoria and James Lee.

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. R. No. 474* (Serial 263), pp. 109-112; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 744, 745 (Ellsworth's December 3, letter); Isaac McCoy's "Journal," November 22, 1833; W. W. Graves' *The First Protestant Osage Missions* . . . (Oswego, c1949), pp. 215, 216 (for Dodge); J. T. Irving (McDermott edition), p. 254.

¶ December 1.—John D. Swallows went on the pay roll as *government teacher* to the Kickapoos. (This was in accordance with Article 7 of the Kickapoo treaty of October 24, 1832.)

In the spring of 1834, apparently, a schoolhouse (costing \$300) was erected on the Indians' reserve. No report by Swallows of his Kickapoo school has been located. On January 1, 1835, the Rev. J. C. Berryman (whose school at the Kickapoo Methodist Mission was started early in 1834) also became a gov-

ernment-paid teacher to the Kickapoos. Both Swallows and Berryman (at annual salaries of \$480) were listed as teachers to the Kickapoos in a January 30, 1836, report by Comm'r of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring.

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 5 (Serial 248), p. 71; 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 150* (Serial 274), pp. 29, 56; 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 109* (Serial 280), p. 8; Robert Simerwell's "Diary" contains mention of Swallows.

¶ On December 4, from a point above Fort Leavenworth, Isaac McCoy, his son John C. McCoy, and eight hands, began a survey of the Kickapoo reserve. (*See map facing p. 177*, for extent of the Kickapoo lands.) The outfit included horses—perhaps some riding animals, as well as pack horses.

Work was started in present Leavenworth county—where the north boundary of the Delaware lands crossed Salt creek. The party then meandered Salt creek to its mouth; and on December 7 turned northward up the Missouri. (Isaac McCoy went back to his home near "Westport," Mo., on business, on December 7; and returned to Fort Leavenworth on December 19, where two of the party, in for supplies, met him). The surveyors, on December 10 were about where Oak Mills, Atchison co. is today—a point opposite the foot of Cow Island (as recorded in the field notes). By the 23d they had reached Independence creek. "Christmas day proceeded along the bluff," state the field notes. Isaac McCoy's journal entry for the 25th was: "Encamped on bank of Missouri in a bottom of Rushes, which is pretty good food for our horses." On December 30 they camped "opposite [Joseph] Robardeaux's trading house."

The New Year began with a snowstorm and a siege of bitter weather. (On January 1, 1834, the surveyors were 55 miles from the mouth of Salt creek by the course of the Missouri [30 miles direct route].) They huddled around a huge campfire for two or three days (*see* January, 1834, entry), then headed home. On January 7 they camped near the mouth of Salt creek; and on the evening of the 9th, the McCoys reached home—crossing the Kansas river on the ice. (*See* June, 1834, entry for completion of the Kickapoo reserve survey.)

Ref: SIA, v. 1, pp. 156-160 (for manuscript copy of field notes), and pp. 154, 155 (for copy of the plat of Kickapoo lands); Isaac McCoy's "Journal," December 2, 1833-January 9, 1834, entries. Curiously, these field notes (signed by Isaac McCoy and John C. McCoy) are dated: "Westport, Jackson County, Missouri Feb. 10th 1834"—and thus *appears* to be the earliest document showing the name "Westport," Mo. However, *at that date, and until May, 1834*, the McCoys were still using the address "Shawanoë," Jackson co., Mo., in their correspondence.

1834

¶ January 1.—"Until now we have had a remarkably pleasant winter. This day has been very cold.—the snow has fallen about six inches deep."—Jotham Meeker, writing at Shawnee Baptist Mission, present Johnson county.

January 2-9.—Meeker, on the 2d, wrote: "Mercury fell this eve. to 18 deg. below zero." Isaac McCoy (from a surveyors' camp on the Missouri, in present Doniphan county) wrote, under dates of the 2d and 3d:

The weather is excessively cold, and sometimes the wind is high. . . . We have a fire of logs twelve or fourteen feet long, piled up. . . . Our

tents upon each side front this large fire, which we keep up day and night, and still we suffer with cold, and not a little from smoke.

After returning to his home near "Westport," Mo., on January 9, McCoy wrote:

We ascertained that at the garrison [Fort Leavenworth] the Mercury had sunk to 30 below zero. At our house and by our Farenhiet, the mercury had, ranged for several days below zero, and sometimes as low as 26 below. This has been the coldest weather ever known in these regions. It is still cold.

Ref: Meeker's "Diary," and McCoy's "Journal."

¶ Available sources suggest that "Bent's Fort"—the large, fortified, adobe trading post of Bent & St. Vrain (Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vrain)—may have been under construction in the summer of 1833; but that the work was not completed till 1834.

This soon-famous post (originally "Fort William" for William Bent—younger brother of Charles—who supervised its erection) was located on the Arkansas river's north bank, seven miles east of present La Junta, Otero co., Colo.—and about 530 miles west of Independence, Mo.

In a letter written at Fort Pierre (S.D.) on January 10, 1834, fur trader William Laidlaw stated: "I understand from the Sioux that Charles Bent has built a Fort upon the Arkansas for the purpose of trade with the different bands of Indians. . . ." A St. Louis newspaper of October 14, 1834 (*see* a September, 1834, annals entry), reported the arrival of a "Messrs. St. Vrain, Bent and Company" wagon train from "the trading posts on the Arkansas river." (With the inclusion of William Bent, the partnership became Bent, St. Vrain & Company.) At St. Louis on December 13, 1834, Charles Bent was issued a two-year license to trade (employing 29 men) with the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Snakes, Sioux, and Aricaras, at several upper Arkansas river locations—including "Fort William, on the north side of the Arkansas about 40[1] miles east of the Rocky Mts. . . ." A map by Capt. Lemuel Ford (*see March of the First Dragoons to the Rocky Mountains in 1835; the Diaries and Maps of Lemuel Ford* . . ., by Nolie Mumey [Denver, 1957], between pp. 56, 57) shows Fort Cass and a "Fort William" (in close proximity) about where Pueblo, Colo., is today; and also shows "Bents Fort" farther down the Arkansas—at the location east of present La Junta, Colo.—about 120 miles from the Rocky mountains. The trading license granted to Bent, St. Vrain & Co. on July 26, 1838, described "Fort William" [Bent's Fort] as "on the North side of the Arkansas River, 40 miles North of the Spanish Peaks, 120 east of the Rocky Mountains, and five below one of the Principal Forks of the Arkansas . . ." (as reproduced in Nolie Mumey's *Old Forts* . . ., v. 1 [Denver, 1956], between pp. 12, 13).

Ref: L. R. Hafen's "When Was Bent's Fort Built," in *The Colorado Magazine*, v. 31 (April, 1954), pp. 105-119; H. W. Dick's "The Excavation of Bent's Fort, Otero County, Colorado," in *ibid.*, v. 33 (July, 1956), pp. 181-196; 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273)—for the trading license issued to Charles Bent in late 1834; David Lavender's *Bent's Fort* (New York, 1954), pp. 131-140, 386 (the trading license year is incorrect as given in his book); also *see* G. B. Grinnell's "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," in *KHC*, v. 15, pp. 28-91 (for an early account of the trading post, the Bents, and Ceran St. Vrain).

¶ **MARRIED:** Joseph Lasweese (Osage half-breed), and Julia Mongrain (daughter of Osage half-breed Noel Mongrain), on February 6, at the Osage Agency, Neosho river (present Neosho county), by the Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge, of Boudinot Mission.

A large crowd of Osages attended the wedding, and the "remarks and ceremony were interpreted into the Osage language. . . ." Agent Paul Liguette Chouteau provided a dinner for 40 or 50 persons (eight, or more, were Osage chiefs and head-men); and another feast, on February 7, for perhaps 100 Osages.

According to Dodge, it was "The first marriage among the Indians on the Neosho." No doubt it was the first Protestant marriage among the Osages of Neosho river (in "Kansas"), but for earlier marriages (Catholic) of Osages from the Neosho towns, *see* a Spring, 1830, annals entry.

Ref: *Missionary Herald*, v. 30 (July, 1834), p. 259 (for Dodge's letter of March 1, 1834), or Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¶ Early in February the Catholic congregation (12 French, two American, and two Indian families) at "mouth of the Kansas" (the future Kansas City, Mo.), rented a "chapel" (house), where Father Benedict Roux officiated till April, 1835. Until summer (1834) he "commuted" from the Chouteaus' post on the Kansas river (*see* November 14, 1833, entry); then removed to a rented dwelling two miles from the "chapel."

Father Roux's first baptisms (13 children) were on February 23, 1834. Kansa interpreter Clement Lessert's daughters Mary and Martha (by his wife Julia Roy) were in this group. Others baptized by the Rev. Benedict Roux, during his 1834-1835 tenure, included: Francis G. and Berenice (Menard) Chouteau's son Benedict Pharamond (born February 22, 1833); Kickapoo trader Laurence Pensineau's eight-year-old son Louis (by Nina—a Kickapoo?), baptized March 3, 1834; Daniel and Constance (Philibert) Boone's daughters Elizabeth (born February 3, 1833) and Eulalia (born February 13, 1835)—granddaughters of Daniel Morgan Boone (formerly agriculturist for the Kansa); and Louis Gonville's 18-year-old daughter Mary Josephine—also called "Josette" (whose mother was a daughter—or niece?—of Kansa chief White Plume), baptized on April 19, 1835 (the sponsors were Francis G. and Berenice Chouteau, in whose home she had been raised). Of these, probably the only one "Kansas-born" was Mary Josephine Gonville—whose father had traded, and lived among, the Kansa Indians since about 1807 (*see* *KHQ*, v. 27, pp. 363, 534, v. 28, p. 56; and *see, also*, October 25, 1837, entry).

Ref: Garraghan's *The Jesuits* . . . , v. 1, pp. 257, 258, 386, 387; D. A. R., Kansas City chapter, *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Missouri, 1826-1876* (c1934), pp. 90-92; Frederick Chouteau's May 5, 1880, letter (in KHi ms. division) in which he states: "My brother [Francis] raised Louis' [Louis Gonville's] daughter Josephine Gonville and she married Joseph Papin at his house"; 37th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 58* (Serial 1122), p. 2. Clement Lessert had two children (Clement and Adel) by his Kansa wife Me-ho-yah, who were born in "Kansas"; but his family by wife Julia (Roy) Lessert had, so far as known, no "Kansas" connection.

¶ Work was started on the Wea Presbyterian Mission late in February—at a site (chosen by the Rev. Wells Bushnell) about a mile

from the larger Wea village (on a branch of the Marais des Cygnes, in present Miami county). On April 17 the hewed-log mission house (built by part-Shawnee Joseph Barnett and four hands), though not completed, was occupied by the Bushnells, the Rev. Joseph Kerr and his wife, and Nancy Henderson (teacher).

These persons, in the service of the Western Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, had arrived at Independence, Mo., on December 31, 1833 (from Pittsburgh, Pa.), and spent the winter there.

In a June 25 letter Wells Bushnell reported that a school (opened late in May, in a room of the dwelling) had been temporarily suspended due to Mrs. Kerr's illness; that a 24-foot-square, hewed-log, school-and-meeting house had been built, also a stable, a smoke house, corn crib, spring house, and "some other little conveniences." Henry Bradley (hired to run the farm) arrived not long after the missionaries. He wrote, on August 5, that the Wea Mission occupants had been ill with fever and ague. On August 5 Bushnell and his family left.

For a brief time in 1835 Elihu M. Sheppard (teacher) was at Wea Mission. That summer Francis H. Lindsay (teacher) and his wife joined the mission staff. The personnel in December, 1835, as stated by Joseph Kerr: the Kerrs, the Lindsays, Henry Bradley, Nancy Henderson, and Mrs. Rosetta Hardy. However, Miss Henderson was absent during the winter of 1835-1836—teaching school for three months at *Westport*, Mo. (the winter before, she had taught at Independence). (The Weas and Piankeshaws were away, hunting, in the winter months.)

The Kerrs left when Mrs. Mary Ann Kerr's health failed in 1836. Henry Bradley, his wife (an 1836? arrival), Nancy Henderson, and James Duncan were at the mission in late 1836. In July, 1837, the Rev. John Fleming and his wife arrived. Fleming, in a December, 1837, letter stated that he thought the Wea band too small, and the Indians too closely settled to the Peoria Methodist Mission to justify keeping the Presbyterian mission open. Wea Mission closed in 1838. The buildings were sold to the government for the Indians' use.

Ref: Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence; Spooner & Howland's *History of American Missions* (1840), pp. 723, 724; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Registers*, 1835 (p. 21), 1836, (p. 22), 1837 (p. 25), 1838 (p. 60).

¶ March 8.—At Shawnee Baptist Mission, where he had set up his press in February, Missionary Jotham Meeker wrote in his diary: "Took an impression of Blanchard's first form [*see* March 21 entry, below]. Also printed [50 copies of] a Shawanoe hymn for Br. [Alexander] Evans." On March 10 he wrote: ". . . Print [50 copies of] the Shawanoe Alphabet & Hymns for Br. Evans."

These were the first items printed on the "Meeker press"; and they were the first items printed in "Kansas." (*See* March 21 entry for the first "Meeker press" book.)

Ref: Meeker's "Diary," and Meeker's February 10, 1835, report, in KHi ms. division; *see* KHQ, v. 4 (1935), pp. 61-73 (for Kirke Mechem's article on "The Mystery of the Meeker Press").

☪ BORN: on March 15, at Delaware Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), Martha Jane Peery, daughter of the Rev. Edward T. and Mary S. (Peery) Peery. (She died March 17, 1835.)

Ref: Si and Shirley Corn's *Our Family Tree* (1959), Section four.

☪ March 21.—At Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), Jotham Meeker recorded in his diary: "Complete the first Ind. book in the Territory containing 24 pages besides the cover. . . ." He referred to Ira D. Blanchard's *Linapi'e Lrkvekun, Apwivuli Kavuni Vawinj Wato* . . . (Shawnee Mission, J. Meeker, Printer, 1834).

This "Delaware Primer and First Book" (the edition was 300 copies) was the *first book printed in "Kansas."*

The second "Meeker press" book was Missionary Alexander Evans' 18-page Shawnee First Book—300 copies were printed on March 29; and the third book was Missionary Robert Simerwell's 32-page Pottawatomie First Book—300 copies were printed on June 2. The translations were all based on a Meeker-devised system of using the English alphabet characters to represent Indian language sounds—a system which proved to be a simple and popular method of teaching the Indians to read.

At least two copies of the *first book printed in "Kansas"* (Blanchard's Delaware elementary book) exist—one is in the New York Public Library and the other in the Boston Athenaeum. The Kansas State Historical Society has none of the three books noted above. It does, however, have a later Delaware book by Blanchard. On February 6, 1837, Jotham Meeker (still resident at Shawnee Baptist Mission) wrote in his diary: "Commence setting types on the Harmony of the Gospels in Delaware by Br. [Ira D.] Blanchard." It is this 221-page "Harmony of the Gospels"—the last book published by Meeker before he moved from Shawnee Mission to work among the Ottawa Indians—of which the Society has a copy (800 were printed). For illustrations of the book's two title pages (English, and Delaware), *see facing p. 337.*

Ref: Meeker's "Diary," and Meeker's February 10, 1835, report; *KHC*, v. 8, pp. 80, 81. Also, *see* D. C. McMurtrie's *Jotham Meeker* . . . (Chicago, 1930), and J. C. Pilling's *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* (Bureau of Ethnology *Bulletin* No. 13), especially p. 314 (and for comparative purposes, p. 51).

☪ BORN: on March 26(?), about one half mile east of Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), Julia Ann Beauchemie, daughter of Mackinaw and Betsy [or Mary] (Rogers) Beauchemie.

(Betsy [or Mary] Rogers' father was Henry Rogers, a white man kidnapped from his Virginia home as a child, by the Shawnees, and raised in Chief Blackfish's family. Her mother was a daughter of Blackfish.)

Ref: Notes from interviews with Julia Ann (Beauchemie) Stinson, July 16, 1895 (in which she says her mother's name was "Betsy"), April 21, 1906 (in which her birth date is given as March 26, and her mother's name as "Mary," or "Polly," also sometimes called "Betsy"), in KHi ms. division; Shawnee County Historical Society *Bulletin*, No. 22 (December, 1954), p. 52 (gives the birth date as March 28); *KHC*, v. 9, p. 171n (for family data); *Kansas City Sun*, June 22, 1917 (for statement she was born "less than one-half mile of the First Mission"), or *see* "Wyandotte County Clippings," v. 4, p. 304—in KHi library.

☐ April 1.—The Rev. Henry Rennick, Jr., a Cumberland Presbyterian minister, went on the pay roll as government teacher to the Delawares. A school house, and “buildings attached thereto,” worth \$278.50 (as reported by Isaac McCoy, in late 1834), probably were built about this same time; but McCoy also stated no school had yet been started (as of December, 1834).

At the end of 1835 McCoy reported that Rennick was teaching at the Delaware Methodist Mission house; that he had 19 scholars, three of whom were supported by the mission; at the end of 1836, he stated merely that the schoolhouse erected by the United States was unoccupied. Henry Rennick was government teacher for several years, but no other record of his work, or accomplishments, has been located.

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 150* (Serial 274), p. 27; 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 109* (Serial 280), p. 8; *Report of the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions*, 1834, p. 171; McCoy's *Annual Registers* for 1835 (p. 26), 1836 (p. 28), 1837 (p. 31). In the U. S. census records, 1830, 1840, and 1850, for Jackson county, Mo., the name appears as both “Rennick” and “Renick.”

☐ BORN: on April 4, at the Kickapoo Methodist Mission (present Leavenworth county), Sarah Emily Berryman, daughter (and first child) of the Rev. Jerome C. and Sarah C. (Cessna) Berryman. (She died three years later.)

Ref: Leavenworth *Times*, September 21, 1925 (or, Remsburg “Stork” clippings, in KHi library; *KHC*, v. 16, p. 214.

☐ In April the post office of “Shawnee,” Jackson co., Mo. (established in June, 1832; Dr. Johnston Lykins, postmaster) was changed to “West Port,” Mo., and John C. McCoy was appointed postmaster. (His certification bears the date May 27, 1834.)

The post office was in McCoy's small log house (built in 1833, at a location on the public road from Independence, Mo., to state line) in which he had opened a general store (stocked with goods owned by J. P. Hickman & Co.—*i. e.*, partners Hickman, J. H. Flournoy, and J. C. McCoy). The site was the northeast corner where Westport and Pennsylvania avenues, Kansas City, Mo., now intersect—in the S.E.¼ of Sec. 19, T. 49 N., R. 33 W., a tract of land purchased by McCoy from Johnston Lykins in 1833. (The Santa Fe trail route westward from Independence ran some eight(?) miles south of McCoy's store.) In the spring of 1834 (as McCoy recollected in 1879) the steamboat *John Hancock*[?] put ashore a stock of goods for him at the nearest point on the Missouri river—about four miles north of the store—where the future Kansas City, Mo., had its beginning.

John C. McCoy wrote (in 1879) that he had no idea who “first conceived the idea of laying off a town at this point [*i. e.*, Westport] . . . but . . . previous to about 1834 no such project was spoken of or suggested in this region.” His own town lots then, were probably first laid out in 1834. But, just to the southeast, on adjacent land, John Campbell (recently subagent at Shawnee Agency) also laid out a town “West Port” in 1834 (on a tract in the S.W.¼ of Sec. 20, T. 49 N., R. 33 W., purchased from Robert Johnson by deed

of August 9, filed August 13, 1834). John C. McCoy bought three lots in Campbell's town of "West Port" on August 31, 1834.

McCoy was the first to file his town plat for record (the date was February 13, 1835). It showed an area labeled "Campbell's Addition. . . ." John Campbell's "West Port" plat was filed on March 26, 1835. But death curtailed any plans he had for the development of a town. (He died in the East, in 1836, where he had gone to fight charges which had caused his dismissal as Indian subagent [see p. 337].) So, it was John C. McCoy's "West Port" which subsequently expanded as the town of Westport, Mo.

Ref: Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*, January 16, 1879 (or, "Kansas Reminiscences" clippings, v. 1, pp. 127, 128, in KHi library); Isaac McCoy manuscripts, v. 22 (for J. C. McCoy's certificate as postmaster), v. 23 (for J. P. Hickman & Co. document); photostats of Jackson co., Mo., deed records (particularly from Book C, pp. 427-429 and Book D, pp. 1, 238-240) and other documents relating to John Campbell, collected by Mrs. Orville H. Christopher, of Kansas City, Mo., and graciously lent to this compiler for annals use; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, July 12, 1925, March 12, 1933 (or, "Wyandotte County Clippings," v. 6, pp. 2-8). The steamboat *John Nelson* was operating on the Missouri in 1834; and the *John Hancock* may have been, but the earliest record of this boat on the Missouri seems to be 1835.

¶ April 28.—From a camp about four miles west of Independence, Mo., Nathaniel J. Wyeth's *second* expedition to the Far West got under way. His was the first party on the trail to the Rocky mountains in 1834, but following after were three other companies.

In 1832 Wyeth had gone west with William L. Sublette. (See May, 1832, annals; and September, 1833, for his return.) This year (1834) Milton G. Sublette (brother) was accompanying Wyeth—associated in taking supplies to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. And William L. Sublette was readying a rival expedition—see next entry. Also preparing to cross "Kansas" to the mountains shortly, were (1) an American Fur Company party (with supplies for Drips & Fontenelle), headed by Etienne Provost, and (2) a company taking supplies to Bonneville, headed by Michel S. Cerré. (No narratives of these two expeditions exist, so far as known.)

From a journalistic viewpoint, Wyeth's 1834 expedition was the "best-covered" overland journey of the fur trade era. Quotations from the diaries and narrators who "reported" it, have been linked, below, to present an account of the "Kansas" portion of the trip—the *early* Oregon trail route ("Sublette's Trace") across "Kansas," when expeditions crossed the Kansas river about seven miles above present Lawrence.

At the journey's beginning, according to *Osborne Russell* (a Wyeth employee): "Our party consisted of forty men engaged in the service [of Wyeth] accompanied by Mess[rs] Thomas Nuttall and [John K.] Townsend Botanists and Ornithologists with two attendants; likewise Rev's Jason and Daniel Lee Methodist Missionaries with four attendants [With the Lees were Cyrus Shepard (teacher), Philip L. Edwards (lay helper) of Richmond, Mo., and Courtney M. Walker (assistant) of Missouri; also a wagoner—as far as Kansas river.] . . . which brot. our numbers (including six independent Trappers) to fifty Eight[?] men. . . ." [Subsequently, there were some desertions and a few additions to the party.]

[April 28] *Daniel Lee*: "On the 28th we raised camp, and began our march. . . . The whole party . . . all mounted on horses or mules, and armed with rifles. . . . The mules and horses altogether were over 150. . . ." *Russell*: ". . . about forty men leading two loaded horses each were marched out in double file . . . : led by Mr. Wyeth . . . whilst the remainder of the party with twenty head of extra horses and as many cattle to supply emergencies brot, up the rear under the direction of Capt. Joseph Thing . . . who had been employed by . . . [Wyeth's] Company in Boston to accompany the party and measure the route across the Rocky Mountains by Astronomical observation." *John K. Townsend*: "The band of missionaries, with their horned cattle, rode along the flanks." *Russell*: "We travelled slowly . . . untill about 2 clk P. M. and encamped at a small grove of timber near a spring."

[April 29] *Jason Lee*: "[I] Started early, accompanied by Bro. [P. L.] Edwards, to find Bro. T[homas] Johnson at the Shawnee [Methodist] Mission, about 7 miles from camp . . . was much pleased to find Sister Johnson surrounded with Shawnee sisters engaged in quilting. Stayed over night. . . . [On the 30th, Lee bought a beef cow from Johnson, and with Edwards, journeyed to Wyeth's camp—the company had, meantime, progressed not more than 20 miles, it appears.]

[May 1] *Townsend*: "We encamped this evening on a small branch of the Kansas river. . . . we were joined by a band of Kansas Indians. . . . They were encamped in a neighboring copse where they have six lodges."

[May 2] *Jason Lee*: "Did not decamp. Some of our com[pany] visited the Indian camp. . . ."

[May 3] *Jason Lee*: "Struck tent—came ahead of the Com[pany] and found a number of wigwams on the bank of the Kansas. They are Caws—came here to visit the agent General Clark. . . ." [They were awaiting Agent Marston G. Clark's arrival, according to *Cyrus Shepard*, who also wrote]: ". . . we crossed [the Kansas] in a flat-bottomed boat with our goods. . . . Swam our horses & cows over, except our beef cow which got into the woods and eluded all further search." *Townsend*: "[we] . . . landed on the opposite side near our horse pen [the animals, after swimming the river had been driven into a fenced lot], where we encamped [*i. e.*, at the Kansa Agency]. The [Indian] lodges are numerous here, and there are also some good frame[!] houses inhabited by a few white men and women, who subsist chiefly by raising cattle, which they drive to the settlements below. They, as well as the Indians, raise an abundance of good corn; potatoes and other vegetables are also plentiful. . . . In the evening the principal[?] Kansas chief paid us a visit in our tent. He is a young man about twenty-five years of age, straight as a poplar and with a noble countenance and bearing. . . . a very lively, laughing, and rather playful personage." [Fool Chief?—or, possibly, old White Plume's son, White Plume II.]

[May 4—Sunday] *Shepard*: "Passed day at the yesterday's encampment . . . on the bank of the Kansas river . . . surrounded by a wicked, profane & licentious company of white men and some scores of indians. . . ."

Jason Lee: "No regard paid by any of Capt. W's company to the Sabbath."

[May 5] *Jason Lee*: "Started early before breakfast from the agency and travelled till 12 o'clock and then took breakfast." [Lee had left letters with

"General Clark's son"—probably "George B." Clark, *see* August 15, 1834, entry—for mailing. This is the only known reference to the presence in "Kansas" of any member of Agent Marston G. Clark's family.] *Nathaniel J. Wyeth*: "Made this day along the Kansas about 16 miles [camped] on a small stream [Soldier creek?] having crossed one called the Saut[e]relle ["Grasshopper"; now Delaware river]. . . ."

[May 6] *Wyeth*: "Moved along the Kansas and made about 12 miles to noon . . . made this day about 18 miles." *Jason Lee*: "Stopped to dine and bait our animals a little distance from the Caw Village." [Fool Chief's town—in present Shawnee county—*see* pages 58, 59, and *facing* 49]. *Townsend*: "[a] village . . . consisting of about thirty lodges, and situated in the midst of a beautiful level prairie." [May 7] *Wyeth*: "Made about 15 miles and camped on Little Vermillion" [in present Pottawatomie county].

[May 8] *Wyeth*: "In the morning Mr [Milton G.] Sublette finding that his leg would not bear travelling turned back made this d[a]y about 15 miles This day left Kansas River." *Jason Lee*: "Are now [camped] on a stream about as large as the little Vermillion [Rock creek]. . . . [May 9] *Wyeth*: "Made about 20 miles and camped on a small river this day our hunter killed our first deer." *Jason Lee*: "Encamped on a brook in a beautiful place. . . ." [May 10] *Wyeth*: "Made 15 miles to Big Vermillion [Black Vermillion, present Marshall county] and then 5 miles more and camped in the prairie with but little wood and a little stagnant water." [May 11] *Jason Lee*: "Decamped early this morning but lost the trail came to a stop about 11 o'clock." *Wyeth*: "Sent a man to hunt the trail." *Shepard*: ". . . Halted to feed our animals on the bank of a creek a branch of Blue river in Lat. 40° 18' North[?] . . . On starting from this place we lost the trail . . . encamped near a verdant grove. . . ."

[May 12] *Townsend*: "Our scouts came in this morning with the . . . [news] that they had found a large trail of white men, bearing N. W. We have no doubt that this is Wm. Sublette's party, and that it passed us last evening. . . ." *Wyeth*: "Spent the morning mending hobbles . . . in afternoon started and in about 8 mil[e]s found a camp of Sublettes for nooning and marched until dark and camped. . . ."

[May 13] *Wyeth*: "Started and travelled 7 hours and camped on a fork of the Blue." *Jason Lee*: "Encamped on . . . a large Brook clear . . . water. Capt. Thing took a lunar observation and found we were 97° 7' West from Greenwich. . . ." [May 14] *Wyeth*: "Made W. S. W. 21 miles and struck the main Blue [Little Blue of today]." *Jason Lee*: "We decamp about ½ past 7 o'clock stop about 2 hours at noon and camp about ½ past 6. Make near 50 [*i. e.*, 20] m. per day which is as much as the horses can endure for they are heavily loaded. . . ." [May 15] *Wyeth*: "Made about W. 9 miles [Lat. 40° 17'] then made 12 mils W. by N. over a very level prairie and again struck the main Blue [Little Blue] and camped. *Jason Lee*: "Mr. [Courtney M.] Walker caught two cat fish. . . . Saw a number of antelope the hunters killed two."

[May 16] *Wyeth*: "Made 10 miles about W. by N. to Dinner (Lat. 40° 23') and 12 more to the Pawnee trail to the head of the Arkansas[?] and found that a very large party [of Pawnees] had passed it about 10 days before and a smaller

one this morning." *Jason Lee*: "Crossed the Pawnee trail just before we camped it is worn by travel so that it appears like a wagon road. [The Pawnees] . . . had just passed and I perc[e]ive our camp is arranged with more care than usual."

[May 17] *Jason Lee*: "Started this morning at 7 o'clock. Made a severe march of 9 hours from the Blue to the Platte. . . . We came to day 15 m. N. W. and 10 m. W. Total 25 m."

By Daniel Lee's table of distances they reached the Platte in 17 days, and 340 miles from Independence, Mo.; 29 days (and 580 miles) later, Wyeth's company reached the Green river rendezvous. (On June 1, after crossing the Laramie river, they had found some of William L. Sublette's men building a trading post—"the first Fort Laramie.") On arriving at the rendezvous, Wyeth found that Sublette had induced the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to double-cross him. Wyeth subsequently built Fort Hall at a Snake river site selected in mid-July. The missionaries, in company with Thomas McKay's trading party, went on to "Fort Wallah-wallah"—arriving there September 1st.

Ref: N. J. Wyeth's "2nd Journal" (1834), in *Sources of the History of Oregon*, Eugene, vol. 1 (1899), Pts. 3-6, pp. 221-225, and *ibid.*, pp. 129-132, for Wyeth's April, and May, 1834, letters); Osborne Russell's *Journal of a Trapper*, ed. by L. A. York (Portland, 1955), pp. i, vi, 1, 2; John K. Townsend's *Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains* . . . (Philadelphia, 1839), pp. [9], 21, 27-42 (or, see in Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 21, pp. 107-369); "Diary of Rev. Jason Lee," in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Salem, v. 17 (1916), pp. 116-123; also, Jason Lee's "Diary" as published in A. R. Hulbert's *The Oregon Crusade* (1935), pp. 147-160, 167-184; Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost's *Ten Years in Oregon* (New York, 1844), pp. 109-123; Cyrus Shepard's "Diary" (1834), pp. 42-64 (Coe Ms. No. 421, Yale University Library—used by permission); P. L. Edwards' letter, in *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 47 (October 11, 1834), p. 92; De Voto, *op. cit.*, p. 389; Dale L. Morgan's letter of March 27, 1962, for information on the Provost-, and Cerré-led expeditions. There is, also, James B. Marsh's *Four Years in the Rockies; or the Adventures of Isaac P. Rose* (New Castle, Pa., 1884).

¶ The fifth of May William L. Sublette's pack-train (37 men; 95 horses) crossed the western boundary of Missouri en route to the Rocky mountains by way of "Sublette's Trace." Two nights later his camp was at the Kansa Agency.

On May 12 Sublette (and company) passed Wyeth's party (*see* preceding entry). But he was not far in advance, for on May 15 John K. Townsend (with Wyeth) noted in his journal: "This morning a man was sent ahead to see W. Sublette's camp, and bear a message to him, who returned in the evening with the information that the company is only one day's journey beyond. . . ."

At the end of May, after crossing the Laramie river, Sublette detached some 13 men to build a log trading post at that point—the first "Fort Laramie" (founded May 31, and formally christened "Fort William"); then continued on—to the Green river rendezvous.

[William Marshall Anderson—a supernumerary with Sublette's party—is the only known narrator of the expedition. His diaries and journal are in the Henry E. Huntington Library.]

On July 10 William Sublette's homeward-bound party (with 60 to 70 packs of beaver) left the trappers' rendezvous, then on Ham's Fork, to return by

"Sublette's Trace" to Missouri. Presumably this company crossed "Kansas" in early August.

Ref: Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library, who has edited Anderson's diary for publication, has supplied information concerning his writings; Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-143; De Voto, *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 190, 194, 437; *Frontier and Midland*, Missoula, Mont., v. 19 (Autumn, 1938), pp. 54-63 (for Anderson's narrative, May-June, 1834, from Chimney Rock, Neb., to Green river); John K. Townsend's *Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, Boston, 1839), p. 41; *Missouri Republican*, August 26, 1834; *Annals of Wyoming*, Cheyenne, v. 12 (January, 1940), pp. 56-62.

¶ In May the spring caravan was on its way to Santa Fe, captained by Josiah Gregg. There were about 160 men, 80 wagons, and goods estimated at \$150,000. Among the 50 proprietors were Gregg, James Sutton, Thomas J. Boggs, Dr. Philippe A. Masure, Edward Charless, J. L. Collins, James B. Turley, A. J. Rains, J. T. Wood and I. (or J.?) G. Smith. (Charles Bent may have been still another. See below.)

Meantime, on May 13, from a camp near Fort Gibson (Okla.), Capt. Clifton Wharton and 50 men of the recently-organized (First) U. S. dragoons, with pack animals, one wagon, and some beeves, had started northward to meet the traders. Junior officers in Wharton's Company A command were Lt. Lancaster P. Lupton, and 2d Lt. John L. Watson. (Earlier, Col. Henry Leavenworth had sent Lt. John Henry K. Burgwin to Franklin, Mo., for news of the traders.) On May 19 (in present Labette? county) Wharton met Burgwin (returning). Two days later the dragoons reached the Osage Agency (southwest of present Erie, Neosho co., on the Neosho's *right* bank); and halted—to repair the wagon, shoe horses, and search for strayed beeves. They marched again on the 24th and camped about three miles above the Little Osages' town (present Neosho county). There, Wharton set a course for the nearest Santa Fe trail point. On June 3 the dragoons reached the Cottonwood crossing (near present Durham, Marion co.). The traders arrived on June 8; and next day accepted Wharton's offer of military escort westward.

The caravan, and the dragoons, left Cottonwood crossing on June 10. They halted at Walnut creek on the 17th and 18th. Some Kansa and their chief showed up in the vicinity, but the traders did not allow them in the camp. About the 26th(?), a party of Comanches approached, and for a time a clash seemed imminent. Subsequently, the Comanches (perhaps 100 in all), remained in the vicinity of the caravan, and camped about a mile away when the traders and dragoon escort halted, soon afterwards, at the Arkansas crossing. Wharton made peaceful overtures to the Comanches (to the traders' dismay), and arranged for a council; but it was forestalled when Josiah Gregg and four other traders (without Wharton's knowledge) met the Comanche delegation (of five) on the right bank of the river, and warned the Indians to keep away.

On June 27 the caravan, accompanied by the dragoons, crossed the Arkansas. Gregg (who had requested Wharton to provide escort as far as the Canadian—which Wharton could not do) resigned as captain of the traders, and I. (or J.?) G. Smith was elected in his place. (Wharton had *offered* to provide escort to the crossing of the Cimarron.) That night the Comanches broke camp and moved off eastward.

Next day (the 28th), after seeing the caravan on its way, the dragoons recrossed the river and started home. (Wharton's men and the animals were

"reduced in flesh," and short of rations; also the broken-down wagon had to be abandoned.) However, their journey eastward was without special incident except for a meeting with a party of "Pawnee Mahaus" (Pawnee Loups). On July 13 the dragoons were again at Osage Agency; and on the 20th Capt. Clifton Wharton and Company A, (First) U. S. dragoons, were back at Fort Gibson (Okla.).

Ref: *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 2 (July, 1927), pp. 269-304 (for Capt. Clifton Wharton's report, dated at Fort Gibson, July 21, 1834); *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 47 (September 20, 1834), p. 38 (for [Wharton's] letter of August 4, 1834—in which he stated the dragoons had been away 68 days on military escort duty); [James Hildreth's] *Dragoon Campaigns* . . . , p. 116. For item that Charles Bent declared goods in New Mexico on August 21, 1834—giving as reference the Ritch papers, 150, Huntington Library—see Lavender, *op. cit.*, p. 391. Josiah Gregg, in his *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844)—10 years after this journey—stated (in v. 1, p. 311) that the track across the Jornada (the desert route from the Arkansas crossing to the Cimarron—about 60 miles) had been made a permanent track in the year 1834, owing to continuous rains during the passage of the caravan of that year. Since 1833 was a year of continuous rains; and because there is no indication (from available records) that the 1834 caravans (either east, or west, bound) encountered rains on the Jornada, it seems possible Gregg was a year off in his date.

¶ On the morning of May 16, Maximilian, prince of Wied-Neuwied, Charles Bodmer (artist), Dreidoppel (the prince's servant), and a small party (mostly crewmen), journeying down the Missouri in a large, flat-bottom boat, passed the mouth of Wolf river (present Doniphan county); and in the afternoon arrived at the Blacksnake Hills post operated by Joseph Robidoux (where St. Joseph, Mo., now is).

Maximilian and his two companions were en route to St. Louis after nearly a year in the upper-Missouri country. (See April, 1833, entry.) They had left Fort Pierre (S. D.) on April 29, to begin the downriver trip.

On the night of May 17 camp was made on the river bank about two miles below the Kickapoo settlement (present Leavenworth county), and some of the company walked the three miles to Fort Leavenworth. Next morning (according to Maximilian) when his party arrived at the post:

The sentinel informed us that we must immediately appear before the commanding officer, and compelled us, in an imperious manner, to keep close and march before him. We arrived like prisoners at the house of the commander, where Major Ryley [Bennet Riley] received us with tolerable politeness, and supplied me with the provisions, meat, bread, &c., which I required, taking care, however, to be well paid for them.

Maximilian, and companions, reached St. Louis on May 27.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 24, pp. 92, 101, 110-125.

¶ Appended to a May 20 report (*H. R. No. 474*) of the (23d Cong., 1st Sess.) house committee on Indian affairs, were several documents, which included two tables giving the numbers (estimated in some cases) of Indians west of the Mississippi. The figures for the nations then in "eastern Kansas" are listed below. (The first

column presumably represents Office of Indian Affairs statistics; the second column's figures are from the February 10, 1834, report of U. S. Comm'rs Stokes, Ellsworth, and Schermerhorn; and the third column [for comparison] gives the statistics from the January, 1835, issue of Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register*.)

INDIANS	OIA	U. S. COMM'RS	McCoy
* Osages	5,510	5,200	about 5,510
* Ottawas	200	200	about 75
Kaskaskias & Peorias	130	128	140
* Weas & Piankeshaws	394	405	400
Shawnees	1,250	1,250	of Kansas river 750
Kansa	1,440	1,496	about 1,500
Delawares	830	835	800
* Kickapoos	513	555	575
* Pottawatomies	250

* Some comment is necessary in relation to these figures: From one-third to one-half of the *Osages* were in present Oklahoma; fewer than 100 *Ottawas* were in "Kansas" at this time, according to reliable sources; the U. S. comm'rs' statistics gave the *Weas* as 220 souls, the *Piankeshaws* as numbering 185; the figures for the *Kickapoos* would have to include the Pottawatomies (approximately 110) attached to the Prophet's band—see May 21, 1833, entry. McCoy's Pottawatomie total includes the immigrants of 1834.

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., H. R. No. 474 (Serial 263), pp. 39, 87; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register* . . ., 1835, pp. 5, 16.

¶ Early in June Maj. Alexander R. Thompson, Sixth U. S. infantry, replaced Maj. Bennet Riley as commandant at Fort Leavenworth. By unofficial report only about 60 soldiers (infantrymen) were stationed at the post during the summer. (Thompson's tenure was brief—see a late September entry for arrival of Col. Henry Dodge and the [First] U. S. dragoons.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 14, pp. 578, 584, 693. Isaac McCoy in his *Annual Register*, January, 1835, p. 41, stated that Major Riley was at the post when Colonel Dodge and the dragoons arrived, but this seems doubtful. A personal letter Thompson wrote from Fort Leavenworth on July 23, 1834, giving some details of life there, is in *The Trail Guide* (published by the Kansas City Posse, The Westerners), v. 1, no. 3 (July, 1956), p. 16.

¶ June 9.—Resuming the Kickapoo reserve survey (halted by cold weather five months earlier—see, under December 4, 1833, entry), Isaac McCoy and a work party began at a point on the Missouri's bank 30 direct miles—and 55 by the Missouri's meanders—above the mouth of Salt creek (in present Doniphan county). They proceeded due west (40? miles) to the northwest corner of the Kickapoos' land—see map facing p. 177—(in present Brown county); then turned due south till they came to the Delawares' north boundary (at a point in Jackson county of today). Probably this location—the end of their task—was reached before the end of June.

The field notes (signed by Isaac McCoy, surveyor, and William McCoy, assistant surveyor) summarized the work of the entire 1833-1834) survey; and

were dated "Westport Jackson County Missouri August 1st 1834." The manuscript copy of the *plat* of the Kickapoos' reserve shows the following-named streams: Salt creek, Independence creek, "Kickapoo" creek [for the second stream, on the plat, above Independence creek], Wolf river, "Sauterelle" [Grasshopper—now Delaware] river, and Stranger river.

Ref: SIA, v. 1, pp. 161-167 (for field notes), and pp. 154, 155 (for plat, dated August 10, 1834). There is no Isaac McCoy "Journal" available for the June-December, 1834, period.

¶ From June 15 to August 15 the (First) U. S. dragoons (then stationed in the Fort Gibson [Okla.] area) were engaged in an expedition to the Comanche, Wichita, and Kiowa country of present southwest Oklahoma. At the beginning Col. Henry Leavenworth commanded the 500 troops. In the cavalcade were two former Osage captives—a Kiowa girl and a Wichita girl; also, artist George Catlin, and a German botanist, Heinrich Karl Beyrick.

Beyond the Washita (crossed near its mouth, not far from Red river), Colonel Leavenworth, and many of the dragoons—ill from a prevailing fever—were left in a temporary camp. Col. Henry Dodge took command on July 4, and on the 7th, with a reorganized force of 250, continued westward. More troops (Catlin too) fell ill on the march. On July 14 Dodge held a parley with some Comanches; subsequently, he reached a large Comanche camp (over 200 skin lodges; more than 3,000 horses). The sick, with a guard, remained there, while a depleted force (about 190) men continued on, beyond the Wichita mountains, to the Wichita's village of nearly 200 grass houses, on the North Fork of Red river (in present Greer county, Okla.)—arriving there July 21. (On the same day, at "Camp Smith," about 25 miles west of the Washita, Col. Henry Leavenworth died.)

Dodge held a general council with the Comanches, Wichitas, and Kiowas on July 24. The atmosphere was particularly friendly as a result of the restoration of the captive girls to their people, and the handing over (by the Kiowas) of a white boy prisoner. On July 25, accompanied by representatives of the three nations, the dragoons started home. Dodge's command, and the Indians, reached Fort Gibson August 15. (The troops left on the Washita, in Col. S. W. Kearny's command, arrived August 24.) Though the (First) U. S. dragoons' expedition took a heavy toll in lives, it was considered a success for the contacts made with the western tribes. (See September 2 entry for the Indian council at Fort Gibson.)

[*The body of Brig. Gen. Henry Leavenworth (he had been promoted July 25—four days after his death, then unknown in Washington) was originally interred at Delhi, N. Y. But, 68 years later, his remains were removed to the National Cemetery at Fort Leavenworth—the fort which he had founded in 1827—and there reinterred, with ceremony, on May 30, 1902.*]

Ref: *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, v. 5, pp. 373-382 (for Lt. Thompson B. Wheelock's official journal), or, 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. No. 2* (Serial 271), pp. 70-91; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 3 (1925), pp. 175-215 (Sgt. Hugh Evans' journal); *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Iowa City, v. 7 (1909), pp. 341-360; [James Hildreth's] *Dragoon Campaigns* . . . , pp. 102-189; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 47 (September 6, 20, October 4, 1834, February 7, 1835), pp. 4, 38, 74-76, 403, 404; *Foreman's Pioneer Days* . . . , pp. 122-152; *KHC*, v. 7, p. 577 (for General Leavenworth's burial at Fort Leavenworth); also Henry Shindler, compiler, "Correspondence relating to removal of remains . . ." (typescript), in KHi library.

¶ From June 26 till September the Rev. John Dunbar, and Samuel Allis, Jr. (in the service of the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions; and bound for the Pawnee country), were visitors in eastern "Kansas."

They had come up the Missouri, on the *Ioway*, reaching Liberty, Mo., on June 14; and after 10 days there, had set out afoot, on the 24th, for Fort Leavenworth. At the fort they were guests, for a time, in the home of Alexander G. Morgan (post sutler). In July they were invited to make the Kickapoo Methodist Mission their headquarters. Both men made a July 3-7 journey to the Shawnee and Delaware missions; and Dunbar accompanied the Rev. J. C. Berryman to the Kansas river missions again in late July—see July 25 entry.

On September 1 Allis boarded the *Diana* to go upriver to Bellevue (Neb.)—the Upper Missouri Agency. (He arrived there on the 7th.) Dunbar (who had bouts with a bilious fever in August, and early September) left "Kansas" on September 22, on horseback—crossing to the Missouri's left bank (via the military post ferry). There, on the 23d, he joined the Rev. Moses Merrill (of the Otoe Baptist Mission) and two other persons, to travel northward. They reached Bellevue October 2d, after crossing the Missouri from a point opposite Joshua Pilcher's American Fur Company post.

The Pawnees arrived at Bellevue in mid-October. Agent John Dougherty gave them their annuities on the 18th. Next day Missionaries Dunbar and Allis set out with the Indians—to spend the winter among them. Dunbar went with the Grand Pawnees; Allis accompanied the Pawnee Loups; and they did not meet again till early April, 1835.

John Dunbar and Samuel Allis, Jr., had a long association with the Pawnee Indians, and with the mission subsequently opened (in 1836) at Bellevue—as will be noted in later entries. Dunbar's 1834-1835 journal, and letters (1831-1849), and Samuel Allis, Jr.'s, letters (1834-1839), as published in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 14, contain a wealth of data on the Pawnees, their customs, habits, beliefs, etc., as well as on the events related to the Pawnee mission.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 10, pp. 99-104 (for a summary account of John Dunbar's work among the Pawnees), v. 11, pp. 323-332 (for an article by John Dunbar on the Pawnee mission, 1834-1836), v. 14, pp. 570-595, and 692-695; *Missionary Herald*, v. 31 (1835), pp. 343-349, 376-381, and 417-421 (for the Dunbar "Journal," 1834-1835—which is also in *KHC*, v. 14, pp. 578-619).

¶ On June 30—"perhaps the most significant date in the history of Indian legislation"—there were enacted two "comprehensive statutes which, in large part, form the fabric of our law on Indian affairs to this day."—Cohen's *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*.

(1) *The act regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes*. It was "the final act in a series of acts [dating back to 1790] 'to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes.'" It defined the Indian country ("all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi, and not within the States of Missouri and Louisiana, or the Territory of Arkansas . . ."); provided the controls over Indian traders, and regulated licenses; prohibited (again) the introduction of liquor into the Indian country; provided penalties, etc.

(2) *The act organizing the Department of Indian Affairs* (within the War Department). This statute "was intended to deal comprehensively with the organization and function of the Indian Department." Its provisions (and the resulting War Department regulations of July 7)—as they particularly affected the "Kansas" area—are summarized below:

The Indian country was divided into three superintendencies: (1) Michigan, (2) St. Louis, and (3) the "acting superintendency." The *Superintendency of St. Louis* (headed by William Clark, till his death in 1838) was defined (in the regulations) to "include all the Indians and Indian country *west of the Mississippi river and north of the Osage reservation, and as far west as De Mun's [Big Coon] creek and thence . . . will be bounded on the south by the Santa Fe road, to where it crosses the Arkansa, and thence by the Arkansa, to its source in the Rocky Mountains.* And the said Superintendency shall include all the Indians and Indian country west of the Rocky Mountains." The "acting superintendency" was (by War Department regulation) given the name *Superintendency of the Western Territory*, and was defined as including the Indians and Indian country *west of the Mississippi river, and south of the southern line of the superintendency at St. Louis, as far west as the Rocky mountains.* (The Osages were the only "Kansas" resident Indians in this new superintendency.)

Section 4 provided for 12 Indian agencies (some of them temporary). Only three were west of the Mississippi: two were "Western Territory" agencies, which (by War Department regulation) were designated as (1) *Northern Agency of the Western Territory* and (2) *Southern Agency of the Western Territory*; the third was the (3) *Upper Missouri Agency*. [Agencies (1) and (3) were in the Superintendency of St. Louis; and (2) was in the Superintendency of the Western Territory.]

John Dougherty continued to head the *Upper Missouri Agency* which was to include all the Indians and the Indian country west of the State of Missouri, north of the Northern Agency of the Western Territory, and to extend west and north so as to include the Otoes, Pawnees, Omahas, and Poncas.

Richard W. Cummins was appointed to head the *Northern Agency of the Western Territory* which was to include all of the Superintendency of St. Louis south of the Upper Missouri Agency, *except* the Shawnees, Ottawas, Peorias & Kaskaskias, and Weas and Piankeshaws (these nations to be in a separate *sub-agency*). When Comm'r Elbert Herring sent Cummins his commission as agent (on July 14), he stated: "Your agency will include the Delawares and Kansas. . . ."

(Prior to the June 30, 1834, act there had been three Indian agencies in "Kansas": Cummins' Shawnee [Delaware, etc.] Agency; Marston G. Clark's Kansa Agency; and Paul Liguette Chouteau's Osage Agency. As will be seen from the above, all three were eliminated. In brief, Cummins' Shawnee Agency was split and reorganized, Clark's Kansa Agency was closed, and Chouteau's Osage Agency was reduced to a subagency, as will be noted hereafter.)

See July 2 entry for further reorganization of the Indian department—on the subagency level.

Ref: *U. S. Statutes*, v. 4, pp. 729, 735; Felix S. Cohen's *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* . . . (1945), pp. 72-75; OIA "Letters Sent," v. 13, pp. 111-113, and p. 180 (for the July 14, 1834, letter to Cummins); OIA, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 5, for item on Cummins' August 20, 1834, letter accepting appointment as agent.

¶ July 2.—From the Office of Indian Affairs a circular was sent to 10 Indian subagents, notifying them that their jobs had been terminated by the act of June 30 organizing the Indian department; but also stating that the same act provided for the appointment by the President of a number of subagents within the new depart-

mental organization. The new subagencies, as specified by the act, included two for "Kansas": (1) a subagency for the Shawnees, Ottawas, Weas & Piankeshaws, Peorias & Kaskaskias; (2) a subagency for the Osages.

Two men in "Kansas" received the circular dismissal notice: Osage subagent Alexander McNair (whose address was "near Neosho river, via Independence, Mo."); and Dr. F. W. Miller, subagent to the Shawnees, etc. (whose address was given as "near Kansas river via Shawnee P. O., Mo.")

Also on July 2 Comm'r Elbert Herring sent Paul Liguette Chouteau a letter informing him that his office as Indian Agent for the Osages had been discontinued; and offering him the office of subagent for the Osages. (Chouteau accepted.)

On July 3 Commissioner Herring wrote Marston G. Clark, informing him that "the office of Agent for the Kansas has ceased." (*See* August 15 entry.) Five days later Herring again wrote Clark—this time offering him the appointment as subagent for the Shawnees, Ottawas, etc. (Clark accepted in August; but was subagent less than a year—leaving early in 1835.)

Ref: OIA "Letters Sent," v. 13, pp. 93, 94 (for the circular), p. 91 (for letter to Chouteau), pp. 105 and 131 (for letters to Clark); OIA, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 5 (for items on William Clark's letter of August 27, 1834, with M. G. Clark's letter of August 16, 1834, accepting subagency); Isaac McCoy letter (copy) of January 19, 1835, in McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 22.

¶ Early in July a delegation of four Wyandots from Ohio was in eastern "Kansas." On Sunday, the 6th, at Shawnee Methodist Mission, one of them preached in his language. According to Samuel Allis, Jr., the sermon was "enterpeted by a Frenchman."

(Comm'r of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring had written Agent R. W. Cummins on June 13, 1834, that his office had learned the delegation was en route to the Indian country ostensibly to select a suitable location for a permanent location of the Wyandots; but that it was believed "that this delegation are unfriendly to emigration and intend making such unfavorable report as will deter the tribe from removing. . . ." He urged Cummins to attempt to produce a favorable impression on the Wyandots' minds, etc.)

Agent Cummins wrote, from Shawnee Agency, on July 13, that the Wyandots had examined the country and were pleased with it. (Compare with a Wyandot delegation's 1831 trip west, pp. 190, 191.) The Wyandots did not move to "Kansas" till 1843.

Ref: KHC, v. 14, p. 694; OIA, "Letters Sent," v. 13, pp. 37, 38; *ibid.*, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 5.

¶ July 25 and 26.—A "conference of the Missionaries . . . in this [eastern 'Kansas'] section of the Indian country" was held at Shawnee Baptist Mission. It was the first in a series of *annual* meetings.

Present were Methodists J. C. Berryman, E. T. Peery, and Thomas Johnson; Baptists Isaac McCoy, Johnston Lykins, Jotham Meeker, Robert Simerwell, and

Ira D. Blanchard; Presbyterians Joseph Kerr, Benton Pixley (formerly of Mission Neosho), and John Dunbar (bound for the Pawnee country).

Kerr was moderator, and Lykins the clerk. Amity ended on the 26th when a resolution was offered "relating to the manner members should be received from one mission church to another of a different denomination." The Baptists and Methodists disagreed on this subject. According to Dunbar "feelings were manifested that should have found no place at such a meeting." Before adjourning, however, a conference was scheduled for 1835—to be held at Shawnee Methodist Mission. (And it was held there on May 15, 1835. In 1836, on May 12, a third annual meeting was held—at Shawnee Baptist Mission.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 14, pp. 589, 590; Jotham Meeker's "Diary," entries of July 25, 26, 1834, May 15, 1835, and May 12, 1836; Joseph Kerr's letter of September 25, 1834 (enclosing a copy of the "Minutes" of the July 26 meeting) in Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence.

¶ In the summer an elementary book in the Osage language—prepared by Missionaries William B. Montgomery and William C. Requa of New Hopefield Mission (in present Mayes county, Okla.)—was published at Boston, Mass., under the patronage of the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions.

According to a bibliography of Indian language books published under the auspices of the above board, 500 copies were printed of the 126-page *Washashe Wageressa Pahugreh Tse* (Osage First Book).

Ref: *Missionary Herald*, v. 31 (January, 1835), p. 26, v. 32 (July, 1836), p. 269. The Kansas State Historical Society has a copy of this book.

¶ Apparently in July, or August, Ottawa chief Oquanoxa, and his small band of about 75 persons, left the Shawnee reserve—where they had lived since coming to "Kansas" in November, 1832, from Ohio (see p. 204)—and moved to their own reservation (south of the Shawnees and west of the Peorias & Kaskaskias), in present Franklin county.

Oquanoxa, and seven of his young men, had been escorted to their reserve (to examine it) in February, 1833, by Agent R. W. Cummins, and Isaac McCoy. And in May Cummins had, it appears, advanced the Ottawas \$2,000 of their funds for the erection of houses and opening of farms. But, fearing the Osages and the Pawnees, the Ottawas (few in number) had chosen to settle at a site (which has not been identified) about 20 miles from the Shawnee settlements, and on the Shawnees' land.

In July, 1834, when Missionary Jotham Meeker (then of the Shawnee Baptist Mission) was in their camp (on the 18th), the Ottawas told him they were preparing to remove to their own reserve (20 miles further—40 miles in all—from the Shawnee settlements). On a subsequent visit, at the beginning of October, Meeker lodged in the Ottawas' camp on the "Osage" [Marais des Cygnes] river, in present Franklin county.

A delegation of Ottawas from the Maumee river in northwest Ohio arrived at Shawnee Baptist Mission on October 14, 1834; traveled the 40 miles southwest

to the Ottawa reserve; examined it; approved it; and returned to "Shawanoë" on the 17th—en route back to Ohio. (But they did not emigrate to "Kansas" till 1837.)

Ref: 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 4 (Serial 247), pp. 7-9; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 490* (Serial 259), p. 54; Isaac McCoy's "Journal," February 19-21, 1833, entries; Jotham Meeker "Diary," *loc. cit.* (various entries from October, 1833, through October, 1834); also, Meeker's October 30, 1834, letter.

¶ During most of August the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury and the Rev. Cyrus Byington (in the service of the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions) were in present eastern Kansas, on a tour of the Indian settlements and Indian missions.

In June and July they had voyaged up the Mississippi, as far as the Sac & Fox Agency at Rock Island, Ill., and returned to St. Louis; then had ascended the Missouri. Their complete itinerary in "Kansas" is not known. They were at Shawnee Baptist Mission on August 14; at Kickapoo Methodist Mission from August 23 to about the 26th (where they conferred with the Rev. John Dunbar—also an "American Board" missionary, and a guest there); at Westport, Mo., by the 28th; again at Shawnee Baptist Mission on September 1. Byington visited the Wea mission on September 2.

Kingsbury and Byington, in a report dated at Westport, Mo., September 4, made note of the two Shawnee missions (Methodist and Baptist); the two Delaware missions (Methodist and Baptist), and the government teacher among the Delawares; the Kickapoo mission (Methodist), and the government teacher among the Kickapoos; the absence of any Kansa mission; the Otoe mission (Baptist); the *prospective* Omaha mission (Baptist); the *prospective* Iowa mission (Presbyterian); and the *prospective* Pawnee mission ("American Board"). [Not mentioned: the Methodists' Peoria & Kaskaskia mission; or the Presbyterians' Wea & Piankeshaw mission; or the "American Board's" Osage missions—Harmony (Mo.) and Boudinot (present Neosho county).] On leaving Westport, Mo., Kingsbury and Byington, en route southward to the missions west of Arkansas territory, traveled by way of Harmony and Boudinot.

Ref: *Missionary Herald*, v. 30 (December, 1834), pp. 453-455; *Report of the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions* . . . , 1834, pp. 112, 113, 171-174; Jotham Meeker's "Diary," entries of August 14, September 1, 1834; *KHC*, v. 14, pp. 591, 592, 695; Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence—for item on Byington at Wea mission (in Joseph Kerr's letter of October 1, 1834).

¶ Pratte, Chouteau & Company received licenses on August 7 to trade with the (1) Kickapoos, (2) Delawares, and (3) Kansa; and on August 9 additional permits were given them for trade with the (4) Weas, etc., and (5) Shawnees. The licenses indicated seven traders, in all, were employed.

(Two months earlier—on June 1—the "American Fur Company had undergone a change, with the retirement of John J. Astor. What had been the Northern Department, went to Ramsay Crooks and associates; while the Western Department, which Pierre Chouteau, Jr., headed, became Pratte, Chouteau & Company in the reorganization.)

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273); Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade*, v. 1, p. 364 (for Pratte, Chouteau & Company).

¶ BORN: on August 11, at Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), Sarah Elizabeth Johnson, daughter of the Rev. Thomas and Sarah T. (Davis) Johnson. (She died June 8, 1840.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 12, p. xii; *KHi's 15th Biennial Report*, p. 35.

¶ Some 300 to 400 Osages, particularly of the Neosho river settlements, were estimated to have been cholera victims in the summer. About a fourth of the Indians at the small Hopefield Mission (Okla.) died. Trader Auguste P. Chouteau advised the Osages of Clermont's village to scatter, and the spread of cholera among them was thus prevented.

Ref: See Summer, 1962, issue of *KHQ*, p. 170; Foreman's *Advancing the Frontier*, p. 143.

¶ August 15.—Upon Marston G. Clark's receipt, this date, of Comm'r of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring's July 3d letter, the Kansa Agency officially—and abruptly—closed.

Herring (in the letter) thanked Clark for past services (since May, 1829—see p. 52), and instructed him to deliver all public property in his possession to Agent R. W. Cummins. In a final accounting (covering the January-August 15 disbursements) dated "Kansas Agency, August 17, 1834," Marston G. Clark listed these payments: to himself (as agent) \$625; to Clement Lessert (interpreter) \$250; to John McGill (gun and blacksmith) \$250; to Lindsey Boone (assistant to McGill) \$150; to George B. Clark \$45, and to C. C. Mounts \$110, for "labor and assisting the Kansa in agriculture"; to James King \$110 for his "labor on chief's house, per contract"; to George B. Clark \$10 for "taking express from Kansas to Independence, 89 miles . . . [etc.]"; to S. Arthur \$300 for "provisions furnished for feeding the Kansas at the reception of their annuities"; to "Johnson & Fristoe" \$125 for transporting provisions; and to John O. Agnew \$150 for "presents to Indians."

See July 2 entry for Marston G. Clark's subsequent employment.

Ref: OIA, "Letters Sent" (June 1-September 30, 1834), v. 13, p. 105 (for Herring's July 3, 1834, letter); 23d Cong., *H. Doc. No. 150* (Serial 274), pp. 18, 19 (for M. G. Clark's August 17, 1834, accounts). George B. Clark was, *probably*, Agent Clark's son, mentioned earlier by Jason Lee—see under April 28, 1834, entry.

¶ September 2-4.—At Fort Gibson (Okla.), Col. Henry Dodge and Francis W. Armstrong (acting sup't of Indian affairs for the Western Territory) conducted councils with Indian representatives of the eastern tribes (Seneca, Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Osage), and the western tribes (Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, and Waco). (The western delegates had arrived at the post in mid-August, with Dodge and the dragoons. See p. 359.)

On September 5 the western Indians, having been given U. S. medals and flags (also some guns and goods), and the assurance that their request for a peace treaty the following year would be given consideration, started home—escorted out of the settlement by a small force of dragoons, and some Cherokees—the latter accompanying them as far as the Cross Timbers.

Ref: Foreman's *Pioneer Days* . . . , pp. 152-155.

☪ BORN: on September 4, at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), Maria Meeker, daughter of Missionaries Jotham and Eleanor (Richardson) Meeker.

(Maria Meeker married Nathan L. Simpson, of Westport, Mo., on December 10, 1851. Her death, at Nebraska City, Neb., occurred, it appears, on March 15, 1885.)

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," and KHI's *15th Biennial Report*, p. 35, for her birth; KHI's Biographical Scrapbook, "S," v. 3, p. 273.

☪ In September a small (11-wagon) east-bound train of Bent, St. Vrain & Company crossed "Kansas." As reported in a St. Louis paper of October 14, the party had left Santa Fe

" . . . early in August, taking Taos in the route, and thus extending the journey across the Rocky Mountains to the trading posts [most particularly new Fort William—better known as "Bent's Fort"] on the Arkansas river. They met with very few Indians and suffered no interruption whatever in their progress home. . . . The present company brought with them eleven wagons which, with the contents, belong to Messrs. St. Vrain, Bent and Company."

The above brief account is notable as an early reference to the upper Arkansas trading posts in connection with the partnership of Ceran St. Vrain, Charles (and William) Bent; and also, because it presaged the opening of another regular pathway to Santa Fe—the upper Arkansas, or mountain route—a longer, but better-watered, and therefore safer route, by way of "Bent's Fort," Raton Pass, and Taos.

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, October 14, 1834; or, *Colorado Magazine*, v. 31 (April, 1954), p. 114. Capt. Richard B. Lee (army officer on leave) was with this company on part of the journey. In an official letter of November 4, 1834, after his return to Washington, he stated that on August 5 he had joined an east-bound party of 29 men.—For this item I am indebted to Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library. David Lavender in his *Bent's Fort*, p. 389, says Lee "captained" the wagon train, but this seems unlikely—especially since he left the train (with four other men) 300 miles west of the settlements to hasten on to Independence, arriving there October 3d.—The source for this is the same letter noted above.

☪ September-October.—The autumn east-bound company of traders began to move out of Santa Fe around September 1. From a "Red River" (Canadian) rendezvous, on the 10th, the caravan of about 140 men and 40 wagons, captained by "Mr. Kerr," set out for Missouri. It was later reported they "met with no Indians." By October 18 they had reached Columbia, Mo. A St. Louis paper, a few days later, stated:

The Company brought in, as near as can be ascertained, \$40,000 in gold, \$140,000 in specie, \$15,000 worth of Beaver, 50 packs Buffalo Robes, 12,000 pounds of Wool, and 300 head of mules, valued at \$10,000.

Ref: *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 18, 1834; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 47 (November 8, 1834), p. 147; *Missouri Republican*, October 24, 1834.

☪ About September 7(?) Capt. David Hunter and three (First) U. S. dragoon companies (C, D, and G) left Fort Gibson (Okla.) under orders to proceed to Fort Leavenworth.

According to Sgt. Hugh Evans, they rendezvoused September 8 on the Verdigris, in the Creek nation; remained two days; then began the journey northward. En route they passed some of the Osage towns, but whether these dragoons crossed present southeastern Kansas on their march is uncertain. Near the end of the journey they entered "Kansas" (probably in present Johnson county) to cross (ford?) the Kansas river—*about two miles from its mouth* (in present Wyandotte county), by Evans' statement. "This river," he wrote, "is very wide and shallow by no means suitable for navigation at least any distance up it." On the 22d(?) Hunter and his command reached Fort Leavenworth. (If, as Evans stated, they were about 18? days en route, the arrival date was later than the 22d.)

Col. Henry Dodge, and Company A, apparently left Fort Gibson on September 14, and reached Fort Leavenworth on the 27th.

Ref: *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 3 (1925), p. 215 (Sgt. Hugh Evans' journal); [Henry Shindler's] "The History of Fort Leavenworth" (typescript), in KHi library, pp. 69, 70; H. P. Beers' *The Western Military Frontier, 1815-1846* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 113.

¶ In the autumn Fort Leavenworth (designated headquarters of the [First] U. S. dragoons by war department G. O. No. 41, of May 19, 1834) became regimental headquarters in fact—upon the arrival, late in September, of Capt. David Hunter with three dragoon companies, followed soon after by regimental commander Col. Henry Dodge and a fourth company—all from Fort Gibson (*see* preceding entry). The two companies of Sixth infantry troops which had been the post's summer garrison, departed for Jefferson Barracks, Mo.

Colonel Dodge's officers at Fort Leavenworth were: *Captains* Clifton Wharton (Co. A), David Hunter (Co. D), Lemuel Ford (Co. G), Matthew Duncan (Co. C); *First Lieutenants* Philip St. George Cooke, Lancaster P. Lupton, Thomas Swords (A. A. Q. M.), Thompson B. Wheelock, James W. Hamilton (Adjt.), Benjamin D. Moore; *Second Lieutenants* John S. Van Derveer, Enoch Steen, John L. Watson, Burdett A. Terrett; *Brevet Lieutenants* Gaines P. Kingsbury and Asbury Ury. Asst. Surg. Benjamin F. Fellowes was the medical officer.

From a letter Dodge wrote on October 20, 1834, it appears that no stables or shelter for the horses had been built prior to his arrival; and that, despite an allotment of \$10,000 made by the war department, required additional quarters (subsequently constructed of brick) had not been started.

The secretary of war's 1834 report (dated November 27) showed Col. Henry Dodge's Fort Leavenworth command to have an aggregate strength of 230, with 213 present at the time of report. (Companies B, H, and I, of the dragoons—under Lt. Col. Stephen W. Kearny—were then stationed at newly established

Fort Des Moines; and Companies E, F, and K, under Maj. R. B. Mason, were at Fort Gibson.)

Ref: *Ibid.*; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 3, p. 215; Elvid Hunt and W. E. Lorence's *History of Fort Leavenworth, 1827-1937* (Fort Leavenworth, 1937), pp. 51, 52; *KHC*, v. 14, p. 693; McCoy's *Annual Register*, January, 1835, pp. 41, 42 (for names of Dodge's officers); *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, v. 5, pp. 369, 370 (for secretary of war's report); Niles' *Weekly Register*, v. 46 (August 2, 1834), p. 388. In *March of the First Dragoons to the Rocky Mountains in 1835; the Diaries and Maps of Lemuel Ford* . . ., by Nolie Mumey, on p. 101, is a Ford diary entry indicating his "Compy G horses were stabled 15th December 1834. . . ."

¶ Between October 13 and 23, at Fort Leavenworth, the immigrant Indians of "Kansas," were paid their annuity funds by 2d Lt. Jonathan Freeman (A. A. Q. M.), Sixth U. S. infantry.

The use of the military post as a central distribution point, and the disbursements in cash by the military, were innovations of this year—resulting from the June 30 act regulating the Indian department. The annuity payments were:

INDIANS	DATE	AMOUNT	
Kickapoos [of Missouri] . . .	October 13	\$5,000	
Kickapoos of Illinois	" "	2,000	
Delawares	" 16	6,500	also \$100 each to chiefs Patterson, Nahkomin, and Ketchum
Ottawas	" 18	900	
Shawnees	" 20	3,000	
Piankeshaws	" 23	800	
Weas	" "	3,000	
Peorias & Kaskaskias	" "	3,000	

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 150* (Serial 274), p. 71; OIA, "Letters Sent," v. 13, p. 95 (War Department, July 3, 1834, "Regulations concerning the payment of Annuities"—"All annuities payable by treaty stipulations will be hereafter paid by a military officer . . ." and "the annuities will be paid in specie . . .").

¶ In October Marston G. Clark (recently Kansa agent), subagent (since August) for the Shawnees, Ottawas, Weas & Piankeshaws, and Peorias & Kaskaskias, issued four licenses for trade with the Shawnees, and the Weas. Flournoy & Co. (three men) was issued a permit on October 4; and on October 17, licenses were given to John O. Agnew (two men); to Henry McKee; and to George B. Clark.

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273). See July 2, and August 15, 1834, entries, for Marston G. Clark's change of positions.

¶ DIED: Fish, a Shawnee chief ("alias William Jackson, a white man, raised with the Shawnees"), late in October, in present Wyandotte county.

Missionary Thomas Johnson, in a letter of November 4, wrote: ". . . one week ago we were called to mourn the death of our old friend Fish, the head man of the band of Shawnees, among whom our [Methodist] mission is established. . . ." (See November, 1830, annals item, p. 178 in this volume.)

Fish's sons included one named "Paskal" or (Paschal) who was described (in 1830) as a moral, good, English-speaking man with a family; another named Charles; and a third who was referred to (by Johnson in 1834) as a "prodigal son."

Ref: *Christian Advocate*, New York, v. 9, no. 17 (December 19, 1834); Mary Greene's *Life of Rev. Jesse Greene* (Lexington, Mo., 1852), pp. 45, 46; *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 186, 198.

¶ Capt. Lemuel Ford, Lt. Thomas Swords (A. A. Q. M.), and Agent R. W. Cummins left Fort Leavenworth on December 24 to superintend the payment of the Kansa Indians' annuities, at their villages. (Ford stated that the Kansa population totaled 1,552 persons.) They returned to the post on December 31.

Ref: *March of the First Dragoons* . . ., by Nolie Mumey, p. 102 ("Hausiel Indians" in the reference is evidently a misprint for Kansa Indians).

¶ Anthony L. Davis, "emigrating agent" for the Pottawatomies of Indiana, in a letter of December 31, reported his arrival at "Kickapoo Camp" (present Leavenworth county), with his family, "all in good health."

Appointed "emigrating agent" in July (by Secretary of War Cass), Davis had made an earlier trip to "Kansas"—probably arriving in September, for he had written on October 1 from Fort Leavenworth, asking that the Pottawatomie annuities be forwarded.

At the end of 1834, according to Isaac McCoy, there were 250 Pottawatomies in "Kansas"—all residing on the Kickapoo reserve. (About 110 had come in May, 1833, with the Kickapoos; Qui-qui-to's band of 68 had come in August, 1833. The additional 70 or so immigrants apparently arrived in 1834.)

Ref: OIA, "Letters Sent," v. 13, pp. 135, 136 (for Davis' appointment); *ibid.*, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 5 (for Davis' October 1, 1834, letter); *Indiana Historical Collections*, Indianapolis, v. 26, pp. 97, 98 (for Davis' December 31, 1834, letter); Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register*, January, 1835, p. 19. McCoy also stated that the Pottawatomie "removing agent," Abel C. Pepper, of Indiana, had brought a Pottawatomie exploring delegation to "Kansas" in 1834. No information on this has been located, but see *Indiana Historical Collections*, v. 26, p. 50.

(Part Eight Will Appear in the Winter, 1962, Issue)

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Concluded*

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL

TILGHMAN, WILLIAM MATHEW, JR.

(1854-1924)

IN THE spring of 1877 William Mathew "Bill" Tilghman, Jr., and Henry Garis owned and operated the Crystal Palace saloon in Dodge City. On May 6, 1877, the Dodge City *Times* noted that a city council meeting of May 1 renewed their license and granted permits to several other dramshop owners whose names are now part of the fact and legend of Dodge City and its riotous past. The list included: McGinty & Deger, Beeson & Harris, Springer & Master-son, A. J. Peacock, Beatty & Kelley, G. M. Hoover, Cox & Boyd, H. J. Fringer, H. B. Bell, Colley & Manion, Henry Sturm, and others. Tilghman and his partner did not have a place in the famed two-block section of Front street. Instead they operated across the tracks, on the sometimes equally popular south side.¹ "Garris and Tilghman's Crystal Palace is receiving a new front and an awning, which will tend to create a new attraction towards the never ceasing fountains of refreshments flowing within," said the Dodge City *Times*, July 21, 1877.

Only 23 years old, Bill Tilghman did not yet enjoy the reputation he later earned as an efficient peace officer. In fact, the first mention of note about him was his arrest on suspicion of being one of the Kinsley train robbers (*see* the section on Bat Masterson). In relating the apprehension of some of the robbers, the Dodge City *Times*, February 9, 1878, reported:

Wm. Tilghman, a citizen of Dodge City, was arrested on the same serious charge of attempt to rob the train. He stated he was ready for trial, but the State asked for ten days delay to procure witnesses, which was granted. Tilghman gave bail. It is generally believed that Wm. Tilghman had no hand in the attempted robbery.

Tilghman was released. The *Times*, February 16, 1878, reprinted the letter he had received from the Edwards county attorney:

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

NOTE: It is hoped eventually that these articles on Kansas cowtown officers and gun fighters, with additional information and an index, can be reprinted and offered for sale under one cover.

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TILGHMAN DISCHARGED.

The case of Wm. Tilghman, who was arrested on a charge of complicity in the attempted train robbery, has been dismissed on motion of the County Attorney of Edwards county, as will be seen by the following:

Monday, Feb. 12th, 1878.

WM. TILGHMAN, DODGE CITY, KANSAS.

DEAR SIR—Your case was called to-day for examination. There being no evidence against you, I filed a motion for your discharge and the court thereupon ordered your discharge, entering the same on his docket. I congratulate you on your discharge, hoping that you may be so lucky in the future as not to be ever suspected of crime.

Yours very truly,

J. E. MCARTHUR,

County Attorney, Edwards county, Kansas.²

A couple of months later Bill Tilghman was arrested again, this time for horse thievery and his accuser was the sheriff of Ford county, Bat Masterson. The *Ford County Globe*, April 23, 1878, reported Tilghman's release:

JUSTICES COURT.

On the 16th inst. several parties arrived in town looking for two horses, which had been stolen from M. A. Couch, of Ness county. The horses were found in H. B. Bell's livery stable, in possession of Jack Martin and Wm. H. Tilghman, who claimed to be owners of the property. A warrant was sworn out before Justice R. G. Cook, and the preliminary examination came off at once. Martin was bound over for the District Court, while Tilghman was discharged. Harry E. Gryden defended Tilghman, Martin having no counsel. Martin has since employed Gryden who has sued out a writ of habeas corpus before Judge Peters, which will be heard on the 30th. What the result will be, cannot at present be told, but the chances are decidedly in favor of Martin's discharge.³

Tilghman's fortunes with the law began to turn later that year when, with several other since famous peace officers, he assisted in the capture of Dora Hand's supposed murderer, Jim Kennedy. (See the section on Bat Masterson.)

A few days after Kennedy had been taken the *Ford County Globe* carried a story which may or may not suggest a reason for part of the earlier suspicion which hung over Tilghman. The newspaper, October 29, 1878, said:

CAPTURE OF MIKE ROURKE.

It appears that Mike Rourke, Dement and Tilman were stopping at a range on Thompson creek, about eleven miles south of Ellsworth, and that it was their intention to burglarize the express office at Ellsworth or to attack the train at Rock Spring, a small water station, on Friday. The sheriff's posse from Brookfield [Brookville] arrived there about daylight that morning and captured Rourke in the stable. A few minutes afterward Dement came out and opened the stable door, but the officers thought at first that he was one of their own men. He fled and was pursued, shot at and wounded, but managed to make

his escape to the woods. The gang's outfit was captured, but Tilman and Dement escaped. The officers are making a hot chase and will probably bag the rest of their game in a few days. Rourke is now in jail at Junction City.

Dement was afterward captured and died of his wounds. The Tilman referred to above was not the Wm. Tilghman, of this place, as rumored.

The railroad company were informed of the whereabouts and intentions of the robbers by one of the gang.

In late winter trouble of a sort again dogged Tilghman. The *Dodge City Times*, March 8, 1879, carried a notice that his property would be sold at auction to satisfy a judgment:

SHERIFF'S SALE.

Notice is hereby given that I will offer for sale at Public Auction, at the door of the Court House, in Dodge City, Ford County, Kansas,

On Monday, the 17th day of March, 1879,

At 2 o'clock, P. M. of said day, the following described real estate, to-wit: Lot No. 24, in Block No. 3, on Locust street, in Dodge City, Ford County, Kansas, which said property is appraised at the sum of \$500.00, and taken upon execution in favor of G. L. Brinkman, against William Tilghman, issued by the Clerk of the District Court of Barton County and directed to me, as Sheriff of Ford County, Kansas, which said execution has been entered upon docket in Clerk's office in Ford County, Kansas.

Given under my hand this 15th day of February, A. D., 1879.

W. B. MASTERSON,
Sheriff of Ford County.

SUTTON & COLBORN, Atty's for Brinkman.

For the next five years only small and intermittent items concerning Tilghman found their way into the Dodge City papers. Items, for instance, telling of his hunting, that he was a member of the Glick Guards, etc. To add to the confusion in sorting out the scarce material, Tilghman's father, who had the same first and middle names, moved to Dodge in the meantime and one cannot be certain at all times which Tilghman was meant.

It is known that Bill Tilghman, Jr., was appointed deputy sheriff under Pat Sughrue, but apparently little of note has been recorded about him in that office. Only a few mentions of his performance of duties appear. One was in the *Dodge City Democrat*, March 22, 1884. Tilghman, with the sheriff, had captured a horse thief. The short article was included in the section on Pat Sughrue.

In the spring of 1878 Tilghman and his partner Henry Garis had disposed of the Crystal Palace⁴ but later Tilghman opened another saloon called the Oasis. About the first of April, 1884, the Oasis was rented to Tilghman's younger brother Frank. The *Democrat*, April 5, 1884, predicted refreshments with denominational nomenclatures:

William Tilghman, Esq., proprietor of the "Oasis," has sold out to his brother Frank, who will refit and fix up and make everything smooth and harmonious to the visitor. Methodist cocktails and hard-shell Baptist lemonades a specialty.⁵

Possibly Tilghman was preparing for the office of city marshal which would be offered to him within the next two weeks. It was getting so now that wearing a badge while operating a saloon in prohibition Kansas were occupations not to be considered amenable. Bill Tilghman's appointment to the police force hinged on the April 8 election of mayor. George M. Hoover (a wholesale liquor dealer) was chosen by the people over George S. Emerson, 270 votes to 60 votes. As the *Times*, April 10, 1884, said: "There was no enthusiasm, but little feeling, and consequently [the election was] a one-sided affair."

The new mayor offered Tilghman's name to the council at the meeting of April 10, 1884, and the appointment was confirmed as was the choice of Thomas C. Nixon for assistant marshal.⁶

Hardly had the new marshal pinned on the badge when he fell ill. The *Democrat*, April 26, 1884, reported he had "St. Anthony's fire":

City Marshal Tilghman is on the sick list, being laid up with the erysipelas, and Assistant Marshal Nixon is in charge. Harry Scott is assisting the officers while the marshal is off duty.

When he had recovered he was presented with a \$40 gold badge. The *Globe*, May 6, 1884, was one of the papers which recorded the presentation:

City Marshal Tilghman, on Friday evening, was the recipient of a most beautiful badge, presented to him by his host of friends in this city. The shield is solid gold, of a neat and tasty design, and is indeed a valuable and precious gift. On the face of the shield is engraved, "Wm. Tilghman, City Marshal," and on the back, "Presented by your many friends, May 2nd, 1884."

In behalf of Mr. Tilghman we wish to extend to his many friends his most heartfelt thanks, assuring them that this token of friendship has engraved upon his mind a love and kind remembrance never to be obliterated, and hopes to conduct himself in a manner that, when he shall have severed his connection with the position he now holds, the same feeling of friendship may still exist towards him.

In remarking on this presentation we must not overlook Mr. F. J. Durand, of this city, the mechanic who designed and executed this beautiful and very creditable piece of work. We can truly say it is the neatest piece of work of the kind we have yet seen, and speaks volumes for Mr. Durand as a workman of skill.

Bill humbly thanked the group for the two \$20 gold pieces hammered "into the shape of an antique bar with a shield pendant," and "there was Mumm's Extra dry all round."⁷

Marshal Tilghman really drew two salaries from the city. He was paid \$100 a month for being marshal and another \$25 a month as collector of license fees from gamblers, prostitutes, keepers, etc. Assistant Marshal Nixon earned \$100 a month.⁸

In his dual role of city marshal and county deputy sheriff Bill Tilghman was mentioned quite often by the press as accompanying other officers in the performance of their duties. Most of these short items have already been presented in other sections of this work and their location may be determined in the index under Tilghman.

During the season of 1884 Dodge pretty well maintained its "reputation," though few of the shootings have become frontier classics as have some of those earlier. On Monday, May 12, at about eight in the evening, "a cowboy named Bill York shot a woman named Mollie [Mabel] Gorman, at her house [in Dodge City]. The cowboy has been arrested. The woman, it is thought, will recover," reported the *Caldwell Journal*, May 15, 1884.⁹

On July 6 Bing Choate (or H. B. Choate or K. B. Schoat) was shot and killed by gambler Dave St. Clair. One witness gave this description of the shooting:

[I, M. E. Robinson,] was at 1 a. m. Sunday in Webster's saloon. Saw St. Clair and Choate, was present at the time of the tragedy. Choate and the other men were drinking at the bar. Choate was standing with right elbow on the bar with six shooter in hand. As I stepped in the door I heard Choate remark "I am the fastest s-n of a b---h in town." On the west side of the room sat St. Clair. I asked St. Clair what was the matter and he said, "I don't know." After Choate had pounded the revolver three or four times he handed it over the bar.

There were two men with him, whom I did not know and they went out. Presently the man with black whiskers returned, followed by the other two. The man with the black whiskers called St. Clair about half way down the room. Don't know what was said. They stood there talking when Choate came up. I stepped down close to them on the west side of the building. Choate called St. Clair a cowardly cur or "cowardly s-n of a b---h." Choate had a pistol in his right hand, close to his side. Choate punched St. Clair in his face with a cane and said "I'll teach you a lesson. I'll kill you, you s-n of a b---h," or words to that effect. I heard Choate say he would kill him. St. Clair held his hands folded in arms and stood up and said "Let me explain." Other remarks were made that I did not hear. They then walked down towards the bar. Choate stopped when about 8 feet from the door and faced St. Clair. The man with the black chin whiskers stood with both elbows on the bar. St. Clair then said to Choate, "You have been punching my neck and stomach with that cane, and you have been shaking your gun pretty freely."

As he said that I stepped up from the ice chest to the counter. St. Clair said: "If I had ever a [an even] break with you I would take the pistol from

you and shove it ____." That instant Bill Bowles, policeman, stepped inside the door. At the instant, St. Clair said, "I'll take the pistol from you and shove it up ____." Choate put his hand on his pistol and said, "You will, will you." Bill Bowles, I think it was, said, "Look out, Dave." That instant Dave St. Clair drew his pistol and shot Choate—Choate's pistol was sticking in his pants. I saw the pistol before St. Clair fired. St. Clair had not drawn his pistol before. He was facing Choate, with his hand by his side, when St. Clair fired, I supposed there would be promiscuous firing. I did not see St. Clair make any belligerent demonstrations toward Choate until the firing. I was within four feet of St. Clair at the time of the shooting.¹⁰

Choate, 25 years old, was a cattleman from Goliad, Tex., who was driving 11,000 head of cattle up the trail to Dodge. St. Clair was released and immediately headed west. The *Ford County Globe* on July 8, 1884, blamed the city administration and the police force for permitting such goings on:

We are more than ever inclined to hold to our former opinion as regards the carrying of deadly weapons and particularly the six-shooter. If this law was more rigidly enforced there would be less killing done. Our officers should see to it that this law was enforced and to the very letter. Our mayor should exercise his power and authority in this direction, and see to it that all those not officers of the law (and perhaps some of them), be made to lay aside their shooting irons while in the city. The unfortunate killing of Mr. Schoate might have been prevented had this ordinance been enforced, and both parties disarmed as soon as it was found out that a quarrel was up between them, that might result seriously to either.

Not all the action in Dodge was caused by the big guns. As a matter of fact several who were rounded up for the city calaboose could not even be rated in the light artillery class.

Marshal Tilghman filled the lock-up with tramps, yesterday [July 28, 1884], and proposes to make Dodge a resort that they will not visit so often.¹¹

Sex was no denominator either:

MORE BLOOD SPILLING.

ONE OF DODGE CITY'S UNFORTUNATES STABS ANOTHER SEVERELY.

Last Thursday night [August 7, 1884] about ten o'clock a difficulty occurred between two girls in a saloon, in which one of them was severely but it is said not fatally stabbed. The girl wounded is known as Sadie Hudson, and the perpetrator as Bertha Lockwood. They had both just returned from the dance house, and the difficulty was caused by jealousy of a mutual lover. Sadie was stabbed in three different places; one wound pretty near the spinal column under the back bone, one a little forward, and one in the breast. A surgeon was immediately called and dressed the wounds, reporting them not dangerous. They were flesh wounds quite deep, but not necessarily mortal.

The wounded girl was at once taken to her home in the house known as "the Parlor," and at latest accounts was doing well.

The girl who committed the deed was promptly arrested, but is now out on bail.

It appears that the two girls had some words, when Sadie slapped Bertha in the face, and then the cutting commenced.¹²

The Dodge City *Democrat*, August 16, 1884, reported another battle among the distaff portion of humanity:

A FIGHT FOR POSSESSION.

Ollie Hart and Mollie Hart, who both, as we understand it, claim the right of possession to the heart and necessary appendages of their "lover," attempted to settle the mooted question by a free-for-all cat fight, they failed, but Judge [R. G.] Cook gave a clear intimation in open court, by making Ollie's fine \$5.00 and costs, and Mollie's \$10.00 and costs.

There were other troublemakers besides tramps, prostitutes, and drunken cow hands:

The Chinese laundry on the south side, is a bad hole, generally speaking, and there is no end of trouble with them. Last night [August 18, 1884] they attacked a cowboy who went after his washing, and no doubt would have killed him, but for the timely arrival of the officers. They must reform or a Chinese laundry will go up the spout one of these days.¹³

Marshal Tilghman captured a man in August and the resulting story as published in the *Kansas Cowboy*, August 23, 1884, proved that Dodge had lost little of its earlier "sporting" reputation:

A STALWART RESISTS.

The city marshal brought up a six-footer of monstrous proportions, who got into a dive, and was rattling up the establishment. He was a gentleman of color. He was evidently starting out to paint Dodge City a fiery red, and very appropriately started in the darkest spot in town. His first effort was on a lady of about the color of new sorghum, and she was as hot as that substance comes foaming from the grangers sap boiler when she made her appearance in court. He was from the mountains of Colorado, and his first effort on this lady was to make her as pretty as a spotted horse at a country fair, by adorning her with a flashy dress of more colors than Joseph, though she had none of the qualities which made Joseph famous in the presence of Mrs. Potipher. She was not a beauty unadorned. What she might have been with the spotted dress can only be conjectured. It appears that with a disregard for proprieties she tried to turn the spotted garment into spot cash; and probably into bibulous liquid as red as the dress, and for that purpose left it for sale. This indignantly aroused the gallant gentleman from Colorado, and he attempted to get back his gift. That raised the row. She of the red dress became red with rage, and her eyes shown as fiery as a cat's in a dark garret, and she emitted sparks like those on the feline when rubbed backwards.

Then the row began and the Colorado Sampson took hold of the pillars of that dive, and shook it base to cupola, so to speak. What he would have done if the city marshal had not arrived on the spot will never be known. As it was he struck out from the shoulder, and was about as ugly a customer as need be seen anywhere. The marshal showed himself equal to the emergency and tumbled him into the cooler. The day was hot, but the hero came before the police judge as cool as if he had been in a refrigerator, and plead for mercy,

promising future good behavior. His honor fined him twenty-five dollars and costs, remarking very properly that he had personally witnessed his conduct, and that if he ever attempted to run Dodge City again he wouldn't get off with less than a hundred dollars or its equivalent in work on a stone pile. The money was paid, and the Colorado Sampson retired a cooler and wiser man, satisfied that as an artist in red paint he was not a success.

October 16 saw a shootout down by the river between a group of cowboys and Marshal Tilghman. Evidently no one was injured, and the only blood spilled was thought to be that from a wounded horse. The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, October 21, 1884, reported the fracas:

The city marshal and a party of cowboys exchanged twenty-five or thirty shots on or near the bridge about ten o'clock Thursday night. Six-shooters were used for awhile and then Winchesters. It is not known whether any one was hurt or not. The marshal's second shot caused a commotion among the horses, and from spots of blood on the bridge it is thought one of the horses was wounded. When the firing opened the people along Bridge street thought as it was pretty dark and they could not see, that they could hear as well in the nearest house, so they made for shelter, and it was just as well, for the balls came up the street like a young hail-storm striking in the road on the hill.

A man who had stolen two horses from his own father in Wichita apparently was next in the available records on Tilghman. The *Dodge City Democrat* of October 25, 1884, stated:

On last Saturday City Marshal Tilghman arrested Jim Rhodes, who had stolen two horses from his father at Wichita. He had only one of the horses with him, having sold the other at Pratt Centre. The sheriff of Sedgwick county arrived on last Monday and took the prisoner back to Wichita.¹⁴

The election of November, 1884, came and passed quietly, due largely to the efforts of the police force, reported the *Globe*, November 11, 1884:

We feel proud of the fact that there was no need of a large extra police force in this city on election day. Marshal Tilghman and his usual daily force attended to their duties nobly, and peace and quiet was the order of the day. We feel proud of these facts.

Also in November Marshal Tilghman arrested restaurateur Ed Julian for engaging in a cowboy war of his own. The *Democrat*, November 15, 1884, stated the case:

POLICE COURT DOINGS.

The following cases have come up before Judge Cook since last Monday:

City of Dodge, vs. E. J. Julian, has attracted considerably attention in the Court during the past week. It seems that several cowboys came into his place with their girls to get supper, and after eating the same they refused to pay up. Mr. Julian said that some one would have to pay, where upon they undertook to clean out the restaurant, and the result was that two of them got

knocked down, the third taken to his heels, after getting outside they sent several bullets through the windows and then run. The Marshal arrested Mr. Julian, and after the case was tried, the Judge fined him \$10.00 and costs. A bond was immediately given and the case appealed.

Seventeen months later Julian was shot and killed by Ben Daniels, a private citizen, but Marshal Tilghman's assistant when Julian was arrested in November, 1884.¹⁵

"Marshal Tilghman rounded up a man yesterday morning [January 12] who had the night before broken into a house and stole eighteen dollars in money, a shot gun and some clothing. The thief is now in jail," said the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, January 13, 1885.

In early April Tilghman was unsuccessful in capturing a thief. No one seemed to know much about the robbery including the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, April 7, 1885:

There has been so much said about that robbery a few nights ago, that we are unable to tell anything about it, and ought not to be blamed either, for Judge Cook, before whom the parties who were charged with the crime were taken, said he could make nothing out of it, and all he knows is that some body had some money taken away from them. Marshal Tilghman did everything in his power to ferret out the guilty party.

The annual Dodge City election was held April 7, 1885, and Robert M. Wright was chosen mayor. The new officials declared all city positions vacant but immediately reappointed Tilghman marshal and Ben Daniels assistant marshal.¹⁶

The day after his reappointment Tilghman left Dodge in the pursuit of mule thieves. The *Democrat*, April 11, 1885, said:

A man who lives in Meade county lost two mules last October, and two weeks ago gave City Marshal Tilghman the very difficult work of looking them up, and William received word on last Thursday [April 9] that they were in Edwards county, and went after them Thursday afternoon.

A mysterious incident occurred on June 4, 1885, which required the attention of the city marshal, so the *Democrat* of June 6, 1885, reported:

A MYSTERY.

Last Thursday night about 10 o'clock, a colored man by the name of Sanders, who resides on Third Avenue, noticed some one in front of his house, who seemed to be pounding something. He says he thought it was a man killing a dog, and did not pay much attention to it. After the man had gone he concluded he would go and see what it was. He took a light but the wind blew it out. He finally made the object out to be a man. He got another man to go with him in search of an officer. City Marshal Tilghman, immediately proceeded to the spot, but no body was to be found. The only trace was a large pool of blood. This is a mysterious affair, as no one knows who the man was, or whether he is alive or dead. The officers are somewhat suspicious, and somebody will be in limbo before they are aware of it.

The city marshal and his father, of the same name, also shared July 4 as their birthday. On that day in 1885, the father was 65 years old, the son 31. Both lived in Dodge.¹⁷

"City Marshal Tilghman collected for the month of September, just [an] even six hundred dollars from the saloons and sporting class; being a special tax for the privilege of staying in Dodge City," stated the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, September 29, 1885.

On October 4 Tilghman left for Austin, Tex., after a man; he was back on October 14. The *Globe*, October 20, 1885, said:

Marshal Tilghman returned from Mobeetie, Texas, Wednesday, with his prisoner, George Snyder, who stole a horse from J. C. Briggs about a month ago. Mr. Tilghman was compelled to go to Austin after a requisition, and from there to Mobeetie, making a trip of over two thousand miles. Snyder admits stealing the horse and says he rode out of Dodge and across the bridge after sun up. He will plead guilty to the charge of horse stealing when court convenes.¹⁸

According to the Dodge City *Democrat* Tilghman called it the "hardest trip ever taken by an officer of Ford county."

In December Marshal Tilghman had the odd experience of arresting his own boss, Mayor R. M. Wright. The Medicine Lodge *Cresset*, December 17, 1885, heard the story from the Wright side:

Bob Wright, mayor of Dodge City, arrested on Monday [December 14], charged with felonious assault on Mike Sutton, formerly of the Lodge, but for several years past a prominent attorney of Dodge City. We have heard the story of the assault from a friend of Bob Wright, which was in substance as follows: After the second fire the rumor was started that the prohibitionists had fired the town and friends of Mr. Sutton feared that an attempt would be made to assassinate him and went to Mayor Wright and asked him to send an extra police to guard the residence of Mr. Sutton. Instead of sending the policeman the mayor said he would go himself, and accordingly armed himself with a revolver and went to Sutton's house. He saw some one moving about in the shadow of the building as he says and ordered him to halt. Instead of that the man started to run around the house and Wright fired at him. All the shots, however, struck the house and Mike, supposing that somebody was trying to shoot him pulled his freight. Even putting the most favorable construction upon this story it seems to us that it is not at all surprising that Mike should suppose that an attempt was being made upon his life and further more if that is the way the Dodge City mayor has of guarding people we don't want him for a body guard of ours.¹⁹

City Marshal William Tilghman made no more Dodge City news until March 9, 1886, when his resignation was announced just a month before his term expired. The *Globe*, March 9, reported:

William Tilghman tendered his resignation as Marshal of the City of Dodge City, to the Honorable Mayor and Council of the City of Dodge City, Kansas, to take effect March 9th, 1886. The same was duly considered, and on motion moved and carried, accepted.

Tilghman remained in Dodge City as a cattleman though he concurrently carried a county commission as deputy sheriff. He was well thought of as a business man and apparently did his county duty well also. In May, 1886, he took a prisoner before the state supreme court in Topeka²⁰ and in August he traveled to Ohio. The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, August 17, 1886, described the latter:

Under-Sheriff Wm. Tilghman returned home Tuesday from his trip to Greenville, Ohio, where he had gone to recover an escaped prisoner from Ford county, who was charged with horse-stealing, J. W. Graham by name, who about one year ago stole a horse from some person at or near the Mulberry ranch, and who was arrested at the time, waived a preliminary and was bound over for trial at the next term of the district court. Graham jumped his bail, and as soon as his whereabouts were ascertained, was arrested and brought back for trial.

According to Bill's widow, Mrs. Zoe Tilghman, who wrote his biography in 1949, he was called by one of the factions in the Wichita county seat war to guard the polls at one of the several county seat location elections. Possibly this was the election of March, 1888, for Tilghman was absent from Dodge at that time and three months later was holding forth in Farmer City, Wichita county.

This small western Kansas burg was located between Leoti and Coronado, the contestants for the county seat. So close were Leoti and Coronado that Farmer City was just barely able to squeeze in between them, and even so was accused of squatting on a portion of the Coronado townsite. Little love was shared among the three towns, in fact blood had been spilled just the winter prior to Bill's visit. Possibly the intense feelings of the times had something to do with the action which occurred at Farmer City on July 4, 1888.

On that day, Bill Tilghman's 34th birthday, the ex-Dodge City marshal shot and killed Ed Prather. The Leoti *Transcript*, July 5, 1888, told one version of the story:

Farmer City was the scene of a murder yesterday afternoon about seven o'clock. We give the facts below as we learned them. During the night of the 3d. Ed Prather and [County] Commissioner [H. T.] Trovillo were creating considerable disturbance by shooting promiscuously which they kept up the entire night. Soon after breakfast they resumed their shooting and carousing, and at the request of the ladies of Farmer City Wm. M. Tilghman went to Prather and Trovillo and asked them to be more civil and conduct themselves in a more gentlemanly manner. The disturbing parties took offense at this request and came to Leoti to celebrate the Fourth. After spending the morning and part of the evening here in drinking, Prather returned to Farmer City leaving Trovillo lying near the section house too drunk to navigate. While in Leoti Prather made threats on the life of Tilghman, which a friend of Tilghman informed him of.

About seven o'clock Tilghman went into the joint kept by Prather and began drinking, when he came to pay for the beer a quarrel ensued about the change returned. In the course of the conversation Prather told Tilghman he had it in for him and at the same time placed his hand on his gun, in an instant Tilghman covered him with a pistol and asked him (Prather) to take his hand off his gun, which Prather refused to do. Tilghman knowing he had a desperate character to deal with shot him in the left breast, the ball coming out his back, this did not cause Prather to fall, he remained standing at the bar looking straight at Tilghman and still had his hand on the gun. Tilghman again asked him to take his hand off the pistol but Prather still desisted, then Tilghman shot him through the brain which killed him on the spot. Both parties were bad characters and Prather prided himself as being a "bad man."

Attorney J. Frank Ward went over to-day to investigate the shooting for the state and is convinced from the statement of the citizens of the town, who would be the only witnesses, were he brought to trial, that he did the shooting in self-defense, and any attempt at prosecution would only augment the debt of the county in trying to prosecute her former murderers. Coronado, alias Farmer City, seems intent on sustaining her former reputation as the scene of murderous deeds.

The *Farmer City Western Farmer*, July 5, 1888, offered more details and sympathy for the Tilghmans, junior and senior:

Yesterday, about 7 o'clock p.m., while our people were enjoying themselves in celebrating our national independence, our town was thrown into an intense state of excitement by the report that a man had been shot and killed. As in all communities there are some men who must have some of the vitalizing liquid draught of perdition, and some of the facts in the case are as follows:

On the evening of the 3rd inst. Ed. Prather obtained some beer that had been provided for the celebration and after imbibing freely was ready for the fourth, and early in the morning he started in for a "full" day. Some of the citizens went to him and asked, in a very peaceable and courteous manner, for the sake of the town, the ladies and civil people, to stop drinking and try to have a peaceable day. As is usual in such cases he asserted his right to celebrate as he pleased, and since he could not have his fun in Farmer City he would go somewhere else. He got a team and started for Leoti to help them celebrate. While there his anger became more and more intense, and he resolved to round up this town.

About 5 o'clock p. m. he returned to Farmer City with blood all over his face, hands and clothes. He showed murder in his eye, and often asserted that unless certain retractions be made, that certain parties here would never see the sun rise again. He made frequent threats and insults against Wm. Tilghman, the deputy sheriff, who took all the abuse from the excited man without offering any retaliation. Shortly after his return he began kicking doors in, and demanding with gun in hand, to be waited upon as he should order. Some very dangerous firing was done on the streets by him, and the people became fearful that trouble was nigh. Nobody interfered with him until, in conversation with Mr. Tilghman, he became very abusive and threatened to put an end to him right there, and suiting action to his words, he threw

his hand upon his revolver; but Mr. Tilghman was too quick for him and held a revolver in his face. Mr. T. ordered him three times to take his hand off his gun, and would have disarmed him if he had been near enough; but Prather sought a better position, and Tilghman pulled the trigger, and Prather was a dead man.

A coroner's jury consisting of N. Malson, L. L. Stidger, L. D. Hare, Robt. Traver, J. K. Selby and R. S. Bell, was impaneled by coroner [T. J.] McCain, and after a thorough examination of the circumstances, returned a verdict of justifiable killing.

Ed. Prather was about thirty years old, and when sober, was of a kind and accommodating disposition, and was well behaved. He was what was considered a very dangerous man when determined on death, or when drunk and excited. He was an expert with his forty-five Colt's revolver and to pull it on a man meant death. Ed. was not among enemies and was in no danger of hurt. He was killed by a friend who had often stood by him when danger was nigh, and no man would have hesitated longer to pull the trigger than William Tilghman; but death was staring him in the face and he was compelled to shoot.

Mr. William Tilghman was 34 years old yesterday. He has a fine stock farm near Dodge City, and is held in high esteem by all who know him. He has, since he came to Farmer City, shown himself to be a perfect gentleman, and is as highly respected by the citizens of the county as any man can be. He comes from a family whose pure reputation stands at the top of the scale. He has lived seventeen years in Dodge City; and for eight years has been an officer of the peace at that place and to him as much as to any man in the West is due the credit for establishing law and order at that place. Years ago Dodge City was the most noted border ruffian town on the face of the earth. To-day it has the reputation of a first-class moral, civil and religious city. His father is sixty-nine years old, and while he may feel depressed at the news of his son's killing a man, he knows that William is a good man and would not needlessly kill his fellow man. Mr. Tilghman has the entire sympathy of the whole populace, and he must feel that he did no more than right in saving his own life.

Some reports of the killing had it that Bill Tilghman was drinking at the time. On July 12, 1888, the *Western Farmer*, a Prohibition paper, defended Tilghman, saying that he neither drank nor smoked cigars:

Many reports of the killing of Ed Prather here on the fourth have reached us through the papers of this state, and in the main, all are fair accounts of the case. Some few report Mr. Tilghman as being drunk and drinking. Now while Mr. Tilghman is no more to us than any other good citizen, we must say that he was not, in any sense, drinking intoxicants. While we cannot say whether he is a prohibition man or not, we can say that he has neither used cigars nor intoxicating drinks since he has been among us. We have made a careful investigation of this matter, and from all available sources we learn that Mr. Tilghman is a strictly sober man, a kind and accommodating citizen, and as careful of the rights of others as any man can be. At any rate he has the respect of all who know him here.

Six months later Bill Tilghman was involved in another county seat fight, this time in the contest between Ingalls and Cimarron for the seat of Gray county, just west of Ford. Other well-known Dodge Citians were included in the affair and once again confusion between the Masterson brothers is evident. All contemporary sources checked, however, stated that James Masterson (or merely Masterson) was one of the raiders. Bat Masterson and Wyatt Earp, as has been written in so many latter day publications were not in the fight. There are many newspaper accounts telling of the "Dodge raid" but only two are published here—two which represent quite opposite views of the battle. The story as printed in the *Dodge City Times*, January 17, 1889, reflected the Ingalls attitude:

THE COUNTY SEAT WAR.

AT CIMARRON OVER THE COUNTY RECORDS.

Of the battle at Cimarron on last Saturday between the deputy sheriffs of Gray county and citizens of Cimarron an eye witness gives the following particulars of the fight:

"On last Saturday morning the Sheriff of Gray county, with Fred Singer, Neal Brown, Jas. Masterson, Edward Brooks, Benj. Daniels and Wm. Tilghman as deputies, went to Cimarron with a wagon to convey the county records to Ingalls, for which they had an order from the Supreme court. On their arrival at the building used for a court house at Cimarron, four of the deputy sheriffs stood guard over the wagon while the sheriff and the balance of his men carried out the books. After they had got all the books loaded and were nearly ready to start, the Cimarron people, who in the meantime had been arming themselves, fired upon the officers. This commenced the battle, and the officers returned the fire. From this out the firing was continuous, fully 1,000 shots being fired. The team was started for Ingalls as soon as the shooting began and was protected on its way out of the city by the four deputies who were left in charge, viz: Ed. Brooks, Benj. Daniels, Wm. Tilghman and Neal Brown, and although lead was flying as thick as hail around them they succeeded in getting away. Fred Singer, Jas. Masterson and Wm. Ainsworth who were in the court house when the firing commenced, were unable to escape on account of the mob surrounding the building and who riddled the windows and floor of the room in which they were with bullets. The deputy sheriffs with the records drove to Ingalls as fast as possible, and then telegraphed to Dodge City for aid in order to release the other officers imprisoned at Cimarron. Upon the receipt of the dispatch a number of the friends of the officers took the afternoon train for Ingalls, but in the evening Sheriff [H. B.] Bell and a number of our influential citizens went on a special train to Cimarron and obtained the release of the Ingalls officers.

"After the battle was over it was found that of the Cimarron people, J. W. English was killed outright; Jack Bliss was wounded in several places with buck shot but will recover; Lee Fairhurst was wounded in the breast but will recover; and a man by the name of Harrington was wounded in the hand.

"Of the Ingalls people, Ed. Brooks fared the worst, being shot in the back just below the shoulder blade and two different places in the legs, it was

thought at first that he would die but the doctors now report that he will recover; the teamster who drove the wagon received a wound in the leg; Wm. Tilghman sprained his ankle badly while crossing the irrigating ditch [A. T. Soule's Eureka Irrigating Canal]."

It is very much regretted that the shooting took place, but there is no question but what the Cimarron people were to blame, as they started the fight with the officers from Ingalls, who went there with the proper authority to take the records. It is a wonder to all that any of the officers escaped when fully 75 men were firing upon them, none but brave and determined men would have lived to tell the story of how they were attacked.

Most every daily paper in the east has been filled with news of the fight written by Cimarron people in which they place the Ingalls men in the light of murderers and heap a great deal of abuse on Dodge City, but a true statement of the fight is given above. The citizens of Dodge, although they do not believe in county seat fights, cannot help but sympathize with the officers of Gray county who were fired upon by the Cimarron mob while doing their duty. The Mayor of Cimarron telegraphed for state militia which was at once responded to by Gen. Murray Myers and two companies of militia who arrived at Cimarron Sunday and remained until Tuesday morning. No further trouble is now anticipated.

The Cimarron side was presented by the *Cimarron Jacksonian*, January 18, 1889:

SAD AFFAIR!
THE STORY AS IT IS!
THE FREE SOIL OF GRAY COUNTY IS BAPTIZED WITH BLOOD.
CLOSE SHOTS!
ONE MAN KILLED AND EIGHT WOUNDED.
A FEARFUL CONFLICT!
A FEW FACTS!
A GANG OF TOUGHS REMOVE THE COUNTY CLERK'S RECORDS AND
ATTEMPT TO RUN THE TOWN.

Last Saturday morning dawned bright and clear, the sun seemed to shine with unusual brilliancy and splendor and no wind stirred. All nature seemed clothed in a mantle of peace, happiness and contentment. The peaceable citizens of our fair young city arose and resumed their accustomed business, with light hearts and pure minds, all unconscious that danger and death lurked so near, and that in a few short hours there should be a marshaling of the people to defend their town and rights against the most diabolical attack ever perpetrated on a quiet, law-abiding community. No such maligna was dreamed of, but alas! the unwelcomed tidings and task was made known only too soon.

At 11:30 A. M., a wagon with some ten or twelve men concealed in the bottom of it, drove down Main street and halted in front of the court house. Each was armed with a Winchester, shot gun or revolver, and all hailed from the little hamlet of Ingalls, six miles west on the Santa Fe. The object of their visit was soon made apparent when alighting part of them immediately proceeded up stairs to the county clerk's office and began removing the records, while three or four stood guard at the foot of the stairs to see that no one interfered. In a moment, scarcely more than the duration of a flash of lighting, the word was passed from lip to lip and from house to house, and



WILLIAM MATHEW TILGHMAN, JR.

(1854-1924)

A Dodge City saloon owner, police officer, rancher, and gun-slinging warrior in county-seat fights, Tilghman left Kansas in 1889 to resume his police career in Oklahoma. Photo courtesy University of Oklahoma Library.



CHAUNCEY BELDEN WHITNEY

(1842-1873)

One of the courageous band of scouts who withstood repeated Indian attacks at Beecher's Island in 1868, Whitney survived only to be shot down in Ellsworth five years later while wearing the badge of sheriff of Ellsworth county.



Billy Thompson, photo made in Ellsworth, Kansas, 1872.

BILLY THOMPSON, whose shooting of C. B. Whitney, August 15, 1873, resulted in the sheriff's death.



Ben Thompson, age 29 years, Wichita, Kansas, 1872

BEN THOMPSON, a brother, brazenly took over Ellsworth's Front street while Billy made his escape.



Ellsworth in 1872. Drovers Cottage is at the right. With guns on the alert, Texan Ben Thompson paraded Front street for one long hour on August 15, 1873, daring the law to come and get him. The mayor, impatient at the delay of his police, fired the whole force. Where were the officers? It was reported they had been occupied "loading their muskets!"

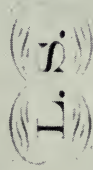
The cuts on this page are from *The Aerend* (1934), of Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, through the courtesy of Mrs. Floyd B. Streeter.

GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, C. B. Whitney, Sheriff of Ellsworth County, Kansas, was murdered in the said county of Ellsworth, on the 15th day of August, 1873, by one William Thompson, said Thompson being described as about six feet in height, 26 years of age, dark complexion, brown hair, gray eyes and erect form; and Whereas, the said William Thompson is now at large and a fugitive from justice;

NOW THEREFORE, know ye, that I, Thomas A. Osborn, Governor of the State of Kansas, in pursuance of law, do hereby offer a reward of FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS for the arrest and conviction of the said William Thompson, for the crime above named.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereto subscribed my name, and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State. Done at Topeka, this 22d day of August, 1873.



By the Governor:

W. H. SMALLWOOD, Secretary of State.

THOMAS A. OSBORN.

Reward poster for the capture of William "Billy" Thompson.



The quartet which gunned its way into the Medicine Valley Bank at Medicine Lodge on April 30, 1884. Left to right in the center: John Wesley, cowboy; Henry N. Brown, marshal of Caldwell; Billy Smith, cowboy; Ben Wheeler, assistant marshal of Caldwell. Shortly after this picture was taken, Brown was shot and the others were hanged by "persons unknown!" Photo courtesy of C. Q. Chandler, Wichita.

brave men never more promptly responded to a call to arms than did the men of Cimarron.

The mob which had gone up stairs kicked open the door of the clerk's office and entering pulled a Winchester on A. T. Riley and commanded him to throw up his hands. They then began carrying the records down stairs and placing them in the wagon. Mr. Riley allowed them to take the books without any resistance on his part, but asked them to give him a receipt for the same, when he was told to "go to h--l," that "they had no time to receipt for anything," taking particular pains to keep a gun on him all the time. In the mean time that part of the gang which had been stationed down stairs as guards to hold up at the point of their gun all who came near, opened up fire on our citizens. The books and records had all been loaded and the cavalcade from the west was ready to move on its triumphal march homeward, when firing was opened by both sides. During the battle which ensued the wagon was removed and reached Ingalls in safety. The whole affair was a complete surprise to our people and found them unarmed. It is estimated that the firing did not last ten minutes from the time it began until it had ceased and the wagon containing the records had passed out of sight over the hills northwest of the city. But after the battle, which partook of the nature of a guerrilla warfare, it was discovered that in this short space of time our respected citizen

J. W. ENGLISH HAD BEEN MURDERED,

and Jack Bliss and Ed. Fairhurst mortally wounded. When the books and records were all loaded, the driver stepped into the wagon and drove off at a break-neck speed, exchanging shots with his pursuers and stopping to take in those of the gang who had become weak-kneed, and took to their heels. After Mr. English fell and they became aware that our citizens were not to be baffled they scattered like so many birds and run for their lives. They had come prepared for the occasion, however, having several Winchesters and shot guns with them, and would stop at intervals and return fire at some of the citizens, who crazed and enraged over the killing of their comrade were "pumping" lead into them thick and fast.

A GANG OF MURDERERS.

By way of explanation, it might be well to state right here that when we refer to "they" or the "gang" we mean this gang of murderers, cut-throats and fugitives from justice, who came here as deputy sheriffs, (deputized by the sheriff of Gray County, who is a bitter Ingalls man,) without any legal authority whatever to recover the records and shoot down our citizens in cold blood. They are not residents of Gray County, and many of them not residents of the State, they are "killers" and do not claim to be anything else.

FOUR OF THEM CORRALED.

During the shooting and excitement which followed, the four men who had taken charge of the clerk's office up stairs were unable to get out without danger of losing their lives and were permitted to remain there until six o'clock in the evening. The Mayor called a meeting of the citizens and after conferring with them decided to telegraph the sheriff at Ingalls to come and take the men under his custody. He arrived here about five o'clock when they were turned over to him with a commitment for each of them to the Ford County jail for murder in the first degree. He took them to Ingalls and allowed

them to go scott free, and they are to day roaming about at their own sweet will threatening a repetition of last Saturdays bloody work if an attempt is made to arrest them. Among these prospective candidates for the penitentiary, was N. F. Watson, the newly elected (by fraudulent votes) county clerk, whose certificate had been mailed him early that morning and at the time the shooting occurred was awaiting him in the Post Office at Ingalls. He had made no demand for the office as his predecessor's time had not yet expired. The other gentlemen with whom he had the pleasure of being caged that day were Billy Allensworth, Fred Singer and Jim Masterson. . . .²¹

A few months later, on April 22, 1889, Oklahoma territory was opened to white settlement and Bill Tilghman was one of the first to settle in newly established Guthrie. He was no longer to play a part in the game of law and disorder in Kansas.

1. See, also, *Dodge City Times*, March 31, 1877. 2. See, also, *Ford County Globe*, February 12, 1878. 3. See, also, the section on W. B. Masterson. 4. *Dodge City Times*, May 11, 1878. 5. See, also, *Ford County Globe*, April 1, 1884. 6. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1884; *Dodge City Times*, April 17, 1884. 7. *Dodge City Democrat*, May 10, 1884. 8. *Ibid.*, June 7, July 12, August 9, September 6, October 11, November 8, December 6, 1884; January 10, March 7, April 11, 1885; *Globe Live Stock Journal*, May 12, June 9, July 21, August 11, September 15, October 13, November 10, December 15, 1885; January 12, February 9, March 9, 1886. 9. See, also, *Ford County Globe*, May 13; *Dodge City Times*, May 15; *Dodge City Democrat*, May 17, 1884. 10. *Dodge City Kansas Cowboy*, July 12, 1884; see, also, *Dodge City Democrat*, July 5, 1884; *Ford County Globe*, July 8, 1884; *Globe Live Stock Journal*, July 15, 1884. 11. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1884. 12. *Dodge City Kansas Cowboy*, August 9, 1884. 13. *Dodge City Democrat*, August 16, 1884. 14. See, also, *Globe Live Stock Journal*, October 21, 1884. 15. See the section on Daniels. 16. *Dodge City Democrat*, April 11, 1885; *Globe Live Stock Journal*, April 14, 1885. 17. *Dodge City Kansas Cowboy*, July 11, 1885. 18. See, also, *Dodge City Democrat*, October 10, 17, 1885. 19. See, also, *Globe Live Stock Journal*, December 15, 1885. 20. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1886. 21. See, also, *Topeka Capital-Commonwealth*, January 13, 15, 1889; *Cimarron New West Echo*, January 17, 1889.

WHEELER, BEN F.

(1854-1884)

The height of co-operation between Kansas peace officers may be found in the almost identical careers of Caldwell City Marshal Henry N. Brown and his assistant, Ben Wheeler. One finds few newspaper notices in which one and not the other is mentioned in the curtailment of cowboy crime. Continuing their loyalty to the end, they died together—killed by a mob for attempting to rob a bank in Medicine Lodge!

This co-operation between Brown and Wheeler has caused most of the contemporary newspaper items concerning the latter already to have been included in the section on Henry Brown. The reader who is interested primarily in the career of Wheeler should also consult the index to this series.

When Caldwell Marshal B. P. Carr took a leave of absence in October, 1882, Assistant Marshal Henry Brown temporarily moved

up and Ben Wheeler was hired to fill the assistant's spot. The *Caldwell Post*, October 26, 1882, said of him:

Mr. Ben Wheeler is acting as assistant city marshal while Henry Brown is marshal in the absence of Bat Carr. Mr. Wheeler has the sand, so the boys say, to stay with the wild and woolly class as long as they are on the war path.

Marshal Carr returned on November 2, 1882, but in about seven weeks he left the force and Brown was once again promoted, this time permanently. Ben Wheeler was named assistant: "The City Council met last Friday night and appointed Henry Brown marshal in place of Bat. Carr, and Ben Wheeler assistant marshal. The appointments give general satisfaction," said the *Caldwell Commercial*, December 28, 1882.

On January 7, 1883, Wheeler nabbed a petty bedroom thief. The *Commercial*, January 11, reported the crime, arrest, and conviction:

Ben Wheeler, assistant marshal, was walking up the south side of Fifth street about two o'clock last Sunday afternoon, when he discovered a man attempting to hide some plunder under a building in the rear of the Opera House. Ben took in the situation and the man at once. An examination of the fellow's person developed the fact that he had been wandering up and down in a lady's chamber, for he had concealed about him various articles of lady's underwear, such as corsets, etc., besides jewelry, neckties, shoes, slippers, stockings, garters and handkerchiefs, in all to the value of nearly \$40. Ben locked up the fellow, who gave his name as Smith, and started out to find the owner of the stolen property. Upon inquiry it was learned that some one had entered the rooms occupied by the girls employed in the Leland Hotel, and taken therefrom the articles in question. Smith was brought before Judge Kelly on Tuesday, plead guilty to the charge of larceny and committed for trial at the next term of the District Court. He now enjoys such hospitalities as the county is enabled to furnish through Sheriff Thralls. He seems to be a stranger here, no one knowing who he is or where he came from.

Marshal Brown received a leave in late January, 1883, to be gone a month. "Ben. Wheeler, during the absence of Henry Brown, will have in charge the peace and good order of our city. Ben is equal to the occasion, being of that class of men who have very little to say but very prompt when action is necessary," explained the *Commercial*, February 1, 1883.

After Henry Brown had returned to his duties Caldwell witnessed a shooting by one of its most respected citizens. Assistant Marshal Ben Wheeler was quickly on hand to disarm the physician who had already wounded his victim twice. The *Commercial*, March 29, 1883, reported the attempted murder:

ANOTHER TRAGEDY.

An unfortunate and tragical affair occurred in this city last Thursday afternoon [March 22], in the shooting of Charles Everhart by Dr. W. A. Noble. Shorn of all details, the facts are that the Doctor had been drinking, and

while in McChesney's "Place," took offense at Everhart, who attends the lunch counter in the "Place." Of the cause of the offense—real or supposed—no exact information could be obtained, but it appears that the Doctor suddenly drew a self-cocking pistol and began firing at Everhart. The first shot missed. The second shot struck Everhart in the left breast, an inch or two above the nipple and passed out at his back, just below the shoulder blade. The third shot seems to have been fired as Everhart turned to get out of the way, for the third ball struck him in the back, ranged up and passed out in front a little above the collar bone and about four inches above the place where the first ball entered.

Before the Doctor could fire another shot, the pistol was wrenched from his hand and he was taken in charge by Assistant City Marshal Wheeler. Meantime Everhart had fallen to the floor, and Drs. [Charles R.] Hume and [J. F.] Robertson were called in.

It was at first thought that Everhart could not live, but under the treatment and care which have been given him, he seems in a fair way to recover.

An examination of Dr. Noble before Justice of the Peace T. H. B. Ross, was called on Friday, but the case was continued, and the defendant held in \$10,000 [bond] for his appearance on Wednesday, March 28, at 1 p. m. Bail was promptly furnished.

The unhappy affair is a source of regret, not only to the Doctor, but to his numerous friends, by whom he is held in high regard, both as a physician and a man. He is a man of a generous nature, but impulsive, and while strong in his likes and dislikes, we do not believe he bore malice toward any one. He certainly had none for Everhart, and his attack upon the latter can only be accounted for upon the ground of his mental condition previous to and at the time of the occurrence.

Yesterday, at the trial set, Mr. George, deputy county attorney, appeared and requested a continuance. The continuance was granted until April 6th, and a new bond filed.

The shooting prompted the editor of the *Commercial* to moralize on the effects of alcohol, double action revolvers, and democracy:

LAST THURSDAY'S TRAGEDY.

The tragedy which occurred in this city last Thursday, speaks in loud tones for the enactment of two very important laws. The first, prescribing that whisky insanity shall be no excuse for crime, and the second, that where one makes an attempt upon the life of another with a deadly weapon, and it can be proven that the assailant has been in the habit of carrying said weapon concealed, such fact shall be *prima facie* evidence of an intention to commit murder.

This, at first glance, may seem hard. But can adequate reasons be given why a prominent citizen or a so-called "respected member of society" in this or any other well organized community in Kansas should habitually carry double-action revolvers, or for that matter, dangerous weapons of any kind?

With no desire to prejudice the case or add to the misery of the chief participant in last Thursday's affair, it must be honestly confessed that had not Dr. Noble been armed with a weapon upon which he could rely and the merits of which he had undoubtedly tested, no matter to what extent his intoxication, he would have thought twice before making any warlike demon-

strations upon anyone, especially upon a man who was in no wise his enemy.

There should be no mawkish sentimentality regarding any man, however high his standing, or whatever his wealth or social position may be, who, habituated to going armed in a civilized community, under a fit of alcoholic insanity makes use of a weapon. The law should be as strictly enforced in this case as in the case of any cowboy who comes off the range, and, unacquainted with the customs and regulations of the town, fails or refuses to lay aside his arms.

Treat all alike, prince or peasant, rich or poor, citizen or stranger, and make no rule in one case that will not be applicable to all other cases under like circumstances.

Dr. Noble was bound over at his examination but since his victim, Everhart, had left the area, it was generally felt by the local populace that the doctor would be released.¹

"Three innocent cowboys rode out of the city in true cowboy style on Tuesday," reported the *Caldwell Journal*, Thursday, August 9, 1883. "The marshal and his deputy went after them, caught and brought them back. They paid their respects to the Police Judge, after which they rode out of the city in the most gentle manner."

On April 9, 1884, Henry Brown and Ben Wheeler were again reappointed to their respective positions. Brown's salary was fixed at \$100 a month and Wheeler's at \$75.² Exactly three weeks later they rode into Medicine Lodge to rob a bank and there met death. (See the section on Henry Brown.)

1. *Caldwell Journal*, May 17, 1883. 2. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1884.

WHITNEY, CHAUNCEY BELDEN

(1842-1873)

At daylight, September 17, 1868, Chauncey Belden Whitney awoke to find himself and his 50-odd companions surrounded by hundreds of hostile Indians. The group of civilian scouts under the command of Maj. (Brevet Colonel) George A. Forsyth had been pursuing a band of Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapahoes which had attacked the little town of Sheridan (present Logan county) on September 10. Now Whitney and his friends were themselves under severe attack. After the first murderous charge, in which Forsyth, Lt. Fred Beecher, and some eight or ten others were wounded, the men succeeded in digging entrenchments on their little sandy island in the Arickaree (about 20 miles west of present St. Francis) and for the next three days fought off the attackers. On Sunday, September 20, the Indians failed to appear but fear, lack of transportation, and the weakened condition of the party prevented the

scouts from venturing far from the shelter of their island. Messengers had been dispatched between the attacks, however, seeking relief from Fort Wallace and from other troops in the field.

By September 21 the besieged group was subsisting on horse meat but in only a few more days most of this was gone, with the exception of some putrid remnants which were eaten almost as readily. Coyotes, wolves, and prickly pears supplemented their diet until on September 24 Whitney wrote in his diary "My God! have you deserted us?"

Whitney's questioning prayer was answered the next morning with the appearance of a strong force of troops, "a day long to be remembered by our little band of heroes," he wrote.

"To-morrow we are to start for Fort Wallace, where I shall bid good-bye to our brave band of scouts to prepare to return east, where I will try to forget in a peaceful home the scenes of the past two years," he wrote on September 26.¹ The place of peace in which he expected to forget the horrors of the Battle of Beecher's Island turned out to be not so tranquil after all, for Chauncey Whitney's "home town" was Ellsworth.

The town had been established in January, 1867, just before the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, built through. In the next several years Ellsworth was to earn a reputation as one of Kansas' wildest and toughest towns.

Whitney was one of its early settlers. At the September 11, 1867, meeting of the Ellsworth county commissioners he was referred to as constable and was directed to ascertain if all persons doing business in the county had obtained licenses. On October 18, 1867, the board ordered that

C. B. Whitney be authorized to purchase lumber and material for repairing the Blake House on Walnut St to be used for Jail and the Clerk is ordered to draw orders on the County Treasure for the amount. Ordered that the house of H D Blake be rented at \$60.00 per month for six months from date to be used for Jail, payable monthly in advance, rent to commence this Oct. 18th, 1867 and that the county repair said house and put chimney in the same underpin and ceil it in good workman like manner, at its own expense and that at the expiration of six months that the said improvement to belong to the said H. D. Blake, and it is further ordered that C. B. Whitney be authorized to make all necessary repairs and is instructed to draw orders in C. B. Whitney's favor toward paying for lumber &c.

Ellsworth county's second election for sheriff was held November 5, 1867. The field included five hopefuls, among them Whitney but he was defeated by the county's first sheriff, E. W. Kingsbury. The others in the race were M. R. Lane, a man named Parkes and

Wild Bill Hickok who received 155 votes in Ellsworth city, the largest number in that precinct, but only one other vote in the entire county.

In April, 1868, Whitney was re-elected constable² and probably was also acting as a deputy sheriff for his name appeared quite frequently in the commissioners' lists of "bills allowed." Then, on August 28, 1868, Whitney enlisted in Forsyth's scouts and three weeks later participated in the famous Indian battle mentioned earlier. As a scout he was paid \$75 per month but had to furnish his own horse and equipment. The battle of the Arickaree was the only major fight in which the little group participated, and on December 31, 1868, they were returned to full civilian status.³

Back in Ellsworth, the bonds of Sheriff E. W. Kingsbury were deemed insufficient by the board of county commissioners on February 11, 1869, and, since he had also left the state, the commissioners declared the office vacant.⁴ Several letters were sent Gov. James M. Harvey recommending C. B. Whitney for the job. One, from Lorenzo Westover, county superintendent of public instruction, said: "Mr. Whitney whose name is respectfully recommended has served as Under Sheriff & [is] well versed in the business & will discharge the duties the best of any man. . . ."

Probate Judge George Geiger had different feelings about Whitney:

ELLSWORTH KAN Feby 24th 69

GOV HARVEY

TOPEKA KAN

DR GOV

We are aware that the County Commissioners have recommended C B Whitney to you as a proper person for Sheriff of this County. The only reason they done so was that no one else would accept it, that is better than he. But as you have not sent the commission, we are glad of it, and desire that you will not send a commission to him, until we write you again. He is far from the proper person for sheriff, and we will write you again on this subject and recommend some suitable person if we can get such a one to take it.

[Ex-Probate] Judge [James] Miller & I have been talking this matter over & I intended this for a joint letter, but he says he wrote you last night & I have read this to him & he approves of it— We are in an almost desperate position here, on a/c of the lawlessness of our people & the disregard of law & justice in some of our officers.

Very Respectfully
GEO GEIGER.

Judge Miller had written:

I am of the opinion it would be well for you to withhold the appointment of C B Whitney as sheriff of our County for a few days waiting developments that will occur soon. He is now acting sheriff and there is no great haste for a few days to have the place filled.

Two weeks after his first letter Mr. Westover had changed his mind. On February 25, 1869, he telegraphed the governor: "Appoint E. A. Kesler sheriff Ellsworth County."⁵

This switch might have helped turn the trick for within a few days the governor issued commission No. 84, dated March 1, 1869, appointing Kesler sheriff of Ellsworth county.⁶

Whitney was not around to run for sheriff at the general election of November 2, 1869. In July he, as a member of Co. A, Second battalion, Kansas State Militia, had been activated by the governor to provide frontier protection against hostile Indians. Company A was commanded by Capt. A. J. Pliley, another veteran of the Battle of Beecher's Island. Whitney was the unit's first lieutenant.

Company A spent most of its active duty at a block house on Spillman creek in Lincoln county, just north of Ellsworth. The three officers and 54 men were on constant guard in their area, determined to prevent further depredations against settlers. On November 20, 1869, they were released and returned to their homes.⁷

More than a year later, on January 30, 1871, the board of county commissioners of Ellsworth county again declared the office of sheriff to be vacant. This time the bonds of J. Charles Seiber, who had defeated William Anderson at the general election of 1869, were declared insufficient. Again the name of C. B. Whitney was placed before the governor. Unfortunately a gap in the governor's correspondence prevents the disclosure of his actions but apparently Seiber was advised that he was still sheriff for he remained in office until he resigned July 3, 1871. This time the county commissioners did not recommend a particular person for the job, merely asking instead that the vacancy be filled.⁸ No record has been found of the appointee.

The new sheriff was not Chauncey B. Whitney, however, for on July 27, 1871, he was named marshal of the city of Ellsworth, his salary to be \$50 per month. His assistant, Tom Clark, earned \$40. In addition each officer was paid \$2.50 for each conviction resulting from an arrest made by him.⁹

Unfortunately, early records of Ellsworth are so scarce that it is not known how active the marshal and his assistant were during the winter of 1871-1872. It is known that on March 6, 1872, he was ordered by the city fathers to "instruct all 'soiled doves' that they will not be permitted to live in or carry on their business within the limits of the city of Ellsworth."¹⁰ Also, on March 27, 1872,

the council ordered that the marshal be paid his back salary. Since an ordinance passed in August, 1871, had raised the pay to \$75, Whitney received \$450 for the six months he had been without salary.¹¹

It may have been that Marshal Whitney had been elected sheriff of the county at the election of November 7, 1871, for after January, 1872, he was referred to in the county commissioners' "bills allowed" sections of their journal as sheriff.¹² However, no returns were recorded in the journal as was the usual case in elections.

Possibly Whitney was acting as sheriff when he unsuccessfully pursued the murderer mentioned in this Ellsworth *Reporter* article of March 28, 1872:

COLD BLOODED MURDER!
SHOT IN A PLACE OF ILL-FAME!
SLAUGHTERED IN THE HOUSE OF HIS FRIENDS
DIED WITH HIS BOOTS ON!
GONE WHERE THE WOODBINE TWINETH!
LOVE AMONG THE ROSES!
FISK AND STOKES IN LOW LIFE!
TRESPASSING ON ANOTHER MAN'S-FIELD!
THE MURDERER TAKEN WITH A LEAVING!
HYDE PARK BUSTED, UP IN BUSINESS!
SOILED DOVES FLAPPING THEIR WINGS EASTWARD. LET 'EM FLAP.
SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI!

As a reporter, it has become our painful duty to chronicle one of the most scandalous, disgusting and cold blood murders that we have any recollection of.—The facts as brought out by the Coroners Jury are substantially as follows:

George Palmer, well known in this locality, had been for the last seven years living with one Lizzie Adams, a woman of the town. Within the last year they were married clandestinely, and afterward moved on a farm.—But alas, how frail the fair; Lizzie brooded over the solitude of the farm and pined for her numerous love-*yers* and a return to the old political faith, as laid down in the principles of the Victoria C. Woodhull party [which advocated free love].—She left the farm, resumed her occupation as Madam of the "*nauch*," from which time up to last Friday night one Taylor DuBoise seems to have had full sway over the affections and cash of the frail Lizzie. True love never did run smooth, and did not in this instance. Shortly after her return to town her house and its contents were burned, and Palmer was arrested for starting the fire, but the evidence was not sufficient to hold him.

Not to be outdone, Lizzie fixed up another house, and just one month after the fire moved into her new quarters. The same day she sent the following poetry to Palmer.

TAKE ME BACK HOME AGAIN.

Take me back home again, take me back home,
Hopeless and helpless, in sorrow I roam;
Gone are the roses that gladdened my life,
I must toil on in the wearisome strife.
Once I was happy and friends were my lot,
Now I'm a wand'rer, despised and forgot!
Lonely and weary, in sorrow I roam,
Take me back home again, take me back home,
Take me back home again, take me back home.
George, dear George, so gentle and mild,
Look once again on thy pitiful child!
Since we were parted I never have known
Love and affection so pure as thine own!
Days of my childhood, I dream of you now,
While in my sorrow and anguish I bow!
No one to love me 'neath yon starry dome,
Take me back home again, take me back home,
Take me back home again, take me back home.
Oh, could I live but the days that are flown,
Dearest and sweetest that ever were known,
Fondly I weep in my desolate pain,
Longing to be with my George again!
Weary, so weary, my heart yearns for rest,
Poor wounded bird that is robbed of its nest!
Child of affliction! dear George, I come,
Take me back home again, take me back home,
Take me back home again, take me back home.

He went, we presume to take her back home again; stayed for supper; drank whisky and got mellow, in fact was drunk.

A short time after dark Taylor DuBoise entered the kitchen.—George and Lizzie were sitting on a bed talking over the things that were, both drunk and happy and unsuspecting danger.

Three shots were heard, parties were seen leaving the house, report spread that Palmer was killed, a crowd soon assembled and found a horrible, sickening sight. Lying on the floor, weltering in his own blood, was the body, all that was left of George Palmer.

From indications, it is thought that he was knocked down and then shot three times through the head, all the balls entering the forehead.

Palmer leaves considerable property, and, we have heard it stated, a family in Canada, which, if it be true, will be the cause of considerable litigation.

DuBoise, after committing the murder, went to Sanderson & Whites stable, took a pony belonging to Lizzies son and struck over the prairie. Cap. Whitney and others followed, but failed to overtake him. He made an attempt to steal a horse from Charley Bell, six miles from town but was foiled. He has not been heard of since.

The house in which the murder took place has been evacuated. The girls have moved to Kansas City and Madam Lizzie has taken to the farm. So mote it be.

About this same time it was rumored that the sheriff had been killed for trying to steal horses. Of the rumor the *Reporter*, March 28, 1872, said:

EX-SHERIFF SHOT.—We notice an item floating around to the effect that the Sheriff of Ellsworth County was shot and killed, at Wichita, while stealing horses. That's hard on Capt. Whitney, but presume he can draw some consolation from the fact that he is getting well, that he was not shot while stealing horses, that he has not been shot since he has been filling the sheriff's office, and that he was not in the wicked burgh mentioned.

We presume the story originated from the shooting of J. C. Sieber, an ex-sheriff of this county, by a deputy U. S. Marshal.

Sieber was charged with stealing horses, the marshal undertook to arrest him, he resisted, got shot, is badly wounded but will hardly die, such men are hard to kill.

On April 3, 1872, Whitney resigned his city position and John L. Councell was appointed marshal.¹³

In December Whitney was after a bond thief. The *Reporter*, December 12, 1872, said he made the arrest at Wallace:

Sheriff Whitney arrested at Wallace a bond thief who was trying to escape with \$8,000 he stole in the east. It takes Whitney to find them. The K. P. [formerly the Union Pacific, Eastern Division] is not a safe road for jail birds to fly over.

On August 15, 1873, Sheriff Whitney was shot by Billy Thompson, thus providing material for one of the great Western controversies of our era—did Wyatt Earp disarm Ben Thompson, the brother of Whitney's killer. No contemporary records, including the *Ellsworth Reporter*, August 21, 1873, mention the presence of Earp:

COLD BLOODED MURDER.

SHERIFF C. B. WHITNEY SHOT AND KILLED BY A DRUNKEN DESPERADO.

Ellsworth has had a tragedy at last! We had hoped that the season would pass without any sacrifice of citizens or visitors; but it was not to be. In a moment of desperation a reckless, headstrong, half drunken man shot down in cold blood Sheriff C. B. Whitney, who was unarmed, unaided, and was advising in a friendly way the threatening desperado to give up his arms and keep the peace. We will give the particulars of the unfortunate affair as correctly and as briefly as possible. Coroner Duck held an inquest Monday, but we are not at liberty to publish the testimony; the important points will probably agree with the following particulars:

The trouble originated over a game of cards, the players being well filled with whisky. One or two blows were given and the parties rushed for their guns. Ben and Bill Thompson obtained their arms, went into the street and called out: "Bring out your men if you want to fight." At this time Mr. Whitney came over to them and asked them to stop their fussing; then they all started towards [Joe] Brennan's saloon. Ben remained outside, walking up and down in front, with a rifle in his hands. Presently he pointed his rifle up street towards [Jerome] Beebe's store to Happy Jack [Morco], who was

standing in the door-way, and fired; the ball hit the door casing, which saved Happy's life. The next moment Bill Thompson came out of the saloon with a double barreled shot gun, which he pointed at Mr. Whitney who made two attempts to get out of the way before he shot and said "don't shoot."—Thompson fired and Whitney received the charge. He whirled around twice, screamed out that he was shot and called for his wife. Friends rushed to his aid and carried him home.

After the shooting Bill Thompson went back into the saloon, and soon afterwards went across the street on horseback, towards the Grand Central [hotel]. Ben met him there, gave him a pistol and said: "For God's sake leave town; you have shot Whitney, our best friend!" Bill replied that he did not give a d---! that he would have shot "if it had been Jesus Christ!" He then rode slowly out of town cursing and inviting a fight. Ben Thompson retained his arms for a full hour after this, and no attempt was made to disarm him. Mayor [James] Miller was at his residence during the shooting; he was notified of the disturbance and he went immediately to Thompson and ordered him to give up his arms, but his advice was not heeded. During this long hour where were the police? [City Marshal John H. "Brocky Jack" Norton, Policemen John "Happy Jack" Morco, and Ed Hogue.]

No arrest had been made, and the street was full of armed men ready to defend Thompson. The police were arming themselves, and as they claim, just ready to rally out and take, alive or dead, the violators of the law. They were loading their muskets just as the Mayor, impatient at the delay in making arrests, came along and discharged the whole force. It would have been better to have increased the force, and discharged or retained the old police after quiet was restored. The Mayor acted promptly and according to his judgment, but we certainly think it was a bad move. A poor police is better than none, and if, as they claim, they were just ready for work, they should have had a chance to redeem themselves and the honor of the city. Thus the city was left without a police, with no one but Deputy Sheriff [Edward O.] Hogue to make arrests. He received the arms of Ben Thompson on the agreement of Happy Jack to give up his arms!

The unfortunate Sheriff was, in the meantime, suffering intensely, but there was a slight hope for his life. Everything was being done to relieve him; Dr. [William] Finlaw, of Junction City, was sent for, but he could not help him. The wound was mortal. The gun was loaded with buck shot and the whole charge was emptied in Whitney's arm, shoulder, and the fatal shot entered his breast, passed down through the lungs and lodged in the back bone, making an incurable wound.

Mr. Whitney was a member of the Masonic order, and he was attended by his brothers in Masonry at his bedside, and buried by them in the Episcopal church yard. Dr. Sternberg preached the funeral sermon before a very large audience of mourners and friends. The services at the grave were also impressive. Dust was rendered to dust; safe from the storms, free from cares, in the bosom of mother earth, rests the body of our late Sheriff C. B. Whitney.

Three and one-half years later, in preparation for Thompson's trial, the defense obtained several statements from persons who were present at the shooting. One was made by William Purdy:

My name is William Purdy. I am a resident of the County of Atchison,

State of Kansas. I was present at the shooting of C. B. Whitney by William Thompson in Ellsworth on the 15th day of August 1873. I was then acquainted with the said parties, Whitney & Thompson & with Ben Thompson, Happy Jack and John Stirling—Happy Jack was a general rowdy & Stirling was a gambler—each were desperate men and men of desperate characters.

Stirling, Cad Pierce & [Neil] Cain were in a saloon, I think it was, playing cards & when the game ended Ben Thompson having an interest in the game wanted a settlement with Sterling about the game—Stirling was drinking & got mad & struck Ben in the face. Happy Jack then run up & drew his six shooter on Ben. Ben told Jack to take Stirling away & pay attention to his own affairs. Jack & Stirling then went up the street. Shortly after that, Ben having gone into Jo Brennans saloon, Happy Jack & Stirling went to the front door of Brennans saloon, Stirling with a shot gun & Jack with a pair of six shooters. Happy Jack, I think it was, one of the two said so, said "Get your guns you dam Texas sons of bitches & fight." Ben, the next I saw of him, was coming from towards Jake News Saloon going towards the railroad north—After a while Ben & Billy Thompson & Whitney were together near the depot, the three then in an apparently friendly manner went across the railroad towards Brennans saloon and when they had got there, some one cried out "look out, as here they come." Happy Jack and Stirling were the persons referred to & they were then coming down the sidewalk towards Brennans saloon in a fast walk with their weapons (Stirling with a gun & Jack with pistols) drawn.

As this warning was given Ben whirled around towards the direction they were coming from as they advanced upon the Thompsons and the place where they were in a threatening manner Ben fired at them or one of them. Billy at that time I think was in the saloon doorway, Whitney was outside a few paces in advance of Billy Thompson & just to his left; Billy may have been on the walk, he was standing still or trying to do so, being at the time intoxicated. He at the time had his eyes fixed on the two parties advancing on him & Ben, that is, on Stirling & Jack, the shot of Ben did not stop them. They continued to advance the same as before & when within about twenty feet of Billy Thompson, his gun being down below his breast, it went off, one barrel of it only, and the shot took effect in the shoulder or side of Whitney. The parties, Billy Thompson, Whitney & Jack, at least, were in a triangle, Billys gun was cocked & apparently resting in his hands at the time it went off. I thought his right hand was on the hammer of the gun, he took no aim, did not bring the gun up, nor neither was he looking at Whitney, who stood at his left in advance looking towards Jack & Stirling. As the gun was discharged Ben said "My God Billy you have shot your best friend." Billy replied "I am sorry." Whitney said "He did not intend to do it, it was an accident, send for my family." There was no indication at any time, during the time of the shooting, before that time or after the shooting at the place when the shooting occurred, as in going across the street before the shooting that Whitney & the Thompsons were not on the best of terms.

Ben Thompson himself also sent a statement up from Texas. He said:

I will state that [I] was playing cards with John Sterling, Neil Cain and Cad Pierce in the Saloon of Joe Brennan, or rather they were playing and [I]

was interested with Sterling. Sterling was drunk, and when the game ended, he had some money part of which was mine, and I asked for a settlement, whereupon he struck me in the face. Happy Jack then ran up and drew his pistol on me, and I told him not to interfere with me but to take this drunken man off, which he did as they started off together up street. I then returned to the Brennan saloon—and I was in conversation with Cad Pierce in the back part of the Saloon when Sterling and Happy Jack came back to the front door of the Saloon, Sterling with a shot-gun and Happy Jack with one or more pistols, then one of them (I do not know which one it was) cried out get your guns, you Texas Sons of bitches and fight. It created considerable excitement at the time.

I then enquired of several for a pistol or arms, but could not get any, whereupon I ran out the back of the Saloon to Jake News saloon and got my six-shooter and a Winchester rifle & started out in the middle of the street to the railroad, so that if a difficulty should happen we would be in open ground and innocent parties would not get hurt. Just at this time when I left Jake New's Saloon I met my brother Wm. Thompson, who was very drunk and had his double barrel shot gun in his hand with both barrells cocked. I then advised & entreated him to go in the house & put up his gun as he was too drunk to do anything and that he would kill some of his best friends if he was not careful how he handled his gun. I had no sooner told him this, than one barrel of his gun went off accidentally and struck in the lower part of the side-walk in front of New's Saloon very near the feet of two of our friends to wit: Maj. Seth Mabry and Capt. Millett—I then got the gun away from him and tried to remove the catridges but they were brass and so much swollen that I could not get them out.

At this time some one (I do not now know who it was) came to me & told me I had better look out, that those fellows were after me. I then handed my brother's gun to some party standing by & went out on the railroad in the middle of the street. A moment or so after I got there my brother came out where I was with his gun. I then hallowed back to the crowd that if they, the damn sons of bitches, wanted to fight us here we are. About this time Whitney and John Delong an ex-policeman came out to where we were from the crowd & Whitney said "boys, don't have any row. I will do all I can to protect you. You know that John and I are your friends." I then said I know that Whitney. Whitney then said "Come on let us go over to Brennan's and take a drink." I said all right I will do so and get Billy (meaning my brother) to put up his gun. Whitney said that is right—Billy is drunk and you are sober and he will shoot some one accidentally—we then both requested Billy to let down the hammers of his gun as he had already come very near shooting two of his friends.

We then all walked over to the saloon in a friendly conversation. When we asked Billy to let down the hammers of his gun he made no reply & failed to let them down, but said he would leave the gun when he got to the saloon, that "he was not going to let those damn Son's of bitches get the best of Ben" (meaning me). . . .

Whitney, my Brother William Thompson, John Delong, and myself were going into Brennan's Saloon at the request of Whitney to take a drink, he having invited us, and just as the above named parties were entering the Saloon, I being behind and just in the act of entering the door, some one from be-

hind, hollowed to me saying "look out Ben" or "look out Thompson" I cannot now remember which expression was used. I looked around supposing it was . . . John Sterling & Happy Jack, that were referred to. When I looked around I saw Happy Jack coming down the street with a Six-shooter in each hand in a fast run, he came within twenty-five or thirty steps of me and ran into Bebee's store. Just at time Whitney and William Thompson came out of the Saloon at the same door they had just entered, Whitney being a step or two in advance, I being about eight feet from them, my brother at this time was very drunk, so much so that he staggered a great deal. He had his gun in his hands at the time both barrells being Cocked, and just as he was coming out of the door the gun went off accidentally and struck Whitney in the shoulder.

The gun was not pointed at Whitney, but as he staggered out of the door with the gun in his hands it went off accidentally. A few moments before both Whitney & myself had cautioned William Thompson to be careful how he handled his gun or he would shoot one of us—we cautioned him for the reason that he was very drunk and was carrying the gun in his hands with both barrells cocked and we were afraid that some such accident might happen—Just as William Thompsons gun fired and shot Whitney, Whitney exclaimed, "My God Billy you have shot me" and at the same time I remarked "My God you have shot our best friend" or words to that effect. At this time William Thompson was so drunk that he did not seem to realize what had occurred. He made some remark but I could not understand what it was.¹⁴

More than three years after the shooting Billy Thompson was finally returned to stand trial for Whitney's murder. He was acquitted on September 14, 1877.¹⁵

1. "Diary of Chauncey B. Whitney," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, pp. 296-299.
2. "Ellsworth County Commissioners' Records," Journal A (transcribed by the Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration, in archives division, Kansas State Historical Society), pp. 14, 19, 21, 37.
3. Copy of undated letter from the War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General, "Forsyth Indian Scouts," *The Beecher Island Annual* (1930 edition), pp. 59, 60.
4. "Ellsworth County Commissioners' Records," *loc. cit.*, Journal A, pp. 55, 56.
5. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.
6. "Records of the Secretary of State, Commissions, January 12-July 28, 1869," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.
7. *Report of the Adjutant General: 1869* (n.p.), pp. 9, 10.
8. "Ellsworth County Commissioners' Records," *loc. cit.*, Journal A, pp. 69, 116, 129; "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.
9. "Minutes of the City Council," p. 1; "Ordinance Number One, Ordinance Book," Records of the City of Ellsworth.
10. "Minutes of the City Council," Records of the City of Ellsworth, pp. 7, 8.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
12. "Ellsworth County Commissioners' Records," *loc. cit.*, Journal A, p. 147.
13. "Minutes of the City Council," Records of the City of Ellsworth, p. 15.
14. "Testimony and Records in the Case of State of Kansas vs. William Thompson," Records of the Ellsworth County District Court.
15. Western buffs may be interested in knowing that the shotgun used to kill Sheriff Witney is in the possession of Mrs. Merritt Beeson of the Beeson Museum, Dodge City. According to Ben Thompson, in his statement in defense of Billy, "the shot-gun was a present to me from Cad Pierce and was worth about one hundred and fifty dollars. . . ."

For other articles on Ellsworth's early history see F. B. Streeter, "Tragedies of a Cow Town," *The Aerend: A Kansas Quarterly*, Hays, v. 5 (Spring, Summer, 1934), pp. 81-96, 145-162; F. B. Streeter, "Ellsworth as a Texas Cattle Market," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 4 (November, 1935), pp. 388-398; George Jelinek, *Ellsworth, Kansas, 1867-1947* (Salina, n.d.) and *90 Years of Ellsworth and Ellsworth County History* (Ellsworth, n.d.); and Robert Dykstra, "Ellsworth, 1869-1875: The Rise and Fall of a Kansas Cowtown," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 27 (Summer, 1961), pp. 161-192.

Bypaths of Kansas History

OUR CIVIL WAR CORNER

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, September 4, 1862.

Bill Hedrick, down on Wolf River, has a funny way of joking. Last week, at Camp Meeting, he came across a sneaking Secesh, who had just got back from Pike's Peak, when he took him by the coat collar, applied his boot to the part of his body which is uppermost when he is stirring a cat from under the cupboard, and sent him off of the ground in a hurry. The fellow understood the joke.

MEDICAL CARE 92 YEARS AGO

From the *La Cygne Weekly Journal*, June 18, 1870.

FEE TABLE ADOPTED BY LINN COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY

Day visit in town.....	\$1.50
Night visit in town.....	2.00
Day visit in country, first mile.....	1.50
Each additional mile.....	.50
Night visit in the country double the above rates.	
Additional prescriptions for more than one patient in a family.....	50¢ to 1.00
Extracting teeth.....	50¢ to 1.00
Opening abcesses and felons.....	1.00
Treatment of gonorrhoea, in advance.....	10.00
Treatment of syphilis, in advance.....	\$10 to 25.00
Private examination.....	5.00
Thoracic examinations.....	\$2 to 5.00
Office prescription and advice.....	50¢ to 5.00
Operation for hydrocile.....	5.00
Consultation, mileage as above.....	5.00
Obstetric, if not detained over four hours, and in country, mileage.....	10.00
Each hour's detention beyond four hours.....	.50
Instrumental delivery.....	\$15 to 25.00
Reducing fracture or dislocation.....	\$5 to 25.00
Amputation or resection.....	\$5 to 150.00

Fees considered due at the time service is rendered, but for greater convenience of patrons we adopt quarterly settlements, January, April, July, and October. If payment is not made promptly at that time, will settle by note bearing interest from date. Persons employing a member of this society and refusing to settle according to this rule, will be reported to the society whose members will withhold their services until the matter is adjusted.

Persons having a member of this society employed and wishing to change for another physician, will be required to notify the first employed, and request the two to meet previous to such change.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

On January 26, 1961, the Plainville *Times* began publication of a series on Rooks county township histories. The articles were edited and submitted for publication by Ellsworth Dodrill, Rooks county centennial historian.

During 1961 and 1962 the Beloit *Daily Call* frequently published a historical series entitled "Kansas Keepsakes," by Cosette McIntosh.

"The John Mathews Story," a biographical sketch of the founder of the Little Town trading post at the site of present Oswego, and an account of Civil War incidents in southeastern Kansas, by Wayne A. O'Connell, was published in the Oswego *Independent*, July 14, 21, 1961, and the Oswego *Democrat*, July 28, and August 4.

A history of Bear Creek township, Hamilton county, appeared in the Syracuse *Journal*, August 23, 1961.

"Act of Atrocity Starts Indian Wars," is the title of an account of the Sand Creek massacre of 1864, in the *News Chronicle*, Scott City, August 24, 1961.

Material from an 1886 promotional publication of the St. Louis, Fort Scott and Wichita railroad describing the Conway Springs area was printed in the Conway Springs *Star*, August 24, 1961. From the same source the Argonia *Argosy*, September 7, printed the portion pertaining to the Argonia vicinity. A history of Milan, Sumner county, by Mrs. J. C. Pond, appeared in the *Argosy*, November 23, and in the *Star*, November 30.

Recent articles by Kittie Dale, published in the *Ellis Review*, were: "The Saga of Tom Daly,' First Merchant of Ellis," August 31, 1961; "How Smoky River Got Its Name and Other Historical Facts," November 23, and "Historic Story of Indian Raid at Spring Creek Crossing," December 7.

Orville W. Mosher's column, "Museum Notes," in the *Emporia Gazette*, included the following historical articles in recent months: "Past Emporia Restaurants . . .," September 1, 1961; "Emporia's First Newspaper [*Kansas News*] Boasted a Colorful Editor [Preston B. Plumb]," September 25; "Newspaper [*Emporia News*] Was Chronicle of Early Local Settlers," September 28; "Early Dow Creek Settlers [Herbert Davis family] Came Long Way Around," October 3; "Emporians Felt Backwash of Civil War During 1861," October 16; "Newspaper Stories Reflect Kansas at Time of Civil War," October 27; "Emporians Feared Attacks by Quantrill-Type Raiders,"

November 2; "Review of Thanksgiving Through the Years," November 23; "Civil War Ends; President Assassinated; Killer Caught," November 30; "Most Elegant New Year's Celebrations Were in the 1880's," January 1, 1962; and "First Plymouth [Lyon County] Settlers Arrived in 1855," January 11.

Notes on the history of Danville, Harper county, appeared in the *Argonia Argosy*, September 7, 1961. The town, started in 1880, was earlier known as Coleville.

Articles by Allison Chandler on the history of the Kansas City, Kaw Valley and Western railroad, appeared in the *Bonner Springs Chieftain*, September 7, 21, 1961. The railroad, Kansas' last electric trolley system, is being abandoned after 51 years of service. Another of Chandler's interurban railway histories, that of the Coffeyville, Independence, Cherryvale, and Parsons line, was published in the *Cherryvale Republican*, January 3, 10, 17, 1962.

In its September 10, 1961, number the Great Bend *Daily Tribune* printed "State's Early History Tied to Roads," in which the development of Kansas roads, from Indian and cattle trails to four-lane highways, was briefly traced. A biographical sketch of George Heizer, 91, by Dorothy Bowman, appeared in the *Tribune*, October 22. Heizer was one of the first operators of the mule-powered Great Bend trolley.

Lyon township, Cherokee county, history was recalled by Homer Goodrich in an article in the *Columbus Daily Advocate*, September 19, 1961, and the *Modern Light*, Columbus, September 21. On December 5 and 6, the *Daily Advocate* printed an account of the Agricultural and Industrial Institute, by Calvin M. Cooper, entitled "Negro Refugees From Civil War Found Aid in Cherokee County." The institute was operated by the Society of Friends in the mid-1880's for the benefit of Negroes flocking to Kansas from the South.

"Fusses Dot History of State Printing Plant," a history of public printing in Kansas, by Cliff Souders, appeared in the *Topeka State Journal*, September 25, 1961. In 1855 the legislature named John T. Brady first printer for Kansas territory.

An article entitled "Early Wakefield Is Recalled," by Mary Alice Heard, was published in the *Clay Center Dispatch*, September 29, 1961, and the *Clay Center Times*, October 5. A brief history of Fact, by L. F. Valentine, appeared in the *Dispatch*, November 9, and the *Times*, November 16. The *Dispatch*, April 25, 1962, printed a history of the Oak Hill Masonic lodge.

Family history appeared in the *Cimarron Jacksonian*, October 5, 1961, with a sketch of the William H. Farr family by Edna Fauley and Dorothy Nelson, and on November 2 with an article on the George W. Slocum family by Florence Slocum Mayrath.

Peg Luke's column, "Glimpse in the Past," in the *Lebanon Times*, included the histories of the following churches: Garfield Union church, Smith county, October 12, 1961; Methodist churches of the Lebanon area, November 23; and United Brethren and Presbyterian churches of the Lebanon area, December 7. Histories of other Kansas churches published in the newspapers in recent months included: Belle Plaine Baptist, *Belle Plaine News*, December 21; Good Hope church, near Junction City, *Junction City Weekly Union*, December 28; Barnard Baptist, Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican*, December 28; Church of the Immaculate Conception, Leavenworth, *Leavenworth Times*, December 31; Nortonville Seventh Day Baptist, *Atchison Daily Globe*, January 21, 1962; Nortonville-Pleasant Grove Christian, Nortonville, *Atchison Daily Globe*, February 25; First Baptist, Pratt, *Pratt Tribune*, March 15; and Baker Avenue Baptist, Great Bend, *Great Bend Herald-Press*, May 5.

O. A. Snell is the author of a series in the *Colby Free Press-Tribune*, beginning October 12, 1961, on the R. B. Snell family and the Thomas county community in which they settled.

Articles in the *Salina Journal*, October 15, 1961, included: "Central Kansans Had Part in a Decisive Indian Battle," an illustrated account of the battle of Arickaree at Beecher's Island in September, 1868, by Mrs. Maxine Ballou, and "Violence Marked Railroad's Conquest of High Plains," a story of the difficulties encountered in building the Kansas Pacific railroad through the Ellis area.

Historical articles appearing in the *Cedar Vale Messenger* in recent months included: "Prairie Chickens \$3 Dozen in Early Day Cloverdale," October 19, 1961; "Buffalo Still Roamed Area When Grenola Was Formed," stories by the late F. L. Reid and Samuel Evan Boys, November 9; boyhood memories in and around Cedar Vale, by Frank Crocker, November 16, 23; and "Cattle Baron Days," by J. S. Jent, December 14.

"First Newspaper in County Was Palmetto Kansan," a history of Marshall county newspapers, by Frances R. Williams, was printed in the *Marysville Advocate*, October 19, 1961. In the issue of December 21, the *Advocate* included "Bleak Christmas in Marysville as Civil War Began a Century Ago," also by Mrs. Williams. Gordon Hohn was the author of the following articles in the *Advocate*:

"Sale of X. Guittard Farm in 1906 Recalled Memories of Pioneer [Overland] Stage," November 9; "Lincoln School Was Opened in 1923, Replacing Wooden 'Ward' School," December 2; "Rough Days Here on Old Overland Trail, Which Had Various Routes," January 11, 1962; "Abe Lincoln in Kansas on the Day John Brown Was Hanged in 1859," February 15; "Mayor Henry Ziegler Elected in 1903, Faced City's Worst Flood," March 1; and "Early World War I Days Provided Business Prosperity in This Area," March 15.

Sen. Carl T. Curtis of Nebraska is the author of an article on events leading to the Civil War, published in the Newton *Kansan*, October 25, and the McPherson *Daily Sentinel*, November 2, 1961. Curtis points to the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill as the act that "triggered" the war.

Lutheran church services have been held in the Alma area for over 100 years. An article in the Alma *Signal-Enterprise*, October 26, 1961, recalled the pastors who have served and reviewed the history of St. John's church.

A biographical sketch of Mrs. Isabel Johnston, Garden City, by Cheryl Walker, was printed in the Garden City *Telegram*, October 28, 1961. Mrs. Johnston, now 95, came to Kansas in 1885.

"Homemade Toys From Kansas," by Carol Huff, was the feature of the November, 1961, issue of *Heritage of Kansas*, Emporia.

Wayside's history was the subject of an article by Mrs. Thelma Ripptoe in the Independence *Daily Reporter*, November 5, 1961. The Montgomery county village got its first post office in 1887, but the first settler had arrived in the area in 1869.

"A Brief History of Jefferson County," compiled by Mrs. Mabel Bates, was published in the November 9, 1961, issue of the *Jefferson County Mirror-Times*, Perry.

In observance of the 60th wedding anniversary of the A. E. Simons, Kismet, a daughter, Mrs. E. J. Guldner, wrote a family history which was published in the *Southwest Daily Times*, Liberal, November 16, 17, 1961. In the issue of November 28, the *Times* began a series by Mrs. Horace Malin on the history of the Pleasant Valley community, near Liberal. The letters of Charles E. Hancock, now of Aztec, N. Mex., to Harry E. Chrisman, concerning his experiences as a builder of homes and trailers in Liberal during the first quarter of the century, were published in the *Times*, January 6, 8, 9, 16, 1962.

In the 1880's the David Kepley and John McGillivray families were Grant county homesteaders. A history of the families appeared in the *Ulysses News*, November 23, 1961.

A history of Hanston, Hodgeman county, by J. W. Lang, appeared in the *Jetmore Republican*, November 30, 1961.

"A Survey in Retrospect: A Letter of Elliott V. Banks," edited and with an introduction by Paul E. Wilson, was published in *The University of Kansas Law Review*, Lawrence, December, 1961. Banks, in 1862, when the letter was written, was a young Lawrence lawyer, recently from New York. His letter is comprised of comments on his fellow Lawrence lawyers, of whom there were about 40, and on the practice of law in the young state.

Two articles on Co. F, 2d Kansas infantry, of Larned, appeared in the *Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, December 8, 1961. One article related to the company's participation in three county seat wars in the 1880's, and the other to its service on the Mexican border in 1916. January 15, 1962, the *Tiller and Toiler* published a history of the Creed King family as told by Charles W. King. An account of the Mathias Shafer family, by Emma Shafer King, was printed in the February 1 issue of that newspaper.

Alfred J. Graves and four other boys were carriers for the Dodge City *Daily Globe* at its inception 50 years ago. Graves tells of that beginning in an article in the *Globe*, December 11, 1961.

As late as 1917 school was held in a dugout in Gove county. When the schoolhouse burned classes met in a near-by dugout for about four months. The story is told by Mrs. Emil Huerter in the *Oakley Graphic*, December 28, 1961.

Kanopolis was incorporated as a third-class city January 6, 1887, according to a history of the town printed in the *Ellsworth Reporter*, January 4, 1962.

The history of the Elm Creek community, in the Wilson reservoir area, was reviewed by Mrs. Ralph Goodheart in the *Russell Record*, January 15, 1962.

In its issues of January 18 and 25, 1962, the *Belle Plaine News* printed a history of Belle Plaine public utilities.

El Cuartelejo, the site of an Indian pueblo in the 17th century, was the subject of a descriptive and historical article by Mrs. Robert

H. Chesney, in the *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, Washington, D. C., February, 1962. The Scott county site is marked by a monument erected by the D. A. R. in 1925.

In the issue of February 1, 1962, the Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican* began publication of a six-part biography of the Rev. H. C. Bradbury, pioneer Presbyterian circuit rider, by a daughter, Augusta Bradbury-Hare.

An autobiographical sketch written by Theodore Weichselbaum in 1908 was published in the Junction City *Union*, February 17, and the Junction City *Weekly Union*, February 22, 1962. Born in Germany, Weichselbaum came to Ogden in 1857 where he operated a store and a brewery and was a freighter and contractor for the army.

Historical information on 40 Washington county towns, settlements, and post offices which have now disappeared was included in the February 23, 1962, issue of the *Washington County News*, Washington.

Elizabeth Barnes' column, "Historic Johnson County," which for several years has appeared regularly in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, included a series on the history of northeast Johnson county, in the issues of March 22, 29, April 5, 12, 19, 26, 1962.

"Santa Fe, Oregon, California Trails," an article by Donald R. Hale, was published in *The Sentinel*, Oak Grove, Mo., April 9, 1962.

"Old Oxford Mill Keeps Grinding After 88 Years," a history of this south central Kansas landmark, was published in the *Wellington Daily News*, April 13, 1962.

Histories of the old Highland mission, the Highland United Presbyterian church, and Highland College were reviewed in the Topeka *Sunday Capital-Journal*, April 22, 1962, and the *Kansas Chief*, Troy, May 3. The mission was founded in 1837, the church in 1843, and the college in 1858.

Simon E. Matson's weekly feature in the St. Francis *Herald*, "Early-Day Events in Shaping an Empire," started in 1956, is still appearing regularly.

Kansas Historical Notes

The 87th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held at Topeka on Tuesday, October 16, 1962.

Medicine Lodge's Indian Peace Treaty pageant was staged October 13-15, 1961. Held every five years since 1927, this presentation was a year early to coincide with the Kansas centennial year.

Officers of the Wichita Historical Museum were all re-elected at a recent meeting of the membership. They are: Dale Larson, president; June Harrison Mayor, auxiliary president; Bob Ness, first vice-president; Nona Clemons, second vice-president; and Carl Bitting, secretary-treasurer. Newly elected board members are: Harry Kurdian, Bill DeVore, Larry Stubbs, and Wyoming Paris.

John Ranney was elected president of the Arkansas City Historical Society at a meeting March 6, 1962. Guy Ecroyd was chosen vice-president; Mrs. Charles Shirley, secretary; and Glenn Wheat, treasurer. Ecroyd was the retiring president.

Meeting March 9, 1962, the Ford Historical Society re-elected all officers, including: Mrs. Francis Umbach, president; Mrs. Marguerite Patterson, vice-president; Mrs. Addie Plattner, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. Kate Emrie and Mrs. Nelle Fowler, historians; and Mrs. Lillie Warner, custodian.

The Great Plains Historical Museum, featuring guns, Indian relics, and mementoes of the Old West, was opened in Syracuse, March 15, 1962. Located in the Hotel Ames building, the museum is owned by Earl Trussell, Hamilton county farmer and cattleman.

Trustees of the Shawnee County Historical Society met in Topeka, March 16, 1962, and named the following officers: Elliot H. White, president; Warren M. Crosby, vice-president; Grace G. Menninger, secretary; and Mrs. Frank J. Kambach, treasurer.

The Buffalo Hunter museum, located on the Durfey ranch, six miles south of Osborne, opened April 1, 1962. The museum is operated by Mr. and Mrs. Ewing Crow.

Helen Rennie was elected president of the Gray County Historical Society at a meeting in Cimarron, April 3, 1962. Other officers elected included: Merle Warner, vice-president; Grace Truax, secretary; and Katie Jacques, treasurer. Helen Riepl was the retiring president.

All officers of the Edwards County Historical Society were re-

elected at the society's annual meeting April 10, 1962, in Kinsley. They include: Mrs. Ed. Peterson, president; Charles Anderson, first vice-president; Cecil Matthews, second vice-president; George Ott, third vice-president; Elsie Jenkins, secretary; Mrs. George Miller, treasurer; Myrtle Richardson, historian; and Mary Vang, custodian.

On April 11, 1962, the Santa Fe museum at Ashland was dedicated. Housed in an old railroad station moved from Sitka, the museum is the result of the efforts of Claude S. Cravens, retired Santa Fe railway official.

W. D. Ferguson was installed as president of the Thomas County Historical Society at a meeting in Colby, April 11, 1962. Other officers include: C. G. Eddy, vice-president; Mrs. Esther Sewell, secretary; and Mrs. Bee Davis and Mrs. B. V. Dimmitt, directors.

Keith Nicodemus was elected president of the Decatur County Historical Society at a meeting of the board of directors April 19, 1962, at Oberlin. Other officers elected were: Virgil McMains, first vice-president; Anna Petracek, second vice-president; Mrs. A. L. Ploussard, secretary-treasurer; and Marvin Meyer, chairman of the board. Ward Claar was the retiring president.

Reorganization of the board of the Baxter Springs Historical Museum was accomplished at a meeting May 5, 1962, and the following officers were elected: Ivan Chubb, general chairman; Claude H. Nichols, vice-chairman; John R. Hughes, secretary; and Paul Williams, treasurer. New board members are: William G. Roberts, Arthur J. Kane, Alton Willard, John Cook, Robert L. Nichols, and Neil Chubb.

A 141-page, paper-bound *Handbook on the Frontier Days of Southeast Kansas*, by B. Close Shackleton, was published in 1961.

A method by which the Plains Indians kept count of the years is described in a 31-page pamphlet, *The Sioux, 1798-1922—A Dakota Winter Count* (Cranbrook Institute of Science *Bulletin* No. 44, 1962), by Alexis Praus. The study includes reproductions and interpretations of sketches made by the Sioux from 1898 to 1922.

Foreign-Language Units of Kansas: Historical Atlas and Statistics, by J. Neale Carman, a 330-page volume presenting maps, lists, and statistics "relating to the linguistic assimilation of those early settlers in Kansas and their descendants 'who in the beginning habitually used some language other than English,'" was recently published by the University of Kansas Press, Lawrence.

The Kansas Historical Quarterly



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The Kansas Historical Quarterly is published four times a year by the Kansas State Historical Society, 120 W. Tenth St., Topeka, Kan. It is distributed without charge to members of the Society; nonmembers may purchase single issues, when available, for 75 cents each. Membership dues are: annual, \$3; annual sustaining, \$10; life, \$20. Membership applications and dues should be sent to Edgar Langsdorf, treasurer.

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Second-class postage has been paid at Topeka, Kan.

THE COVER

Photographed from a painting (1906) by Samuel J. Reader of Shawnee county, who described the scene: "Private S. J. Reader, Co. G, Topeka Reg't., directing John Brown to the Free-State camp on Pony Creek, Kansas Territory, Aug. 3d, 1856."

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The First Century of Kansas State University

CHARLES M. CORRELL

KANSAS State University, the first state-supported institution of higher education in Kansas, was established by the legislature on February 16, 1863, in Manhattan, as the state agricultural college. Earlier, on February 3, the legislature had accepted the terms of the Morrill act of 1862, obligating the state to comply with the terms of that federal law, which was the basis of the system of land grant colleges. It is interesting that a pioneer state that had recently passed through a stormy and turbulent territorial experience, and that was at the time engaged, along with the other loyal states, in a struggle to preserve the integrity of the union, should be able to plant, on the western fringe of settlement, the nation's first land grant college. Only in recent months has research by R. W. Sherman, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, proved that Kansas was actually the first state to organize and establish a college in full compliance with the provisions of the Morrill act. This achievement was made possible because a group of pioneer settlers in the Manhattan area had been able to secure funds to erect a college building. This group of college-trained men had obtained a charter in 1858 for Bluemont Central College, and by the winter of 1860 they had a three-story stone building ready to receive its first students.

Under frontier conditions, and with a civil war coming on, the prospects for raising money to keep the little college running were slim. When the new state, in 1861, began to consider the location of state institutions, the Bluemont College authorities offered their property to the state, without cost, as the location for the state university. The legislature passed a bill accepting this offer, but Governor Robinson vetoed the bill, as he was interested in getting either the state capital or the state university located at Lawrence.

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Then came the passage by congress of the Morrill act in 1862 and its acceptance by Kansas in 1863. Again the Bluemont College property was offered to the state as the site of the agricultural college, and the offer was accepted.¹

The Morrill act provided that each state, which complied with the terms of the act, should receive 30,000 acres of public land for each senator and representative that state had in congress. As Kansas then had but one representative, as well as its two senators, its allotment of public land was only 90,000 acres. As a matter of fact the original land endowment of Kansas State was nearly 8,000 acres less than the allotment, as some of the land selected lay close to the area of railroad grants, and hence was considered to be twice as valuable as other public land. This restriction was, of course, entirely unsatisfactory to the college authorities as in some cases railroads had relocated their lines. Thus the college lands lost whatever added value they had had because of their proximity to the original railroad grants. Attempts to correct this injustice dragged on through the years until, in 1908, congress granted the college nearly 8,000 additional acres, bringing the total of the land endowment practically up to the 90,000 acres.

By authority of legislation dated March 3, 1863, the governor appointed three commissioners to locate the land for the college endowment. The lands selected in those early years were in Marshall, Washington, Clay, Dickinson, and Riley counties. When, after 1908, the last 8,000 acres were selected, only lands in the western part of the state were available and selections were made in Greeley, Sherman, Cheyenne, Gove, Morton, and Rawlins counties. The sale of these lands was a duty of the board of regents of the college, who acted through land agents whom they appointed. All lands were eventually sold and the proceeds, amounting to over \$680,000, constitutes a permanent endowment fund. By law this fund must be invested in government bonds or "other good securities," and only the interest may be used to help support the institution. In recent years the annual income from this endowment fund has amounted to less than \$19,000, which is a minor item in the budget of the college. If any of this money should be lost through bad investments, the state is obligated to replace such loss, and the legislature occasionally has had to appropriate state money in limited amount to make good on this obligation.²

1. J. T. Willard, "Bluemont Central College, the Forerunner of Kansas State College," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 13, pp. 323-357.

2. J. T. Willard, *History of Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science* (Kansas State College Press, Manhattan, 1940), p. 55.

The legislature provided in March, 1863, that the control of the college should be in the hands of a board of regents consisting of the governor, the secretary of state, the superintendent of public instruction, the president of the college, all *ex-officio*, and nine men appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate, provided "that not more than three of those selected shall be members of the same religious denomination." Another provision of this law was that "no student shall be refused admittance to this college simply because he has been expelled from some other college."³

As is well known, the land grant college system represented a new idea in higher education, namely, the democratic idea of education of the agricultural and industrial classes. In the words of the Morrill act, the land endowment was to assist each state

to support and maintain at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.

In other words, in place of maintaining colleges for the few who wished to prepare for the so-called "learned professions," there should now be institutions subsidized by the government for the training of all capable youth for agriculture, industry, and business.

To translate this ideal into practical reality was not an easy task and in Kansas it took a number of years to make the transition from the old type of college to the new. When the state took over Blue-mont College its president, the Rev. Joseph Denison, was retained to head the state college. He was listed as president of the college and professor of ancient languages and mental and moral science. His faculty consisted of J. G. Schnebly, M. A., professor of natural history and lecturer on agricultural chemistry; N. C. Preston, M. A., professor of mathematics and English literature; J. Evarts Platt and Belle Haines taught in the preparatory department; and Mrs. Eliza Beckwith taught instrumental music.

This faculty was to give Kansas youth a practical education in agriculture and mechanic arts and to that end, they set up a program of courses beyond the preparatory year which included Latin, beginning Greek, algebra, geometry, chemistry, Caesar, philosophy, Cicero's *Orations*, the *Anabasis*, trigonometry, physiology, the *Aeneid*, Herodotus, Livy, botany, Horace, the *Odyssey*, agricultural chemistry, moral science, mental science, mineralogy, and zoology.

As the years passed, the agricultural and mechanical curriculum

3. *General Laws of the State of Kansas* . . . , 1863, p. 13.

dropped all courses in classical languages and added some material of a more practical nature. President Denison and his associates were aware of the ideas suggested in the Morrill act, and if they had not been, growing criticism in the agricultural press was certain to make them aware; but in their wish to make the course of study of more direct value to the industrial and agricultural classes, they were frustrated by at least three factors. In the first place, there were almost no text books prepared for instruction in practical aspects of farming or mechanical callings. In the second place, there were at first few if any teachers prepared in these fields. And finally, even if texts and teachers could be found, there was practically no money available with which to provide the tools, implements, livestock, seed, etc., with which to give such practical instruction.

The state legislature was reluctant to appropriate money for the state agricultural college because its income was to come from its land endowment. It was not at first appreciated that it would take several years to get the land selected, sold, and the proceeds invested and producing income; so, during most of the Denison administration, state appropriations were very small and what was granted was for salaries and running expense and nothing for supplies and equipment. Some of the state money was specified as a loan to be repaid from income from the endowment receipts.

There was growing criticism, expressed in farm papers and agricultural gatherings, that the college was not being administered in harmony with the intent of the Morrill act. This attack resulted, in 1873, in the acceptance of President Denison's resignation and the selection of the Rev. John A. Anderson to succeed him. Although by this time President Denison had added to his faculty a professor of veterinary science and animal husbandry, a professor of practical agriculture, and a professor of horticulture, and courses in these areas had been introduced into the curriculum, yet considerable work in Latin, French, German, literature, history, and moral philosophy was still required.

In the fall of 1873 the regents restated the purpose of the institution in these terms:

Resolved, that the object of this institution is to impart a liberal and practical education to those who desire to qualify themselves for the actual practice of agriculture, the mechanic trades, or industrial arts.

Prominence shall be given to agriculture and those arts in the proportion that they are severally followed in the state of Kansas.

Prominence shall be given to the several branches of learning which relate to agriculture and the mechanic arts according to the direction and value of their relation.

A course of study was outlined for six years of two terms each. All classical and modern foreign languages were eliminated and emphasis was put on practical use of English rather than on literature. The courses were grouped under three headings, "practice," "knowledge used," and "aids." The first were those which developed skill in the workman; the second those that furnished knowledge directly used by the workman; and the third those that helped him in gaining or using skill. In the farmer's course, 17 terms were devoted to "practice," 17 to "knowledge used," and 14 to "aids."

One new feature in the practical training of young people was the requirement that each student must take an "industrial" each term during the six years. This was a regular assignment to work one or two hours each afternoon on the farm, in the orchard, the garden, the shops, or in the kitchen or sewing room, for which the student received no pay. It was purely to develop skill. As this work was nearly always done in the afternoons, the students called it their "P. M." This course of study is the basis for the statement, published in the college catalog for 1877:

. . . we claim that Kansas has an Agricultural College which differs radically and advantageously from all other institutions in the United States; that it furnishes a mental education having less superfluous bosh and possessing more real value to the boys and girls who will have to make a living by working than can be obtained elsewhere; that it affords a mental discipline equal to that of any other institution; and that it gives a manual training which cannot be found elsewhere.⁴

By 1876 the six-year course of study was reduced to four and by 1879 the two-term plan was changed to three terms a year.

President Anderson wrote and published a *Hand Book* of some 65 pages, which was also incorporated in the college catalog of 1874, and in this essay he clearly and forcefully upheld the new program for the practical training of boys and girls who would be expected to return to the farms, shops, and homes of Kansas. Many friends of the college, some of them members of the faculty, criticized the new order vigorously as tending to make the institution a mere trade school rather than an educational institution. Certainly the emphasis was on eliminating all "bosh" and "fancy" material that did not contribute to the money-making ability of the young person. Three members of the small faculty made the mistake of going to Topeka to lobby against the confirmation of members of the board of regents whose earlier appointment had not been confirmed as the senate had not been in session at the time of their appointment. If the professors could block the confirmation of the regents, they

4. *Biennial Catalogue of the Kansas State Agricultural College* . . ., 1875-1877, p. 4.

might check the Anderson reforms. The lobbying professors failed in their attempt, were dismissed on February 6, 1874, by a vote of the regents, and the Anderson reform program proceeded. This action of dismissing three out of a faculty of about ten had a bad effect on the morale of the staff and worked against the popularity of the new administration.

It was during these years of the Anderson administration that the college was moved from the Bluemont College location to the present campus. Those who had to do with farm and orchard activities claimed the soil out on the higher elevation was not suitable for their work. Also, more room was needed than the old building afforded so a move seemed desirable. In 1871 Manhattan township voters authorized the issuance of bonds amounting to \$12,000. With this money and some other funds the regents bought three farms that now make up the main campus, and by 1875 the college work was being carried on at the new location.

There was a stone residence on the Preston land, which was the northwest area of the new campus. This building was used for various purposes but students in the years following World War I will remember it as the student hospital. It was used for this purpose until the new health center was built in 1959 and then it was torn down. The first building erected by the state on the new location was the one later known as Farm Machinery Hall. It was built in 1872 as the first wing of a barn, but by 1875 it had been remodeled to serve as the office and class room building and was so used till Anderson Hall was erected between 1878 and 1884. This old landmark of the campus is doomed to be razed as the first century of the institution's life comes to a close.

The desertion of the Bluemont College site by the authorities of the state college resulted in litigation. Members of the Bluemont College Association brought action in the district court to compel the state to relinquish its claim on the property that had been given to the state under the specific condition "that the land, buildings, appurtenances, etc. shall be forever used by the State of Kansas for the purposes contemplated in the act of February 16, 1863,"⁵ which was the act that established the agricultural college at the site accepted from the Bluemont College Association. If the college were to be moved, the contention was that the state was violating its contract and the property should be returned to the donor. The plaintiffs lost their case in court on the technical ground that the

5. *Laws of the United States and Kansas Relating to the State Agricultural College* (Printing Dept. K. S. A. C., 1885), p. 7.

Bluemont College Corporation no longer existed because its directors had not met for a number of years. As a matter of fact, the state institution continued, and still continues, to use the property for research purposes even though it long ago ceased to be the site of the principal college activities. The Bluemont College building was razed about 1885, and most of the stones were used in building a fence around the farm, although those that formed the arch over the door on which were the letters "Bluemont College" eventually found a place in an interior wall of Farrell Library.

Writing of President Anderson and the radical changes he introduced at the college, J. T. Willard says: "He knew what he was doing, and his disregard for the old-type college and its products may have been necessary to swing the College out of all ruts and set it on a new plane where its destiny might be charted by the use of new data and new criteria. If he was extreme, his errors were readily corrected."⁶

A NEW REGIME

President Anderson was elected to the U. S. house of representatives in 1878. His resignation from his college position became effective September 1, 1879, though he had necessarily been absent from his office much of the time from the fall of 1878. During these months, Prof. M. L. Ward served as acting president.

As the new president the board of regents selected the Rev. George T. Fairchild, who was professor of English literature at Michigan Agricultural College, and he assumed his duties at Manhattan on December 1, 1879. His tenure lasted till June 30, 1897, and those 18 years proved to be a rich period of development for the college.

Although the new president continued to emphasize the practical side of college training, including the industrials, yet, gradually, and without causing any severe criticism, he broadened and enriched the curriculum by adding courses in literature, history, art, and music. President Fairchild frequently reminded his colleagues and the students that "our task is not only to make men better farmers but also to make farmers better men."

The growth of the college was steady but not spectacular. Student enrollment went up from 276 in the first year of the new administration to 734 in its last year, which was a much greater percentage of growth than the rate of increase of the population of the state during those 18 years. Neither the number of students nor the funds

6. Willard, *History of Kansas State Agricultural College*, p. 56.

available called for much expansion of the physical plant. The main building, later to be named Anderson Hall, was completed by adding the central and south wings to the north wing which was built in the last year of Anderson's presidency. One major building, to be known eventually as Fairchild Hall, was erected in 1894, and minor buildings included a residence for the president, a large stone barn, and additions to the shops and greenhouses. The plant was modernized by the installation of electricity for light and power, and of a central steam heating system by the close of this administration.

It is worthy of note that, although this was a tax-supported institution, all through these early years religion was emphasized. The first three presidents were ordained ministers and the rules of the college required all students to attend daily chapel services and also church service on Sunday, either at the college or at a city church, unless the student presented a written statement from his parents requesting waiver of these requirements. Church attendance ceased to be a requirement by the end of the Anderson period, but, till about the middle of the 20th century, all student assemblies, which came to be less frequent than daily, were opened by devotional exercises. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. were, from early decades, strong and active student organizations.

Beginning in 1875 the college published *The Industrialist*. Most of the time it was published weekly, though there were periods when it was issued monthly or biweekly. The purposes of this publication were, partly, to furnish practice to students taking work in printing, but partly, also, to keep all supporters of the college constantly informed of its work and progress, and to make farmers acquainted with the latest developments in their field. The periodical is a rich and original source of college history and traditions. It is regrettable that it was deemed necessary to discontinue it in 1955.

George T. Fairchild was a capable, conservative administrator who not only handled the business affairs of a growing and struggling institution in such a way that even the most inquisitive politicians never questioned his integrity, but he also built a loyal following among faculty, students, and citizens of the state. In those years the president personally made out each student's class schedule so he could keep a close and friendly contact, and he was a good judge of a young person's sincerity. Few bluffers ever got past his desk without being the recipient of some sharp and pointed advice. Students from 1880 to 1897 almost universally looked back upon their association with their great president as a peculiarly enriching and uplifting one.

The faculty grew in number from 11 in 1879 to 21 in 1897 and they were, in general, dedicated and efficient teachers truly loyal to their leader. In that number of persons, there were naturally a few who perhaps shirked their duties to some extent, and some who had peculiar traits of personality that made them less than completely successful, but President Fairchild was inclined to see the best in his colleagues and with his inherent kindness was apt to overlook small shortcomings in his staff.

These were years of many new devices that were to continue to serve society. The telephone was a mysterious instrument in the late 1870's and Professor Kedzie gave demonstrations of it as he lectured over the state. In 1883 a telephone line connected the offices of the president of the college and the treasurer downtown, and by 1895 a telephone exchange was installed to serve the offices on the campus. In the 1890's Wilhelm Roentgen discovered the X ray and in 1896 the professor of physics and the assistant in chemistry made probably the first X-ray pictures ever produced in Kansas.

POLITICAL TROUBLES

The administration of the college began to run into difficulty by the beginning of the last decade of the 19th century. By this time the country was experiencing what has been called the agrarian revolt. The farmers of the Midwest and South, who were largely of the debtor class, were complaining of what they considered unjustly high freight rates and other railroad abuses, of currency deflation and of credit manipulation by bankers, all of which tended to bring the producer a smaller return for his crops and livestock while his dollar payments on interest and the principal of his debts remained fixed. It was discouraging for the farmer to work hard to produce the staple commodities needed to sustain life and then see his financial returns taken by the railroads, and other middlemen, and the voracious money lenders, to the point that he might lose his farm by foreclosure.

It was at last evident to the depressed rural population that the only way to correct these conditions was by concerted political action, so there arose the People's party, popularly called the Populists. In 1892 the new party gained partial control of the machinery of state government and some Populist regents were appointed to the board that controlled the agricultural college. No radical action resulted, but premonitory rumbles of revolt were heard. The regents adopted resolutions calling attention to the problems connected with

money, credit, and marketing, and asserting that these important phases of economics were not being brought to the attention of the students of this college, most of whom came from the rural population. It was well that students were taught better methods of production—"how to make two blades grow where one had grown before"—but it was equally important that they know about finance, exchange, and distribution. The regents then went on to provide for a position on the faculty for a professor of economics—then called political economy—who was to give a course of public lectures which should not deal unfairly with the "new school of economists," and "without bias or prejudices" would treat such topics as "land nationalization, public control of public utilities, and reform of financial and monetary systems."

To fill this position on the faculty, the regents employed Thomas E. Will, holder of bachelor's and master's degrees from Harvard, and he began his service in the fall of 1894. The administration was suspicious of this move, and the president continued to teach the one course offered in economics while Professor Will, in addition to giving the prescribed public lectures, was assigned other duties not related to his special field.

In 1896 the control of the state government came wholly into the hands of the Populists. When the legislature met in the winter of 1897 the composition of the board of regents was changed by dropping the president of the college from the board and adding a seventh appointed member. Then the governor, with the approval of the senate, appointed members of the board so as to give it five Populists and two hold-over Republicans. In its April meeting the board passed a resolution declaring that "the school year shall begin July 1 each year and close on June 30 of the following year; and the term of employment of all the present employees shall expire June 30, 1897." Thus the way was cleared for complete reorganization of the school. President Fairchild promptly stated that he was not a candidate for reappointment and could not accept if re-employed. The board maintained the fiction that he had resigned, but there is good evidence that he would not have been accepted if he had applied. All members of the faculty were invited to apply for employment if they were interested. Several followed the president's example and refused to ask for re-employment, but most of the members of the old staff were rehired and no questions were asked as to their political affiliation. They were only asked if they could work harmoniously with the new administration.

Before the faculty was chosen, the board made Prof. Thomas E. Will president and he, properly, had most to say in the selection of the staff, both from the old faculty and from new applicants. Will insisted that he was politically independent, but both his previous and his later activities indicated—to use a current expression—that he was left of center in his social and political philosophy, though he was doubtless truthful in saying he was not actively affiliated with any political party.

Spokesmen for the regents emphatically denied that their reorganization of the college was based on political bias. They could truthfully insist that practically all the re-employed men were known to be Republicans and the new appointees were not asked about their political connections. They wished to impress the public with the need for change in order to improve the efficiency of the institution. In *The Industrialist* for July 15, 1897, an article under the authority of the board of regents enumerated and elaborated seven distinct reasons for the changes made, ranging from the claim that the president had assumed powers belonging to the regents, to the assertion that the faculty had been swamped by "half-educated men," to the accusation that agricultural education had been neglected, to the woeful neglect of their duties by some teachers, to the scandalous inefficiency of the experiment station. "Our sole object, we assert, in effecting the recent reorganization is to raise the standard, increase the efficiency, and enlarge the usefulness, of the institution committed to our charge."

These protestations were doubtless sincere, yet the political atmosphere was so charged with feeling, and the opportunity for change had been so nicely articulated with political changes in the state, that it was not easy to convince the political opposition of the absence of partisan bias on the part of the regents.

In the *Topeka Daily Capital* of September 10, 1897, Fairchild gave a dignified and factual statement of events leading up to the revolutionary changes of 1897, together with his interpretation of the motives of the regents. There is no question that he regarded the whole movement as the expression of radical political thinking.

If any further evidence is needed to indicate that the college, in the decade of the 1890's, was the "football of politics," it may be found in the fact that when the Republicans regained control of the state government in 1898 no time was lost in changing the political complexion of the board of regents. That body then summarily dismissed President Will and those new faculty men who worked in the area of social science. Some interesting attempts were made

to prevent this action of the board, but they failed and do not need to be detailed here.

The interference of political partisanship in educational programs is dangerous and always to be avoided if possible, but it must be admitted that the upheaval at Kansas State in 1897 brought about some good results. It shook the institution out of its old ruts and undoubtedly inaugurated some beneficial changes.

Up to this time all students took the same course of study, nearly all of which was prescribed by the faculty with virtually no opportunity for the student to elect subjects to further his preparation along lines of his individual interest. The Will administration set up four courses of study so that students had a choice of taking the curriculum in agriculture, engineering, home economics, or general science. These four curriculums were, of course, the germs from which grew four of the several undergraduate schools of the modern university.

Five of the new professors brought in by Will held the degree of Ph. D. and, with one exception (W. A. Kellerman, professor of botany, 1883-1891) these were the first members of the teaching staff of the college to have earned this highest academic degree.

Other innovations of these years tended to add fuel to the flames of criticism. The home economics building was new, and in it the college opened a cafeteria where the students and staff could get good, simple meals at low cost. A museum piece still in possession of the institution is a ticket good for a meal costing ten cents. The college also opened a book store where school books and supplies were available at a good saving. President Will estimated that the book store saved the students \$1,500 a year. Of course, certain vested interests added their voices to those of the politicians in insisting that the people's college had been taken over by a wild group of socialists. It was a generation too soon to call them communists.

TRANQUIL PROGRESS

After the turbulence of these two years came a long era of peaceful but substantial growth. When Will was dismissed, the regents chose Prof. Ernest R. Nichols as his successor. Nichols, who had been the professor of physics for some years, was a quiet, unspectacular personality of distinctly conservative mind. He gave the college 10 years of calm, business-like leadership. In the first year of his administration, the enrollment passed 1,000 for the first time, and by his last year, 1908-1909, it had reached over 2,300. These were years of good economic conditions in the state and in the country,

and higher education was appealing to more and more youth. The curriculums available to K-State students grew from the four mentioned to seven by the addition of electrical engineering, architecture, and veterinary medicine. In addition, further specialization in agriculture was made possible by programs in agronomy, animal husbandry, dairy and poultry husbandry, and forestry. The Fort Hays branch experiment station was established in 1901, and extension work was expanded by an enlarged program of farmers institutes, by railroad demonstration trains, and other activities.

This growth, and especially the increased enrollment for resident instruction, called for expanded physical facilities, and President Nichols was successful in getting appropriations for several new buildings. During this decade the following major buildings were added to the growing city on the hill: the auditorium, Holton Hall, Dickens Hall, Calvin Hall, Burt Hall, and the first Denison Hall for chemistry and physics, which was destroyed by fire in 1934. Their present names are used here, though they were not named till after the Nichols period. Also there was the building now used for chemical engineering. A few of the other buildings were enlarged.

Naturally, the teaching staff had to be increased. In the school year 1899-1900 there were 18 full professors, or what would later be called heads of departments, and 32 assistants and foremen, while in 1908-1909 the numbers were, respectively, 29 and 84, or a growth from 50 to 113 of the instructional staff. Of this number, only two held the doctor of philosophy degree.

THE COUNCIL OF DEANS

The president continued till about 1908 to assign each student and personally to supervise his program. The growing number of students and the increased variety of courses of study led to the suggestion that a council of deans be set up to relieve the president of many of the details of administration. The first deans were of agriculture, of science, of mechanic arts, and of women. To this group was added a dean of the college who should be assistant to the president. By 1912 the units of the college administered by the deans were called divisions; in 1942, the divisions became schools, each directed by a dean. The number, the titles, and the functions of the deans have changed from time to time. There came to be a dean of the division—later, school—of home economics, a dean of the school of veterinary medicine, and a dean of the graduate school. In addition certain other members of the staff who have had administrative duties have sat in the council of deans, such as the dean of

summer school, and the dean of academic administration. Of course the dean of mechanic arts became the dean of the school of engineering and architecture, and the dean of science became the dean of the school of arts and science. The office of dean of the college was discontinued.

ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS

For several decades the college catered to the rural population and set its admission requirements to meet existing rural educational conditions. High schools were not common except in the cities and towns, so Kansas State admitted boys and girls who had completed the eighth grade, or who could pass examinations in the common school subjects. Gradually, other subjects were added, such as book-keeping, physical geography, algebra, etc., until by 1909 the entrance requirements were practically equivalent to one year of high school.

To accommodate those who had not completed work in elementary schools and who could not pass the entrance examination, a preparatory department was maintained in which their deficiencies could be removed.

Beginning in the fall of 1913, graduation from an accredited high school was made the prerequisite for entrance and so, at last, the college curriculums could be administered to conform to standard college work and the graduates of Kansas State were eligible for admission to graduate work in universities across the land. As there were still some Kansas youth without easy access to a high school, the college established on the campus a school of secondary grade, calling it at first the school of agriculture and later the vocational school. The first year this campus high school enrolled nearly 600 students, which indicates that it was serving a real need, but as more local high schools were established in the state from year to year this need diminished. Finally, in 1924, the school was discontinued. This secondary "school of agriculture," which existed under that name from 1913 to 1921, must not be confused with the later division of the university which is also called the school of agriculture.

CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP

In disregard of the growth and progress that the institution was enjoying in the first decade of the new century, criticism arose on the alleged grounds that Nichols, a physicist, was neglecting the interests of agriculture. This criticism was especially effective as it came, chiefly, from the secretary of the state board of agriculture, F. D. Coburn, who was also, for a time, a member of the board of

regents, and was supported by the leading agricultural newspaper of the state, the *Kansas Farmer*. These critics sought to persuade various farm organizations to adopt resolutions denouncing Nichols. Sometimes they were successful. The president was emphatic in answering his critics, pointing out instances in which he had diverted funds from other activities of the institution to increase his support of agriculture. He declared he would resign and remove from the state if it could be proved that he had slighted the work of this department. His critics kept after him, and certain members of the faculty, for personal or other reasons, let their grievances against the administration be known. In 1908 the regents asked Nichols to resign effective June 30, 1909. This he did, and spent his last year in calm, unembittered, and apparently increasingly popular, administration of the college. Meanwhile the regents searched for his successor.

For the next third of a century after 1909, the institution was directed by a succession of three agronomists who had had experience as deans of schools of agriculture. The first three presidents had been ordained ministers, followed for two years by an economist, and for ten years by a physicist. Of the new line of succession, the first was Henry Jackson Waters who served from July 1, 1909, to December 31, 1917. Waters had been dean of the school of agriculture at the University of Missouri. He was followed by William M. Jardine, who had been dean of agriculture at K-State. When he left to become secretary of agriculture in the cabinet of Pres. Calvin Coolidge in 1925, he was succeeded by Francis David Farrell, who had followed him in the deanship and who served as president until 1943.

These 34 years resulted in increasing maturity and steady growth. With the establishment of high school graduation as the basis for admission, the institution became a standard college. The curriculums were revised and strengthened and now recognition of the college by national scholastic honor societies was in order. Soon a local chapter of the honor society Phi Kappa Phi, was organized, followed in later years by chapters of Gamma Sigma Delta, Omicron Nu, Sigma Xi, Sigma Tau, and many other honor scholastic societies. Alpha Zeta had been established in 1909. Women graduates were recognized as eligible for membership in the American Association of University Women, and the institution itself was accredited by the Association of American Universities. The first social fraternities and sororities appeared early in this period.

President Waters fixed more definitely the functions of the deans, and under the name council of deans they came to meet more regularly and to share more specifically in determining policies. The work of the office of the secretary of the college was divided and one person was made responsible for financial duties while another, now known as the registrar, kept academic records and issued transcripts of student records. In later years the financial officer was called the comptroller, responsible to the business manager, while the registrar assumed the duties of director of admissions in addition to the original work of the registrar.

On invitation of the legislature of the Philippine Islands, President Waters undertook to make a survey of the natural resources, the agricultural practices, and the educational program of the islands. The regents gave him a leave of absence from his duties as president and he spent several months making the survey and preparing his report to the island authorities. During these months Dr. J. T. Willard was acting president of the college. Then in the spring of 1917 the United States became an active participant in World War I and soon President Waters was made chairman of the Kansas Council of Defense; also that fall he was appointed food administrator for the state. He soon became convinced that his war duties were causing neglect of his college work and that he could be of more service during the crisis by concentrating his efforts on the war program, so he resigned the presidency on December 31, 1917. Again for two months, until the regents named a successor to Waters, Dr. J. T. Willard was acting president.

The war of 1917-1918, of course, interfered with the normal progress of the college. The enrollment dropped from 3,300 in 1916-1917, to 2,400 in 1917-1918, then returned to about 3,000 the next year, but the latter figure included some 1,200 young men of the student army training corps. These men had to be housed and fed separately from civilian students and, since they considered themselves to be only temporary residents of the campus till they should be called into the fighting forces, they constituted a disturbing element in the administration of an educational institution. They were quartered in fraternity houses and the Y. M. C. A. building until the army provided wooden barracks for them on the campus. Partly because of the nature of their housing, they proved especially susceptible to the influenza virus in the epidemic of the winter of 1918. At one time nearly one quarter of all the 1,200 members of the S. A. T. C. were ill, and 10 of them died.

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE
AND APPLIED SCIENCE



Erected in 1859 by the Bluemont Central College Association of Manhattan, the building was given to the state in 1863. First classes of Kansas State Agricultural College were held here.



Kansas State Agricultural College in 1885. The main college building at the left was named Anderson Hall in 1902.

On verso →

Kansas State University today. Anderson Hall (near center) faces the landscaped area to the right.



NEW DEVELOPMENTS

Several new departments or agencies of lasting significance date, at least in organized form, from the years of the Waters administration.

As early as 1906, the department of chemistry had taught cereal chemistry and had carried on experiments in the baking qualities of flour from the several varieties of wheat. Finally in 1921, a new department of milling industry was established. Continued work on flour production and in baking was carried on in a pilot mill and laboratories in East Waters Hall. This, it is claimed, is the only institution in the Western hemisphere offering four-year college curriculums in milling administration and milling technology, and students come from many foreign countries to take this work. Later, by about the middle of the century, much interest developed in the production of formula feeds for livestock. College work in this area was expanded and the department was reorganized as the department of flour and feed milling industries. After fire in 1957 largely destroyed the east wing of Waters Hall, the flour and feed manufacturers of the country gave much of the money for the rebuilding and re-equipping of the flour and feed milling extension on the building.

The health of the students has always been a concern of the college authorities, but it was not till 1913 that a real beginning was made in giving adequate medical care to the college community. The legislature of 1911 authorized the collection of a health fee from the students each semester, and by 1913 the regents had employed a full-time college physician. With offices and consultation rooms in Anderson Hall, with one or more nurses, and with meager hospital facilities in the old stone residence building that stood north of the power and service building, and in wartime barracks, a succession of doctors ministered to the health needs of the campus. In 1948 army surplus buildings were moved on to the campus and joined together to constitute a health center just west of the library. This was an improvement over the former facilities but was, in its nature, temporary. Finally, in the fall of 1959, a modern health center was opened on the site of the barracks hospital, and the program begun in 1913 culminated in a fine hospital with a staff of doctors, dietitians, and nurses to care for the health of the student population.

The advancement of the college to standard rank led to a change in the college calendar. Throughout most of its history the school

year had been divided into three terms—fall, winter, and spring. This arrangement again indicates the policy of fitting the college program to the needs of the rural population, for it permitted the boys to stay out of college to help on the farm in the harvesting or seeding season, or both, and still get in at least one term of academic work. In 1917 the new division of the school year into two semesters went into effect. As this was the general system in use in American colleges, the change at Kansas State put the institution in harmony with others and facilitated the transfer of credits to and from other schools. Also the semester plan reduced the amount of paper work connected with assigning students, reporting grades, etc. The task of reorganizing curriculums and class schedules on the new pattern was difficult but, once it was accomplished, the new calendar proved generally acceptable. Also the student had to become accustomed to taking more courses with classes meeting two or three times a week in place of fewer courses with daily class sessions.

The engineering experiment station dates from the Waters administration. This institution was authorized by the regents in 1910 and the staff consists of the heads of departments in the school of engineering and architecture with the dean of the school as director of the station. The work of this station receives no national subsidy, as does the agricultural experiment station, but the research carried on and reported in published bulletins has been valuable, not only in the development of industry in the state, but also to the rural population.

Another new and progressive practice was introduced by President Waters. This is a provision for sabbatic leaves for teachers in order that they may undertake study or research that will strengthen them for their college work. After a person has served six full years on the staff, he may take a year off for advanced study and receive part of the salary he would have earned if he had remained in residence. The plan was to pay one on sabbatic leave the difference between his full salary and what it would cost to hire a substitute, so, if some of his work could be taken over by his colleagues, he might receive half of his regular salary. A professor who takes advantage of this opportunity for further study is obligated to return to his position on the faculty for at least two years, or repay to the college all that he has received as sabbatic salary. Teachers often use their sabbatic leaves to earn advanced degrees.

MACHINERY OF STATE CONTROL

From 1863 to 1913 the agency through which the state managed the land grant college was a board of regents, appointed by the governor with the approval of the senate. The number on the board varied slightly from time to time, but the members served without pay, except for necessary expenses, and the board controlled only the Manhattan institution.

By the end of the Nichols administration questions arose in the legislature and in the press as to possible wasteful duplication of work in the educational institutions of the state. The result of this discussion was the legislation of 1913 creating a state board of administration to have jurisdiction over all the institutions of higher education, including the School for the Blind and the School for the Deaf. This board was to consist of three members, appointed by the governor with approval of the senate. Not more than two of these appointees were to be from the same political party and not more than one an alumnus of any one of the schools. They were to serve four years and receive salaries which would enable them to give their full time to this work. Three worthy citizens were appointed and they gave honest, nonpolitical direction to the schools for four years. They took up the question of duplication of work and, by conferences with and among the heads of the several institutions, reached agreement that there was little or no unjustifiable duplication and, by their counsel, they checked any serious tendency in that direction.

In 1917 the legislature replaced this board by a new one that was to have jurisdiction over all charitable, penal, correctional, and educational institutions of the state. This board of administration was to consist of three members appointed by the governor, and was to be nonpartisan, but, peculiarly, the governor was to be, *ex officio*, chairman of the board with power of removal when "in his judgment the public service demands it." Obviously, the plan contained the possibility of partisan domination. However, the system continued to operate until 1925, when it was replaced by the creation of a board of regents supervising only the purely educational institutions; this system of control has continued to work well to date. The board has wisely and consistently refrained from interference in the internal, educational functions of the institutions. The members receive only payment of their expenses, but the work is centralized in the hands of a salaried executive secretary with his office in Topeka. The story of the actions that brought about the replacement

of the second state board of administration is told elsewhere in these publications.⁷

BETWEEN WARS

William M. Jardine had been connected with the college since 1910, first as professor of agronomy and later as dean of agriculture, so that when he assumed the presidency on March 1, 1918, he was already well acquainted with the institution and its policies. He was succeeded as dean of agriculture by Francis David Farrell, who had been an employee of the United States Department of Agriculture.

President Jardine made no significant changes in the administrative machinery but a number of new curriculums were recognized during these years, such as that in rural commerce, from which evolved the business administration curriculum of later years. Other new curriculums were in chemical engineering and biochemistry, both of which were destined to develop into separate departments, and one in home economics and nursing. There was about a 33 per cent increase in student enrollment from 1918 to 1925, from about 3,000 to 4,000.

When the first World War ended in the fall of 1918 there was already discussion as to a suitable memorial to honor the Kansas State men who had lost their lives in the conflict. The president appointed a committee of faculty men and women in the fall of 1919 to consider what might be done. The principal suggestion at this time was a student union, but the estimate on the cost of such a building was about a quarter of a million dollars. In those days such a sum seemed far beyond attainment so the project was dropped. In 1921 President Jardine appointed another committee and, after considerable discussion, it was decided to recommend the building of a stadium. This also would be an expensive undertaking, but it was pointed out that it could be built one section at a time and so, perhaps, no big debt need be incurred. This is what was decided upon, and machinery for soliciting funds was set up for the faculty, the students, the alumni, and the citizens of Manhattan. A goal of \$300,000 was set, but by the commencement of 1922 only \$157,000 had been pledged. The stadium corporation was organized and chartered. The corporation let the contract for building the west bank of seats, hoping that they might be used for some of the football games in the fall of 1922. Some of the seats were actually used that fall, but the completed west wing was not

7. F. D. Farrell, "Dr. Lindley's Christmas Present," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 22, pp. 67-77.

accepted by the corporation till September, 1923. A year later the east wing was completed, but the banks of seats stood out like skeletons and the enclosing walls were not completed till 1938, after funds were received from the Works Progress Administration of the federal government.

It was thought at one time that a field house might be erected at the south end of the stadium in place of the planned curved bank of seats, but funds were not available, nor has it yet seemed feasible to build the curve that would complete the original horseshoe design.

Later press and radio facilities were built on top of the west wing and accommodations for visiting athletic teams were provided under the seats, but it was all paid for as built so no burden of debt developed. Still later the housing needs of the college led to the construction of living quarters under the stadium seats, but this was no part of the memorial and no function of the stadium corporation.

RADIO STATION KSAC

Before the first World War, the physics department of the college was broadcasting weather forecasts by Morse code from its licensed station 9YV. This had to be stopped during the war, but in 1919 the station resumed its broadcasts and soon it was changed to a radio telephone station, WTC, transmitting spoken and musical broadcasts. For a short time in 1923 some college lectures were broadcast over the Kansas City *Star* station and by the winter of 1924 the regular program of the "College of the Air" was being sent out over station KFKB of Milford.

In 1924 the board of administration financed the installation of a 500-watt transmitter in the west end of the second floor of Nichols Gymnasium with two antenna towers just west of the building, and in November of that year the college programs were switched from KFKB to the new station, KSAC. Later in the 1930's the station was improved by replacing the 500-watt transmitter with one of 1,000 watts. In 1947 the power was raised to 5,000 watts and the antenna tower was built about a mile north of the campus.

R. O. T. C.

All land grant colleges were obliged to offer work in military science and tactics, but the Morrill act did not make this work compulsory for the students. From the beginning Kansas State had maintained a military department which, with very brief intervals when no army personnel could be detailed for the work, was directed by an officer of the U. S. army. By faculty requirement, approved

by the regents, freshman and sophomore boys were required to register for these courses. While the advanced courses given for juniors and seniors were elective, no official recognition was given to those who completed all four years of military work. Under the National Defense act of 1917, the Reserve Officers Training Corps was created, and qualifying colleges might establish R. O. T. C. units. This Kansas State did in 1918, and each year since then a group of men who have completed the four years of military work, including summer camp, have received their commissions as second lieutenants in the U. S. army reserve.

The basic courses in military science and tactics continued to be required by the college authorities, but in the decade of the 1930's an extensive movement of protest against the requirement arose on the campus. The outcome of this agitation was an act of the legislature in 1935 making this work compulsory for freshman and sophomore men at Kansas State, which puts these courses in the unique position of being the only college work required by statute. The advanced work for the last two college years remained elective. In the late 1940's an R. O. T. C. air force unit was established.

EXPERIENCE AS MINERS

In the fall of 1919 a strike of the coal miners tied up production of the mines of southeast Kansas. State institutions were required to use Kansas coal and it appeared that they might have to close as cold weather came on. The men students of Kansas State indicated their willingness to become temporary coal miners if such an arrangement could be worked out. Soon more than 100 men from the college, under the supervision of the men's advisor, were mining coal. Men from some of the other colleges in the state joined them and a heating crisis was averted. As the regular coal miners settled their controversy with the mine owners and returned to work, the students came back to college, but they were not all back in classes until late December. It was a unique episode in college life.

CHANGE OF LEADERS

For the third time a president of Kansas State was called into national service. President Anderson had gone to congress, Dr. Waters became involved in war activities, and now in the spring of 1925, President Jardine was appointed to the Coolidge cabinet as secretary of agriculture. Dean F. D. Farrell of the school of agriculture was made Jardine's successor and for over 18 years he gave the institution calm, effective, and essentially conservative leadership.

DEPRESSION YEARS

The orderly progress of the college between 1925 and 1943, when Dr. Farrell resigned, was complicated by two powerful outside factors—the great economic depression and the second World War. The agricultural segment of the national economy had been adversely affected as early as 1922, as indicated by low prices for farm products, mortgage foreclosures, and other evidence of “hard times.” Then came the securities panic of 1929 which introduced the depression of the 1930’s, which was also, in the Great Plains area, the period of drought and dust storms. Naturally the college was affected by these economic conditions. Enrollment fluctuated between 4,000 and nearly 5,000, although there were years when it fell to 3,000 and even below that figure. State revenue decreased as tax payments became delinquent. All state institutions were urged to retrench and not to spend all the money appropriated, and then appropriations were reduced. All college activities had to be restricted and salaries were reduced from 15 to 35 per cent, with the higher salaries suffering the greater percentage of reduction. It took many years to restore the salary budget and in many individual cases the former salary figures were not again reached during this administration.

This was the period in which the federal government was trying to revive the national economy by various grants of funds both to “prime the economic pump” and also to relieve actual suffering. To aid all kinds of productive enterprises, there was the Public Works Administration (PWA), followed by the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Many states obtained money from these agencies for the erection of buildings on college campuses then needed, or sure to be needed when normal economic conditions should return, but all administration authorities in Kansas were so opposed to the program of government spending that essentially no funds were secured from these sources for the erection of major buildings. At Kansas State some help was received from the WPA for building the walls of the stadium and for rebuilding parts of the stone wall around the campus, but none for campus buildings. The National Youth Administration (NYA) made grants to colleges to enable them to employ students who could not otherwise afford to attend college. The work the young people were employed to do was such as the college could not have paid for from other funds. While this program was in effect from 1933 to 1939, over 1,500 students were employed at Kansas State and the total amount of NYA money

paid to them was over \$230,000. Most of them would not have been able to attend college without this help.

CAMPUS IMPROVEMENTS

It is truly remarkable that so much expansion of campus facilities could take place during this period between wars, when severe economic depression prevailed much of the time. Among the major buildings that date from these years are the central and west wings of the engineering building, later called Seaton Hall; Thompson Hall, erected for institutional management and for a cafeteria; the veterinary clinic building; west wing of Waters Hall (the east wing had been built earlier); Farrell Library; the heat, power, and service building; and Willard Hall for physics and chemistry, to replace the first Denison Hall which had been destroyed by fire in 1934.

In addition two other structures deserve mention. The organized women of Kansas for years put pressure on the legislature to provide money for the erection of women's residence halls at the state educational institutions, and this agitation at last produced for the Kansas State campus in 1926 Van Zile Hall, its first dormitory. The other building of special interest is the residence of the president. When the college was moved to the present campus, the president lived in the stone residence on the northwest corner of the campus that was later used as a student hospital. Later, in 1885, a home for the president was built near present Dickens Hall, but it was struck by lightning and burned in the spring of 1895. In 1914 Mrs. Mehitable Wilson left some \$20,000 as a bequest to the college with the stipulation that the money be used to erect a memorial on the campus to her late husband, Davies Wilson, who had been a pioneer citizen and surveyor in the Manhattan area. By 1923 this fund had increased to about \$29,000 and it was used to help finance the building of the present home for the chief executive officer of the college.

For this building program, and for that of later years, Dr. Farrell is largely responsible. In 1918 an amendment to the state constitution had been approved that enabled the legislature to levy a tax for the purpose of raising money for permanent improvements at the institutions of higher education. The legislature had never exercised its power to levy such a tax, so before the close of his administration, Dr. Farrell urged the board of regents to ask for the creation of an education building fund by such a levy and the legislature was induced to provide for a tax of one-fourth of a mill for this purpose. This levy has since been increased to three-fourths of a mill, plus one-fourth of a mill for dormitory buildings.

CHANGE OF NAME

From its beginning this land grant college had proudly borne the name of Kansas State Agriculture College, but time brought changed conditions so in 1931 the legislature changed the name to Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, which in popular usage was condensed to Kansas State college. This change did not imply any reduction of emphasis on agriculture but, as four other schools (then called divisions) had developed, several of them with larger enrollments than the division of agriculture, it seemed only reasonable to recognize this situation by giving the more inclusive name. The athletic teams probably appreciated being called something other than "Kansas Aggies" and their supporters in engineering, arts and science, and home economics doubtless were glad to remove the excuse for their rival institutions to refer to Kansas State as "Silo Tech."

ADVANCED DEGREES

Students had done work beyond that for the bachelor's degree from very early days and many master of science degrees had been conferred through the years, but the requirements for that degree had not been uniform nor well established till 1920. In that year graduate work was put under the administration of a graduate council, consisting of professors from the several divisions of the college, and programs and procedures for graduate work were put on an orderly basis. Courses that were to carry graduate credit had to be approved by the council and rules were established covering the proportion between major and minor subject matter fields, methods of research, character of the thesis, examination, etc., and the chairman of the council was the director of the work. In 1931 the division of graduate study was created with its own dean, who took over the duties of the former chairman, but he still had a council of professors with whom he worked. By 1929 the question was being discussed as to granting the doctor of philosophy degree by certain departments, and the board of regents considered the problem till the fall of 1932 when they authorized the college to grant this degree to those who met the requirements in either of the four departments of chemistry, milling industry, bacteriology, and entomology. The first Ph. D. degree was granted to a candidate from the department of chemistry in 1933. There are now 24 departments that offer work leading to this highest academic degree.

THE WAR YEARS

The attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, had immediate and disrupting effects on the college. Of course enrollment fell off, especially in the divisions in which most students were men. The total enrollment for the year 1940-1941 was 4,902 and that of 1943-1944 was 2,025, or a reduction of over 58 per cent. There were 797 students in the division of agriculture in 1940 and only 64 in 1943. The drop in the division of engineering and architecture was from 1,200 to 287. Obviously there was a surplus of professors. Many of the younger members of the faculty entered the armed services, and others found employment in the industries stimulated by the war, while still others became government inspectors, personnel directors, etc.

Some teachers remained on the campus but transferred from fields where they were not needed to help in the instruction of young men in the armed services who were sent, temporarily, to colleges in the army specialized training program. These A. S. T. P. boys were in uniform and had had their basic training. While they were waiting until facilities were available for their intensive training for combat, they were sent to colleges to be assigned to classes in mathematics, physics, geography, history, English, medical aid, and physical training. According to the contract with the military authorities, the work was set up on a schedule of five months of class work, but probably not many of the groups stayed on the campus for a full term. There were often as many as 600 of these boys on the campus at one time. This called for extra teachers, so professors in agriculture and in engineering found themselves teaching English, history, or mathematics.

The task of housing and feeding these boys was a serious one for college administrators. They were housed in fraternity houses and even in Van Zile Hall, though there was strong objection to this arrangement in some quarters. The stock pavilion was converted into a cafeteria for their use.

In order to enable the boys who were not in uniform to get as much of their college work as possible done before they were called into military service, the college changed its calendar. In place of two semesters, the school year was divided into three 16-week terms and by taking this accelerated program, the student could get his degree in less than four years. This meant that subject matter that had been covered in 18 weeks had to be condensed into 16 weeks of work and also, most teachers were obliged to work 48 weeks each

year. Most educators felt that this program was too much of a "cramming" process for real educational achievement so, when the pressure of war conditions was removed, the former calendar was restored. It is interesting to note that now, 20 years later, consideration is being given to the possible desirability of making the three-term school year permanent.

A NEW LEADER

In the spring of 1943 President Farrell surprised the college community and the state by announcing his resignation effective June 30. The burdens of administration had been carried by him for 18 years and the added worries of wartime problems were undermining his health, so he decided that a younger man should be found to head the college. His successor was Milton Eisenhower, a native of Abilene and a 1924 graduate of Kansas State. Eisenhower had worked in the consular service of the U. S. and in various capacities in the Department of Agriculture, and then as assistant director of the Office of War Information. He was not free to assume his new duties at Manhattan till September, so Dr. Farrell continued as acting president.

The Eisenhower administration began in the midst of war and was beset by all the problems and difficulties of that situation.

POSTWAR ENROLLMENT

As soon as the war ended, thousands of men who had been in the armed services crowded back into colleges, aided by government subsidies established by acts of congress in *Public Laws* 346, 16, and 113. Most of them qualified under *Public Law* 346 and each received a monthly stipend of \$50 if single and \$75 if married. In addition, the college in which they registered was given \$500 for each man admitted under this law to cover incidental fees, books, and supplies. The two other laws provided subsidies for those needing vocational rehabilitation, a number of whom enrolled at Kansas State.

The total enrollment in the final year of the war was 2,064; the next year it was 5,052; and the postwar peak was reached in 1948-1949 when there were 8,366 students on the campus. This rapid increase in the college population posed several problems, one of the most immediate of which was housing. Living quarters were constructed under the seats of Memorial Stadium; army barracks were located west of the trailer court and in the southeast corner of the campus, where there also was placed a group of barracks to

serve as a cafeteria to supplement that in Thompson Hall. This group of buildings still remains, nearly 20 years later, as an eyesore in the front lawn of the university. To this large group of barracks the students promptly gave the name "Splinterville."

Another problem of these strenuous days was that of the daily class schedule. Classes met at seven o'clock in the morning, during the noon hour, and in the evening after dinner. Almost every suitable room was in use, and some not so suitable.

It was difficult to secure the necessary new teachers, for all colleges and universities were faced with the same problem and competition was keen. Besides, industry paid more than colleges and some who had been professors and found employment in industrial or business establishments during the war elected to stay in those occupations. At the peak of veteran enrollment at Kansas State, the ratio of students to instructors was about 20 to 1 in place of the desired ratio of 10 or 12 to 1.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

The task of obtaining surplus army barracks and getting them located on or near the campus, and of assigning quarters to married and single students, demanded the time of a special administrator. At first a coordinator of housing was appointed in the office of the comptroller. Later he became director of housing and continues as an active and important part of the administrative machinery, responsible, in later years, to the dean of students.

For many years the college had a men's advisor and a dean of women, but early in the postwar period the office of dean of students was created and eventually an associate dean of students replaced the dean of women. Not only did this office have ultimate supervision over student activities, including disciplinary matters, but also housing and food service, placement, student counseling, and other student service departments were put within its jurisdiction.

More complete and scientific counseling of students was assured when a separate counseling office was set up. The staff of this office administers and evaluates standard aptitude tests and also is prepared to give any student who requests it special tests designed to discover the young person's vocational interests and abilities. Students are also encouraged to talk over their personal and emotional problems with competent and sympathetic advisors and this often results in the orderly continuance of the educational career in place of a disheartening disruption of the student's program.

In 1944 a dean of academic administration was appointed to relieve the president of a mass of details regarding courses, curriculums, schedules, and relations of the faculty to students and to the administrative offices.

An agency outside the regular machinery of administration is the Kansas State College Endowment Association, incorporated in 1943, to encourage donations and bequests and to manage such funds on behalf of the college. It has obtained certain sums for scholarships, residence halls, scholarship houses, visiting professorships, faculty lectureships, the All-Faith Chapel, and many other objectives for which state appropriations would be unobtainable.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

An interesting gift secured by the endowment association was that of \$200,000 from the Volker Foundation for the establishment on the campus of an institute of citizenship. This gift was expected to finance such an institute for a period of five years. A staff was hired, a program worked out, and by 1946 classes were meeting and a four-year curriculum was set up. The institute expressed the war-inspired emphasis on democratic institutions. It gave courses in constitutional democracy; freedom and responsibility; American democratic ideas; war, peace, and the world community; and effective citizenship. A distinctive feature in the presentation of these ideas was the required reading of the original documents and source authorities. When the endowment funds for this institute were exhausted, the courses, under the same or similar names, were returned to the subject matter departments that covered these areas, and the institute passed away.

Another educational innovation was the series of comprehensive courses. It was thought that every college student, regardless of his field of specialization, should gain some acquaintance with each of the four great areas of learning—the physical sciences, the biological sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. Faculty committees were set up to work out the details of such courses and by the fall of 1945 the program was in operation. Syllabi were prepared by subcommittees in the several fields and several of these eventually evolved into published textbooks. Soon most of the curriculums offered on the campus required two semesters in each of these general fields, outside the specialized area of each curriculum; that is, for example, since engineers are required to take much work in physical science, they were not required nor permitted to take the comprehensive course in the physical world but were generally

required to take the other comprehensive courses, or the equivalent.

At first the work in the comprehensive courses was administered by committees from the staffs of the departments concerned, but by 1953 a separate department of general studies was created. In the fall of 1962 this department disappeared and the administration of these courses was returned to one or another of the departments that contribute to the subject matter of the course.

The college became rather closely associated with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). When the national commission of UNESCO met in 1946, Kansas State's president, Milton Eisenhower, was chosen chairman and in that capacity he attended the world meetings of the organization in Paris, Mexico, and Beirut. The staff of the institute of citizenship was active in promoting the ideas of UNESCO in the state and it is claimed that Kansas was the first state to effect a state-wide organization with local city or county units.

LAST YEARS OF THE CENTURY

In 1950 President Eisenhower resigned to accept the same position at Pennsylvania State College, and the regents soon replaced him by Dr. James A. McCain, who came here from the presidency of the University of Montana.

The dozen years of the administration of the 10th president of Kansas State have brought remarkable progress in many respects. The student enrollment has grown from 6,867 in 1950-1951 to 8,740 in 1960-1961, with every indication pointing to a rapid increase in the decade of the 1960's. The number in the graduate school has grown from 749 to 1,517. Expanded service to students has come from the counseling office, the placement center, the housing office and other agencies. Financial assistance has increased by the growth of the number of scholarships from 50 to 404, by the establishment of three scholarship houses, and by the increase of 40 per cent in the several loan funds. In addition national foundations have given several hundred thousand dollars to aid in special fields of education, such as the preparation of high school and college teachers.

The teaching staff has increased in number and the per cent of those holding the Ph. D. degree has grown from 23 to 45, while salary increases have kept the pay scale not too far below the national average. A group of faculty men and women is serving under the national agency for international development in India assisting in the development of technical and extension education. Distin-

guished visiting professorships have been made possible in various departments.

In 1959 the legislature registered the recognition of the established facts by changing the name of the institution to Kansas State University of Agriculture and Applied Science. With its five undergraduate schools, its strong graduate school with authority to grant the Ph. D. degree, and its extensive facilities for research, the institution had actually long been a university. The university status was further recognized when the regents granted the institution the authority, under proper circumstances, to grant the bachelor of arts and the master of arts degrees.

Even in a university that emphasizes scientific and technological training, extensive opportunities exist for the development of the cultural aspects of education. Certainly farmers, engineers, and veterinarians, along with all other educated people, should have some acquaintance with, and appreciation of, the best in music, art, and drama.

The department of music has always been a strong one. In recent decades its vocal and instrumental ensembles have been the means of valuable training of those who participate and have delighted the community and the state with their concerts. These musical groups have regularly made tours performing in many communities of the state.

Likewise the forensic and dramatic talents of the young people are cultivated in the various contests, debates, and dramatic performances sponsored each year by the department of speech and drama. Also, the students may develop their skills in painting and sculpture under expert direction.

The university community supports regularly scheduled performances by some of the best professional talent in the country; and many exhibits of paintings and prints, classical and modern, are brought to the campus each year. Thus, Kansas State University offers scientific and technological education in a rich cultural environment.

The most obvious and spectacular evidence of growth has been in the physical plant. Since 1950 the total number of square feet of space added for teaching, research, and housing is greater than that of all the campus construction in the preceding 87 years. The total cost of all this new construction has been well over \$22,500,000, but of this sum 41 per cent has come from gifts, fees, or other non-tax sources. The major buildings financed with tax money are two

additions to Seaton Hall; the stack addition to Farrell Library; the addition to Kedzie Hall; Dykstra Veterinary Hospital; animal industries building; Umberger Hall; the second Denison Hall; Justin Hall; the nuclear reactor building; the gymnasium and field house; and before the university's centennial year ends, the physics and mathematics buildings should be in use and the poultry and dairy husbandry building under construction. Those structures financed at least partly from non-tax funds are three residence halls and a scholarship house for women; one residence hall for men; the union; the chapel auditorium; the feed technology wing of Waters Hall; the student health center; and the apartments of Jardine Terrace for married students. To these may be added the two buildings with eight apartments in each built by the endowment association for temporary rental to new faculty personnel till they can make arrangements for permanent homes.

RESEARCH AND EXTENSION

This historical sketch has necessarily been limited to only one of the three phases of university service, namely, that of resident instruction. Each of the other two phases, research and extension, is worth a separate treatment. It must suffice here to call attention to the fact that, even before congress passed the Hatch act in 1887, Kansas State had carried on and reported valuable research in the several areas of agriculture. Since the experiment station was established in 1888, the extent of this research in agriculture and home economics has been tremendous. In addition, in recent decades, has been the work of the engineering experiment station. Now, in recent years, state funds have been made available to support original research in the departments in the school of arts and sciences.

It is difficult to evaluate exactly the results of research but it has been conservatively estimated that the annual increase of wealth in the state due to the work of the staff of the agricultural experiment station and its branches, in improving old crops, adapting new crops to our environment, the study and cure of livestock diseases, methods of pest control, irrigation procedures, and dairy and poultry research, has been more than the entire cost of maintaining the university during the century. The money available to support research in 1950 was \$1,077,392 and in 1960 it was \$4,202,676. Of this amount, the federal government furnished \$566,000, the state \$1,742,600, and gifts from private industry and industrial foundations amounted to \$1,894,000. Another estimate is that Kansas is receiving \$4.20 worth of research results for an investment of \$1.75 of state money.

The third branch of the university's service, the division of extension, has developed its outreach to the state-wide campus. This division now has agricultural agents in all the counties of the state, and home demonstration and 4-H club agents in most of them. The membership in 4-H clubs numbers over 30,000 and several thousand make use of its Rock Springs ranch each year, while 1,200 to 1,500 gather on the university campus for the roundup each summer. It is estimated that the number of families served by the home economics extension workers has tripled in the past decade and this service now includes urban as well as farm families.

So the first century draws to a close. One hundred years is not a long time in the span of history, but it is impressive to realize that the college of 1863, housed in one small building standing lonely on a wind-swept hill, with a faculty of three or four and a student enrollment of barely 100, has, in the space of one century, become a university of more than 8,000 students, served by a faculty of over 800, and occupying a physical plant with a replacement valuation of more than \$45,000,000. This growth in size and service is amazing, and prospects for the future are indeed promising.

Julia Cody Goodman's Memoirs of Buffalo Bill

Edited by DON RUSSELL

I. INTRODUCTION

JULIA Melvina Cody Goodman, elder sister of William Frederick "Buffalo Bill" Cody, wrote this memoir, says a family tradition, to correct errors made by her sister Helen Cody Wetmore in the long-popular book *Last of the Great Scouts*. If so, Julia succeeded admirably, for she wrote mainly of what she knew at first hand; her memory for dates, many of which can be checked, is surprisingly accurate, and her story is free from the exaggerations that have caused many a suspicious eye to be turned on Helen's narrative.

Because Julia confined herself so largely to what she knew at first hand, her story covers in detail only the early life of her famous brother. After a few pages on their early life in Iowa, she devotes nearly four-fifths of her manuscript to the family's pioneering in Kansas. For the events that brought Buffalo Bill world-wide fame—the Pony Express, the buffalo hunting, the scouting, the Wild West show—she has only a few scattered paragraphs, not all of that free from error. At one later time their relations were again close, for she and her husband James Alvin Goodman managed Cody's Scout's Rest ranch at North Platte, Neb., for several years, but although she twice tells us that while there she "Entertained from Royalty to Cow Boys," she names not a one of her distinguished guests, nor does she tell anything about them, and very little about the ranch.

It is easy to see why several attempts to make a Buffalo Bill biography of this manuscript have proved failures.¹ It begins with genealogy (also correcting Helen); it ends with family history, and there is much in between about Julia that has little to do with Bill, although her meeting with Abraham Lincoln in Leavenworth is not without interest. It is, nevertheless, an important source for the early life of William F. Cody, and it sets the record straight on a number of episodes.

DON RUSSELL, of Elmhurst, Ill., is senior associate editor of the *New Standard Encyclopedia*, Chicago. Outstanding among his books and magazine articles is the prize-winning *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1960). In addition, Russell has edited for 16 of its 18 years the popular *The Westerners Brand Book* of Chicago.

1. *Buffalo Bill: King of the Old West*, by Elizabeth Jane Leonard and Julia Cody Goodman, edited by James Williams Hoffman (Library Publishers, New York, 1955), derives little from this manuscript, if it was used, although it contains much interesting material apparently obtained at some time or other from Mrs. Goodman.

More than that, and even if there were no mention of anyone as famous as Buffalo Bill, it is an invaluable record of the days of "Bleeding Kansas." The Cody family claimed to be among the first legitimate settlers in Kansas, for Isaac Cody had obtained a contract to put up hay for the quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, with permission to erect a temporary dwelling place, and as soon as news came of passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act he moved his family in and staked his claim. Experienced as a surveyor, he helped many another to stake a claim. His friendly relations with the Kickapoo Indians are noteworthy.

No crusader, Isaac Cody soon became involved in the Free-State cause. Because of exaggerated stories in the Buffalo Bill literature, some Kansas historians have looked askance at Isaac Cody's services.² But he was stabbed while making a Free-State speech on September 18, 1854, a wound which, his family believed, contributed to his death on March 10, 1857. He was an elections officer and returns judge, a member of the Topeka legislature, and an associate of Mark Delahay. He was a founder of Grasshopper Falls, now Valley Falls, and Julia tells of his trip East to encourage emigration to Kansas.

His attitude is well expressed in a letter he wrote from Grasshopper Falls in April, 1855, to Mr. L. Summers, reporting on the election of March 30:

Sir, as I have spare time I would give you a short history of our election. The antislavers were run off of the track completely by the Pukes. They came for 200 miles from the interior, formed in Companies from 100 to 200, with their flags, their whiskey, and their music, and going there saw a famous work. Probably about one hundred and a sufficient number at every precinct in the territory to force their votes, and if the judges refused, they forced them off their seat, and put such men as they pleased on the seat, and men from the State of Missouri that were not citizens. The citizens of the territory did not vote; it was carried there by Missourians' votes. The candidates and judges went to the governor and demanded their papers, and many of them got theirs. They went with the determination to hang the governor or have them, and I suppose the governor thought peace was best, and refers the whole matter to the governor general for a decision.

If I should give you a correct statement of the course pursued by these outrageous fellows you would doubt, therefore you may imagine how bad a set of wild drunken fanatics could be in such a case, and even then I shall doubt whether you can make it as bad as it was. I have always despised the name of abolitionist, but if yourself was here you would say Abolitionist or anything that would stop such outrageous acts.

2. Notably William E. Connelley.

Now I would say to our popular governor, "Gentlemen, if you do not do something to protect these unprotected territories, I shall accuse them of disloyalty."

Yours respectfully,
I. Cody

I am building a saw mill at Grasshopper Falls some 30 miles from here. I have not seen my family for 2 weeks but heard that they are all well at Salt Creek. Give my respects to all enquiring friends, and if you please, read them this.

Nineteenth century warfare had its amenities that are rare in the 20th. While Isaac Cody, in fear for his life, avoided traveling between Salt creek and Grasshopper Falls without protection, Julia, 13, and Willie, 10, made a trip, stopping over night, over the same route, on their own, to fetch home the cows. A Border Ruffian, with knife in hand, threatening to kill Isaac Cody, offers no violence or insult to Isaac's wife or daughters. Willie boldly walks into the camp of the dread Kickapoo Rangers to claim his pony, Prince—and gets him.

The Buffalo Bill story is romance, but Julia invests it with realism as she tells of the battle with the skunks, Willie puking all over his horse as he rides to warn his father, and his return from his first trip across the Plains so covered with lice and filth that his clothes are burned and he is not allowed in the house until thoroughly scrubbed. But as Willie starts his adventures on the Plains after the death of their father, Julia's story becomes less definite and detailed. The Codys must have been a reticent family. One guesses that she would not have known so much about the trapping expedition had she not flirted with Dave Harrington, thus verifying an adventure that otherwise might seem to be out of one of Col. Prentiss Ingraham's dime novels.

The story virtually ends in 1860, when Willie leaves home to ride Pony Express. At that time Julia was 17, Helen was 10, so it can readily be understood that Helen's memory of the preceding six years was less reliable than that of Julia. Helen's book, *Last of the Great Scouts*, was published in 1899 after her marriage (her second) to Hugh A. Wetmore, in Duluth, Minn., where he edited a newspaper. A new edition (Duluth and Chicago) was illustrated by Frederic Remington, and ran through several printings, some of them sold on show day with a free ticket to Buffalo Bill's Wild West thrown in. After Cody's death, the book was taken over by Grosset & Dunlap, who added a foreword and after-piece by Zane Grey, then at the height of his popularity. It has been kept in print, and has been the most widely distributed of all books about Buffalo

Bill, unfortunately for it contains many exaggerations, and many errors beyond those corrected by Julia.

Before her death, Julia Goodman entrusted her original manuscript to Hiram S. Cody, a distant relative and honorary president of the Cody Family Association, requesting that he would see to its publication. He lent it to me for use in *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*. It consists of 166 (numbered 163 by Julia) pages, written in pencil on unruled, white paper. There was some editing in ink by another hand, most of which was ignored because it was little improvement on Julia's original locutions, and in some cases misinterpreted what she obviously intended to say.

In this editing her locutions and capitalization have been followed as exactly as possible. Punctuation, of which she has little or none, has been added for clarity—it is not entirely clear that her entire manuscript is not one sentence, connected by a multitude of “ands.” Some of these connectives have been dropped to make new sentences and paragraphs, but enough have been retained to give the general idea.

Only enough of her misspellings are retained to give something of the flavor and originality of the original. An exception is “sayed,” with which she introduces both direct and indirect discourse, and as it is not always clear which is intended, quotation marks have not been attempted. I have generally retained “cept” for “kept,” “acrost” for “across,” “disided” for “decided,” and “seen” for “saw,” as these are not apt to cause any confusion, but I have generally straightened her out on “their” and “there,” “to” and “too,” “made” for “maid,” “married” for “marred,” and “until” for “untill.” In some cases after a misspelling has once been indicated, the word is thereafter spelled correctly, although she is not entirely consistent and sometimes does the same. Most proper names have been spelled correctly when identified; one cannot always be sure she has not spelled them correctly.

In keeping her manuscript in the way she wrote it, as much as seems practicable, of course there is no intent of ridicule. Considering her scant schooling under frontier conditions, she did remarkably well; many a high school or even college student of today does little better. Sometimes her errors indicate pronunciations current in her time, and occasional forgotten colloquialisms are of interest. Beyond this it seems to me that her sometimes original constructions give a conversational tone to the story that is all to the good. It is as if you were hearing her tell it, and it sounds convincing.

In studying the Buffalo Bill autobiographies I have found another

value in Julia's manuscript. As she says her education and Willie's were almost parallel, one might guess that his original manuscript might look much like this—and I happen to have seen one that does. There are several errors in his original autobiography that can only be attributed to the misinterpretation of bad handwriting—internal evidence that he did write it, however much it was added to and edited as might be done with Julia's manuscript.

II. THE MEMOIRS

THE ANCESTRY OF ISAAC AND MARY B. CODY

In or about the year of 1690 Philip Cody left England³ and came to Beverly, Mass., and settled there. The Cody Family separated; some went West and some to Canida. As to my understanding it was our Branch that went to Canida. As far back as I have knowledge my grandparents Philip and Lydia lived there and had a large family. In the year of 1830 my Father Isaac was 18 years old at that time, as my aunt Sophia told me and I always remembered it. When they grew up they married and scatered all over the United States. Now as to my mother:

My mother's family was of the Bunting family. They came from Derby-shire, England, in the year 1690 and settled at Darby, Pennsylvania. They came with William Penn's Party and Josiah Bunting held the Parchment under the Big Elm Tree at the time the Treaty was signed by William Penn and the Indians. My mother, Mary B. (Laycock) Cody was the 4th Generation from Josiah Bunting and her Father was Samuel Laycock, a sea captain who owned his own boat.

Mother's Father and Brother Samuel were Both ship recked and Grand Father Samuel was buried at sea and her Brother Samuel was taken off of the Boat on an Island some place near New York State. Then Mary (Mother) felt so lonely that her Brother William came and took her to Cincinnati, Ohio, which was then consider

3. Research showing that Philip Le Caudey and his wife Martha came from the Island of Jersey to Beverly, Mass., and purchased land there in 1698 is discussed in *The Piercing of the Veil*, a pamphlet by Ernest William Cody (The Cody Family Association, London, Ont., 1957). The name appears in records with numerous variant spellings eventually becoming Cody. The family genealogy, much of it originally based on Mrs. Goodman's recollections, has been set forth in the following publications of The Cody Family Association: *Our Cody Family Directory 1925, Descendants of Philip & Martha Cody of Beverly, Mass.*, presented by Sherwin Cody, Hiram S. Cody, Luther M. Cody (West Somerville, Mass.), pp. 12; *The Cody Family Directory 1927* (same subtitle), prepared by Luther M. Cody, secretary (n. p.), pp. 32; *The Cody Family Directory 1936, Descendants of Philip and Martha Le Cody of Beverly, Massachusetts, 1695*, prepared by Luther Morrill Cody and Ernest William Cody (n. p.), pp. 48; *The Cody Family Handbook-Directory 1941, Descendants of Philip and Martha at Beverly, Massachusetts, 1698* (London, Ont.), pp. 224; *The Cody Family Association Directory 1952* (same subtitle), the joint effort of Ernest William Cody and his wife Ella Jean Cody (London, Ont.), pp. 225; *The Cody Family in America 1698, Descendants of Philip and Martha, Massachusetts, Biographical and Genealogical* (published by Lydia S. Cody, chairman, Historical Board, printed by Cody Publications, Inc., Kissimmee, Fla., 1954), pp. 257.

the Far West at that time. She lived with her Brother William untill she met my Father in 1839 and in 1840 was married to him.⁴

Mother's Maiden name was Mary Bonsel Laycock. Her Mother's name was Hanah Taylor. She had 2 Brothers, one William Laycock, who went to Cincinnati, Ohio, and lived there untill his death in 1859. He only left one Daughter as far as I know. Her brother Samuel went with his Father to sea. Her Mother died early in 1830 and she had a stepmother and her sister Eliza was 6 years younger than mother, and as their stepmother married a Mr. Guss of West Chester, Penn., and he had a son Henry Guss⁵ and when they grew up Henry Guss married Eliza Laycock and they stayed at West Chester, Penn., and my mother then left Philadelphia in 1836 and went to Cincinnati to live with her brother William after her Father and Brother's Death and it was in Cincinnati, Ohio, that she met my Father Isaac Cody and in 1840 they were married and moved out to the Territory of Iowa and settled in Davenport, Scott Co., and later they moved up to the small town of LeClaire and they pre-empted a Homestead 2 miles west of LeClaire.

My Brother Samuel was born in LeClaire Feb. 21, 1841 and lived untill he was 12 years old, then was killed by a Horse. And on March 28, 1843, I, Julia Cody Goodman was Born on the Homestead or farm 2 miles west of LeClaire and my Parents lived on this Farm when on Feb. 26, 1846, our Brother William Fredrik [sic] Cody was Born, and then the year of 1847 Father took the contract to open up a Big Farm on the Wapsie River⁶ some 10 to 14 miles from LeClaire and we moved there and sister Eliza was Born here March 20, 1848, and our Parents lived there untill 1850 then moved back to our Home in LeClaire and there our sister Helen Cody (Wetmore) was Born⁷ and then on Oct. 12, 1853, our sister Mary Cody (Decker) was born and then our Brother was killed by a Horse; that was the fall of 1853, and then our Parents decided to make a change and in the spring of 1854 Father sold all of his Property and started for the Kansas & Nebraska territory.

HISTORY OF MY FATHER ISAAC CODY

His father and mother were from the Codys that settled in Beverly, Mass., in about 1690 and my GrandFather Philip and

4. This partly repetitious paragraph was written on an attached sheet.

5. Henry Ruhl Guss, who served as captain, 9th Pennsylvania infantry from April 24 to July 24, 1861, and as colonel, 97th Pennsylvania infantry from October 29, 1861, to June 22, 1864. He was commissioned brevet brigadier general of Volunteers for faithful and meritorious service on March 13, 1865. For William F. Cody's visit with General Guss and family, see Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman, Okla., 1960), pp. 182, 185.

6. Wapsipicon river, locally called Wapsie.

7. June 27, 1850.

GrandMother Lydia Martin were married in Canada in about 1800. They had 11 children, 5 sons: Elichia, Eligah, Isaac, Philip, Joseph; the Daughters all I can remember is Martha, Nancy, Eley, Sophia, Lydia.⁸ I can't remember the other's name. Isaac was born in Canada in 1811. When Isaac was 18 years old GrandFather Philip Cody and GrandMother Lydia Cody took their Famely and moved to Cleveland, Ohio, to a farm on what is now Euclid avenue near 83d St.

When Isaac was 27-28 his Brother Eligah with his family were moving west to western Missaura [*sic*]. Isaac was with him and on their way they were on a Boat going down the Ohio River and that was 1839 and while on the Boat they stoped at Cincinnati. They met a party of young People and the young People all got acquainted. My mother Mary B. Laycock was one of the Party and she and father met and got acquainted and Father did not stay in the West with his Brother. He went back to Cleveland and he and Mother cept up a correspondence and in the spring of 1840 went to Cincinnati to visit my mother as my mother had come from Philadelphia 3 years before to live with her Brother William Laycock and when Father visited there they married in May, 1840.

They left for Iowa to make their home in the west. Iowa was a Territory then. They went down the Ohio River untill they got to St. Louis. There they got on the Mississippi River and went up to Davenport (where) they got off. Father went to Trading with the LeClaire Indians. Davenport only had about 50 houses there then and the next year they moved up to the small Town of LeClaire. Their first son Samuel was Born Feb. 21, 1841. He lived to be 12 years old; was killed by a Horse in 1842 [1853]. They had taken up a land grant of 160 acres.

They Built a 4 room Log House on their Farm. Father got his Building Logs and done most of his own work. After he had their House Built they moved out on the farm. It was 2½ mile just west of LeClaire and on this Farm Julia Cody (Goodman) was Born March 28, 1843. William Fredrick Cody was Born Feb. 26, 1846, and when Brother was one year Old Father Rented his Farm, as Father took the contract to open a 600-acre Farm some few miles from our Farm. It was on the Wapsie River called the Brackenridge Farm. There was only one old Log House down by the River. We moved into it. The man that owned this Land was

8. In order of age: Elizabeth, Alice, Sophia, Nancy, Martha, Lydia.

Senator Brackenridge⁹ of Kentucky. He only came out once while we lived there. Father had rails cut and put on the ground. At the time they were building the Fence he had about 25 Plows with one yoke of oxen to the Plow and one man to hold the Plow. Father rode on a big bay Horse to help and see they were all doing their work and at this time he had men working in the Stone Quarry getting out stone for a big stone Farm House of 8-10 rooms.

While living in the Log House by the River Mother had some Lady Friends from LeClaire. She wanted to take a ride in a skiff on the stream. They were all dressed in white Dresses so Mother had one of the men to take them and Mother took me and Willie. He was a year old and I was 4. They put us on the seat with the man that Rowed the Boat. We got into the stream. It either hit a rock or something. It tipped over, so they all fell out in the water. The man grabed Willie and I. He carried us out, and I think that was my first remembering anything.

From that time I have remembered nearly everything that happened. I remember seeing wild Deer runing and jumping over that big high Rail Fence and seeing Father Riding his big Horse up and down those long furrows with all of those ox teams Plowing and when the stone house was finished I remember of moving into it and seeing the cow and little calves.

Brother Samuel and I had to watch Willie as he was on the go every place. I remember one day the Dr. came to make a call and Tied his Horse out by the house and Baby Willie started to go to the Horse. I ran after him and grabed and pulled him away just as the Horse kicked. He just touched me but they all sayed I saved Willie's life for the Horse was a mean Horse to kick. When the Dr. came out I told him about it. He called me a brave little girl.

That fall Father hired a Miss Helen Goodrige to Teach School and as Mother had so much work, so many men to cook for, so Father & Mother sayed they would send Martha and Sammie and Julia (myself) and we should take Baby Willie with us and was to take him outdoors when he wanted to go and when he got sleepy she had him layed on one of the benches. It was a log building and just bord benches. There was only 12-15 pupils and Father payed most of the Teachers wages. Willie was not 2 years old then and I was his nurse, so from that time I & him was closer

9. William F. Brackenridge, according to Scott county records. See Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The stone house was identified as on the McCausland farm, two miles south of McCausland and west of Butler No. 5 school by James Colby in the Davenport (Ia.) *Democrat and Leader*, March 14, 1948.

together than the other Children, and Father would say, Daughter, where is your Baby Brother? I always knew where he was.¹⁰

We lived on that Big Farm until in 1848 when the California Fever Broke out and every body was talking of the Great gold strike in Calif. and Father among the others. He disided to give up Farming and move the Family down to LeClaire into their House they had built when they first [came] to LeClaire. There was 20 men getting ready to start and Father had his outfit all ready and when the Party were there in LeClaire ready to start Father took very sick and the Party waited several days for Father, but he seamed to get worse and had to abandon his plans and the Dr. advised him not to start, so the others went on.

Father was verry sick for several weeks and after he got up and around he took his Big Wagon and went to Davenport and Exchanged it for a Beautifull big Ambulanch [ambulance]. He took the contract to carry the mail and Passengers acrost the Country to Chicago, Ill. He maid one Trip every week and he done well and cept it up for several years and when he would leave Davenport he crossed over the Missisipia River at Rock Island, then went up the River Road and when he Passed LeClaire we would be watching for him. We would have long sticks with a white Flag on. We children would go down to the River Bank and he would stop for a Few Moments and wave his Flag in return. I remember seeing him coming. It was a half mile acrost the River but his Big 4 Horses and his Bright Collared [colored] ambulanch we could see very plain. Then we knew when he would be coming back as Mother would Tel us.

Now sister Eliza was the Baby; she was 2 years younger than Willie but Mother would say, Julia, your charge is to look after Willie, so I did not have the care of baby sister Eliza. So Willie and I would play all day only when we went in for meals. When school started in the Fall he cryed to go with me, but as it got cold Willie had to stay with Mother and baby sister. Father still made his Regular trips acrost to Chicago. He would always buy we Children nice things from Chicago. I can't remember just how long he kept going.

In the mean time the Family would hear from the Party on the way to Calif. They wrote they were having such a hard trip; they were sick, and that some of the Party had Died on the Desart country along the Platte River. That country was very Baren and

10. Nowhere else is it recorded that William F. Cody started his formal education at the age of two.

Infested with the wild Indians and they would beg or steal everything they got; and Camping with some Mormons, and they stopt at Salt Lake for the winter as they could not Travel across the Rocky Mountains. If I remember correctly, of hearing Father & Mother say once there was only 6 that landed in Calif. the April of 1850.

Father had got so strong and well there was some rich man wanted him to go out to Walnut Grove to open up another Big Farm and the spring of 1852 he took the contract. He sold out the business of staging and we moved about 15 miles from LeClaire. They still owned their two places, the House in LeClaire and the Farm out 2 miles west of LeClaire. Where we moved to was out the Dubuque Road, called Walnut Grove Farm and Father hired 15-20 raw German men to work on the Farm and a married man and his wife; the woman was to do the cooking. She could not speak a word of English and Father had a American-Born German; he was Father's interpreter, and he taught me so I could talk and tell her every thing. Theodore Blucka came to the House; he had to teach me something else to say so I got to be a good Dutch girl and Father called me his Little Dutch Girl.¹¹ Father got more married men and they brought their Families, so Father let them cut small Logs and build small Houses. They built Grass Roofs on their Houses. I would take the small brother Will and sister Liza down there to the German Village, as they called it, and there I learned to talk very good.

Father was Elected to the Legislature while living there.¹² It was a nice place only the School was 3 miles away so we did not get to go to School the Fall of 1853. Brother Samuel always went after the cows as the Pasture was 2-3 miles from the House. Father had a high-spirited mare and she had thrown some of the men and Father told Brother Samie to be very careful when he rode her. He sayed he would. This evening he got out to the main Road when the School Teacher and the Pupils were coming along. Bettie was the name of this Horse. She began to prance and jump and the other Boy sayed to Samuel, you better patch hog.¹³ She rared up Trying to get him off. He did not have a saddle. He sayed,

11. In the 19th century "Dutch" meant German to many Americans, and despite the efforts of generations of school teachers to restrict it to citizens of the Netherlands, still does, as is shown by the familiarity of the term "Pennsylvania Dutch."

12. William J. Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, reported to me that thorough search failed to turn up any record of Isaac Cody's election to the general assembly. Three of his children say he was—See William F. Cody, *The Life of Hon. William F. Cody, Known as Buffalo Bill* (Hartford, 1879), hereafter cited as *Cody, Life*, p. 20; Helen Cody Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts* (Chicago and Duluth, 1899), p. 16.

13. Possibly "pitch hog"; obviously it means to give up; quit.

ha, ha, Bettie, you thought you would Throw me but you can't do it. These was his last words. She rared and threw her self over and crushed him. She jumped up and ran, and Samuel layed on the ground. The School ran to him. He was barely breathing, but never came to consciousness. They took him to the Tenant House and sent for Father & Mother. They got Dr. and worked all night with him.

When they came to the House and told mother that Samie had been Thrown from Bettie, mother asked where he was. They told her at Mr. Burns House. She went into a histerie [hysteria]. She sayed Julia look of the Babyes. Of course I did this and sister Martha ran with mother and I did not see them that night. I was 10 years old and I seen to putting Willie, Eliza & Nellie to bed, and then I went to bed and the next morning they brought Samie home and they watched him untill in the afternoon when his breath left him, and Oh how I did Pity my mother. It seemed to me she would surely die. Then she went to Prayn [praying] to gane [gain] her strength to bear up under this affull [awful] sorrow, and she did, and I took Nellie and we went off to the Big Swing and we set in that and talked and cryed about our dear and older Brother dieing. From that time Willie clung to me and we became as one. We talked over everything together and he kept that up untill his diing day, and God only knows how we 2 loved each other.¹⁴

That Fall after Brother was gone, Father & mother heard about the New Industry of Kansas & Nebraska Territory. Father wrote to his Brother Eligah Cody, who lived at Weston, Missouri, just acrost the Missouri River from Fort Leavenworth, and in time he got a letter from Uncle Eligah saying it was a Beautifull Country and come. Father wrote to the Representatives and Senators from Iowa and they told him the Bill was Pending and would surely come up that winter when Congress was in session, so Father & mother maid arrangements to go when Spring opened up. So by April the 1st, 1854, Father moved up into LeClaire and the Family stayed with one of our old neighbors Mr. Barns. Their son Joe Barns is my age; there is only 11 days difference in our age, and I have been corresponding with him for years, and a year ago (1924) he put a Beautiful Granette slab monument in LeClaire in memory of William Frederick Cody. They tell me it is a fine monument.

14. Cody, *Life*, p. 20, says he had gone with Samuel for the cows; that he rode to notify their father; and "when I arrived at Mr. Burns' house, where my brother was, I found my father, mother and sisters there," all of which is in disagreement with Julia. One suspects Bill's six-year-old memory was reinforced at this point.

It is under a Big Elm Tree that we Played under when we were children. We played under it the last time in April, 1854, just before we left Iowa. We left there and I have never been back. Brother went there often when he was traveling with his Theatre and his Wild West Show.¹⁵

Well in April we bade goodbye to the Barns Family and started. Father had as nice an outfit as ever came acrost to Kansas Territory. We did not camp as most Emigrants did. Father had a Big 4 Horse wagon with our clothing in and 2 Horses for Extras, and a Big Family Carriage with 3 seats and with 2 Beautiful Horses. Father had his route all layed out. He aimed to Drive from one county seat to the next. That was a one days Drive.¹⁶ We stoped at the best Hotels for nights. There was Father, Mother, sister Martha, Julia, William, Eliza, Nellie, and baby Mary and the young man George Yancy who Drove the big 4 Horse wagon. We got along nicely until we got into Missouria. We seen our first Negrows there and we children were afraid of them but Mother told us about them. We stayed all night at this place. I remember how I shivered when the colored Maid was sent to help Mother with us children. I wore my hair in 2 long braids and when Mother told me to let the maid wash me and comb my hair I just trembled when she touched me. The other children, the 3 small sisters, cried when she touched them. But Willie asked Father if they were Indians or were like the Indians we would see in Kansas Territory. Father told us that the Indians were more Red than Black and Willie sayed he thought he would like the Indians better than those Black Folks.¹⁷

When we were nearing Weston, Missouria, where Uncle Eligah lived, Father decided it would be best to stay at some Big Farm House and stay over until he could go down to Weston to see his Brother as it had been about 15 years since he had seen him. So Father went in to this Big Brick House and a collared [colored] man met him and asked to know what he wanted to know. Father told him. He sayed, No, Sir, my missie never keep any one. She

15. Mrs. Goodman's narrative makes it clear that the Codys went to Kansas in anticipation of passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act in 1854. Cody, *Life*, p. 21, makes it "spring of 1852." F. M. Fryxell, "The Codys in LeClaire," in *Annals of Iowa*, Des Moines, July, 1929, got much of his information from the J. D. Barnes mentioned by Mrs. Goodman. Barnes, accepting Cody's 1852 date, makes Samuel 10 instead of 12 when he was killed and implies that the date on his tombstone is wrong. Otherwise Mr. Barnes confirms many of the circumstances as told by Mrs. Goodman.

16. Federal surveys laid out standard counties 36 miles square on the theory that any resident of such a county could travel to the county seat and return home within one day. Thus the distance from one county seat to the next would be one day's journey. Few county boundaries followed survey lines exactly, but most of them approximated this size.

17. Willie apparently had never seen Indians in Iowa, although his father had been Indian trader there only a few years previously. Some books have assumed that Cody grew up with Indian boys in Iowa.

just live here with her 2 sons. But Father asked if he could just speak to the Lady. So the colored man went in and told his mistress. She came to the Door and Father told her what he wanted to do and told her who he was: Eligah Cody was his Brother. She sayed, why he is in the Big General Store; she sayed they all were Pardners in the store with him and her husband had been his Pardner before his death and she and her 2 sons were with him, and of course just come in and I will send a colored man to help you and the Family.

We were well treated and Father and Mother talked all evening with Mrs. Burns and when we got up in the morning Father told us children we were to stay there for the day as he was going to take Mother and Mrs. Burns and go down to Weston to see Uncle and Aunt Margrate [Margaret] Cody. So we all stayed there. Before night we had got well acquainted with the colored maid. Martha was 17 years old and she managed to take care of us. Brother Willie went out around the barns as the young man George Yancy was out there with the 6 horses, as Father took the Family Carriage. Willie had a great time with the colored boys and thought he was having great sport.

When Father, Mother and Mrs. Burns got into Weston they Drove first to the Store and had Uncle called out. He was surprised to find his Pardner Mrs. Burns with Father and Mother. He was more surprised to find where they had left the Family. Then Uncle took them up to his Home and Father had spoke about getting a house. Uncle told Father he had a Farm out 2 miles and a house on it and it was then Vacant and it was Furnished so he could move there so when evening came they came and the next day it rained all day and Mrs. Burns insisted on us to waite until it cleared up. The next day we left and Father took us all in to see our Uncle and Aunt. The man George went to the Home on the Farm. We had a nice time. We went to see our cousin Lucinda Cody Conyers. She was Martha's age only she had married John Conyers after his mother died. Aunt Margaret was Uncle's second wife. Cousin Lucinda had a little boy a year old and a lovely home. They all lived much Different from the good Neighbrs in LeClaire. Cousin Lucinda had a colored maid in the Kitchen and a colored girl to take care of Baby Eligah. We thought that was so funny to have so many colored People.

In the evening we went to the Farm and the man George was there and had everything ready for us, and there was a nice big

yard for us to play in and it had a nice lot of pretty Flowers just beginning to bloom, so we all seemed happy.

Father had been in ever day to Visit with Uncle and one evening he came home he told Mother that Uncle wanted him to take Mother and Aunt Mar and Willie and they would go out into Kansas to Marrynell[?] to the Patanny Indian Resavation as Uncle had Busnes out there.¹⁸ It was about 80 miles there. They started the next day and Father and Mother took Willie and went down to Weston and got Uncle Eligah and Aunt. They went down to the river to Ferry Boat and from there they went up through Fort Leavenworth and out west. When they got on top of the Government Hill looking down into Salt Creek Valley it was filled with Trains and cattle and mules running around. There must of been Hundreds of White covered wagons waiting there to make up their Trains to start West and Willie got just wild with Excitement and he said, Oh, my, that is what I am going to do as soon as we get moved over here in this beautifull place.¹⁹

He never forgot that first sight of the Trains. When they were driving through that lovely Salt Creek Valley Father and Mother both made the remark that if they could get their home in that beautiful valley, there would be their Home. They went on their way to Marysville and they thought the Country was lovely only Salt Creek Valley called them. When they got to the Indian Agency Uncle had a Trading store there. They stayed several days and Willie had an Indian pony to ride and he got acquainted with all the Indians and had the time of his life. Father promised to get him a Pony as soon as we got settled in Kansas. There was no settlers in Kansas then as the Bill had not been through the senet [Senate] yet, but had been brought up in the lower House. As Father and Uncle went over to the Fort and Uncle interduced him to the Quarter Master and Father asked Permission to take his 8 head of Horses to graze on the fine Grass in Salt Creek Valley and he got Permission.

Father was in correspondence with the congressmen and Representative from Iowa, so he knew what they were doing in Washington, D. C.

SETTLERS IN KANSAS

Father took his Big wagon with his Indian Trinkets and his Tent and his 8 head of horses and the hired man and himself, and he

18. Marysville, Marshall county, Kansas, as Julia makes clear in a subsequent reference. "Patanny" approximates her spelling; possibly "Pottawatomie." However, the Pottawatomies were centered around St. Marys, not Marysville.

19. The first germ of the idea leading toward Buffalo Bill's Wild West?

took Willie and they left mother and the rest of us on Uncle's farm. Willie then began to ask for his Pony, so he asked the Indians about their Ponies. They sayed, they Bring Pony, so one day they Brought some Ponies and one was a gentle Pony but one was a Beautifull sorrel Stalion not yet Broken and Willie Insisted on having the sorrel one. So Father got them both; he traded his Indian goods for them. He sayed the little Bay mair [mare] was to be Julia's. When they came home to see us Willie was so happy to say that he and I both had a Pony, but his was not broken yet, but he was riding mine and sayed she was a Dandy. He sayed his was Prince and mine was Dolly.

He was anxious to get back to camp, as they called it. When they got back they noticed near the main Millitary Road there was another Camp with several men and a band of Horses. While they were getting their supper one of the men walked up to camp. He was a Tall fine looking young man in his 30s. Father and he got to talking about the Country in general. Father asked him where they were going. He sayed they were going to sell their Horses and hides they had, and as he had been in and among the Indians and the wild Country, he thought for a change he would go on over to Weston, Missouri, to visit an Uncle as he had received a letter from his Mother that his Uncle lived there. Father asked him who his uncle was. He told Father it was Elijah Cody of Cleveland, Ohio. Father sayed, young man, if Elijah Cody is your uncle I am your uncle also. The young man sayed, what is your name? Father sayed, I am Isaac Cody of Cleveland. Father sayed, What is your name? He sayed Horas [Horace] Billings. Father sayed, a son of my sister Sophia Cody Billings. They clasped hands and embraced as an Uncle and Nephew would naturally meet. He stayed most of his Time with Father.

Father called Willie and sayed, here, Will, this is your cousin Horace Billings, and from what I heard of him from his mother, he has been a Great Horse Rider in Circuses, is that so? Horace sayed he had Traveled years with Big Circuses as the Horse Back Rider, and he sayed to Willie, I see you have a Pony. Willie sayed, yes, but this is not mine; this is sister Julia's. Mine is not Broken. I will show you mine when they bring them into camp. So Horace sayed, Well, Will, we will see to Breaking your Pony tomorrow so you can ride it. So Willie was happy to see and know this cousin, the wonderful Horseman.

It was only a few days until Willie could ride his own Pony and

Cousin Horace Taught Willie's Pony Prince to [k]neel down for him to get on, and Broke him so Willie could shoot off of him, and come to his call, and many other Tricks that came in good use in after years as you will hear.²⁰

Father Brought this cousin with him. They stoped in Weston so Horace could see his Uncle Elijah and Aunt Margaret and Cousin Lucinda Cody Conyers, and then they came out to the Farm where we were living. We girls were all delighted to see this handsome cousin, as he was tall and a fine form with dark Haire and eyes. He stayed a few days and then went back out into the Territory of Kansas and soon after they got back his Friends took their Horses back into Kansas. When Father heard from Horace Billings again he had gone out west to help hunt and catch wild horses as they were very numerous in the west then.

Willie stayed with Father as he had got permition to put up a cheep cabin as he wanted the Family with him as he had taken a contract to put up hay for the Government. When he got the cabin ready to move us in, he bought the wagons and Carriage over to get us. We were on our way from Weston nearing the Rialto Ferry Boat, and as he had word from Washington on every mail so he knew that the Bill had passed the lower House and now it only had to go through the upper House so Emegrants could go into Kansas Territory as settlers. This was on June 10, 1854, that the Bill Passed, and Father got the Dispatch that the Bill had passed [May 30] and he could now go, so we drove onto the Ferry Boat and was [among] the first white settlers to go into Kansas as Emigrants.

Father had been a Surveyor in Iowa, so as soon as we got to the cabin and onloded [unloaded] and settled, the next morning he took his men and went to work surveying off the Quarter second [section] lines, as the second [section] lines had been surveyed by the Government, so he found he was on the land he had picked out. He and mother picked out where they wanted to build their Home House on the East side of a big Hill near some large Hickory Trees. Then he put men to work getting out the Big logs for a Big Log House. It had 7 big rooms.²¹

Then Father went down to Fort Leavenworth and filed on the

20. Horace Billings may certainly be counted as among the founders of Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

21. Jesse A. Hall and LeRoy T. Hand, *History of Leavenworth County, Kansas* (Topeka, 1921), p. 410: "Cody's farm was on the south side of the Fort Riley Road and old Oregon Trail, now part of Weisinger and Seymour farm, north of the Hurd farm." The Fort Riley road was Julia Goodman's "Military Road."

First homestead [claim?] in that office. Then as Father was so well acquainted with the Kickapoos, Delawares, Cherokees²²; these 3 tribes of Indians lived near here and Father and Mr. Rively who cept [kept] the Trading Post, and Mr. Grover, the Missionary Family, were living near us, so they met at the Trading Post and maid [made] the motion they give the Indians a Barbecue on 4 of July, 1854. They all agreed and they made Father chairman to manage it all, and they were to hold it in a nice Hickory Grove that was near where our new House was to be.²³

They sent out word to all of the Indians and Father went over to Weston, Mo., and got the Provision to feed several hundred Indians, beside the Emigrants. Father got a big Beef and he looked after the Roasting that Beef. Then they had another; they let the Indians kill and Dress it and I remember it well. Willie and I watched everything that went on that day, and it was all new to us, and they had a Great time. The Indians did not throw away one thing from the Beef. They even Emptied the Inwards and washed them and put them on a Poker or Iron rod and cooked them over the Fire and Eat them. They gave their war dances, Horse or Pony races, played at their different Games, and it was the most wonderful Picnic I ever seen. The white people had a long Table and Boards for seats, and they had speaking. Uncle Elijah brung his force from his store, and many others. I never seen another as Big or Interesting a Picnic or Barbecue since in Kansas, of that kind where the Indians and whites mixed as they did that day.

Just after that Big affare the Missourians began to come into Kansas, and as they were determind to have Kansas a slave state, so from that day the Border War began. My father had been Talking very freely about Kansas being like Iowa was, not to have any slaves or to hold Negroes in Kansas. The Rich slave holders in Missouri hired the very bad class of white men to come over into Kansas Territory and take up claims. As Father had his surveying and engineering instruments, they all came to him to locate them on claims, so that 2 men would not be on the same quarter section of land. Of course Father was a plain spoken man, and these

22. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Nyle H. Miller and Robert W. Richmond of the Kansas State Historical Society, and Angie Debo questioned Cherokees being in this locality. Mrs. Goodman is sufficiently definite about it that I would suggest that some families might have been employed about Fort Leavenworth, or come in with some expedition for which they had served as guides.

23. M. Pierce Rively had operated a trading post here since 1852. He later was a member of the Proslavery Lecompton constitutional convention. The Rev. Joel Grover was the missionary.—See Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

Missourians soon found out how Father stood on that, so they would go back and tell about Elijah Cody's Brother being for Kansas to be a Free state, and they would come back and howl the slander about Father. But he would talk.

They held a big meeting at the settlers' store,²⁴ but Father at that time was Building our Big Log home and he also had the contract to put up 2,000 Ton of wild hay for the Government, and he hired a big gang of men which he had to look after. He was a very busy man.

At one time they were holding a meeting at the store Father came by From the Fort. They stopped him and wanted him to give them a speech. He tried to beg off, offering every excuse. As there were several of the Neighbors who were for Kansas to be a free state he seen, and then he got off of his Horse, and they grabbed him, and put him up on a big Dry goods box, and he seen no way out of it when they called out, Speech, Speech.²⁵

He began by saying that he hoped they could all live in this territory without having any trouble about any question. One of the men called out, You are the man that wants Kansas Territory to be a Free state, don't you? He went on talking on verrious questions and some one called out again, Say, Cody, you want to make Kansas a Free state. He sayed yes. With that a man jumped on the Box and called him a Damed Abolicetionist and grabed at him. Father had no chance for escape or no one to come to his rescue. He was stabled in his side, just missing his heart. The man's name was Dunn. As Father went to fall the neighbor Dr. Hathaway got to him and they took him in to the store and he done what he could for him. They did not try to do anything with this man, Mr. Dunn. They broke up the meeting.

Dr. Hathaway sent a man, one of the Free state men, to our House to tell Mother what had happened, and he thought the Best thing would be for her to have him taken over to Weston. Mother ordered the Carriage and she took a Driver and she and Dr. Hathaway took him over to Weston, Missouri, to Uncle Elijah. They found his lung had been just hit. How terribull we all felt and Willie would cry and then he would say, Oh, I wish I was a man;

24. She may be referring to the meeting at Rively's store at which the "Salt Creek Valley Resolutions" were adopted, which recommended "that slaveholders introduce their property as soon as possible" and stated, "That we afford no protection to Abolitionists as settlers of Kansas Territory." That meeting was held on June 10, however, not after July 4.—See Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15. The attack on Isaac Cody is dated September 18, 1854, by an item in the *Democratic Platform*, Liberty, Mo., September 28, 1854, in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society.

I would just love to kill all of those Bad men that want to kill my Father, and I will when I get big.²⁶

The man in charge kept the work going. Mother and Dr. Hathaway came back the next day saying that Father would have to stay for some time. Mother gave orders to the Hay men and the men working on the House. The man that Drove the Carriage took her back to Weston and she stayed several days there. The man went back to get Mother and Willie went back that time to see Father and he talked to Father and told Father what he was going to do when he got big. Father was not able to come home for 3 week. He was never strong from that day, just able to get around; had to ride as he could not walk any distance.

From that time the Border War began and they came into the Territory by the Hundreds. They stole our Horses. Father watched by night so they did not get them all.

Just as he was ready to Deliver his Hay to the Fort we looked over to the South where the Big stacks of Hay stood. We seen 2 men ride away from the stacks and the smoke was rising. In less than one hour the 3,000 Ton of Hay was in a Blaze. All we could do was to look at it. Poor dear Father was so weak he shed Tears to think of his Expense and money he had put into putting up that Hay, all gone.

Then a party of Eastern men came to our house and wanted Father to take them out in the Country to look for a New place. Father told them if they would stay until they went and got Furnatur and moved the Family into the New House they would go. So these men sayed they would all help. So they all went to work. They were Mr. Frazear, Mr. Whitney, Mr. Jolly, and when they went out west they came to a beautiful stream. It was about 50 feet wide and they had to follow an Indian Trail. When they crossed it they followed the Indian Trail. After awhile they came to a beautiful Falls. It was called by the Indians & Trappers Grasshopper Falls. So they decided to stop there and after looking around they found the Timber was fine for Lumber. They found it was a fine place for a saw & Grist mill, so they decided to pitch camp there and stay there. Mr. Frazear and Mr. Jolly staked out

26. Compare with the more sensational versions in Wetmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18 (Grosset & Dunlap editions, pp. 18, 19; and William F. Cody, *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill* (New York, 1920), pp. 10-12, both of which give Willie a heroic role on this occasion. In *The Life of Hon. William F. Cody, Known as Buffalo Bill*, the original autobiography, Cody does not mention being present. The 1920 autobiography contains material obviously edited into it from Mrs. Wetmore's book. For a discussion of the versions see Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15. The assailant was Charles Dunn, said to be an employee of Elijah Cody. The *Democratic Platform* says the dispute between Dunn and Cody was over a land claim.

their claims.²⁷ They thought it would be to start a Town and put up their mill. So they decided that 2 of the men, Mr. Frazear, Jolly, should stay there and Father & Mr. Whitney would go back to our home in Salt Creek Valley. When they got back they had wonderfull stories to tell of this Beautiful country that was not settled yet. Father soon started back with men and Tools & Provision and so he soon left for Grasshopper Falls, 30 miles from Salt Creek Valley.

When Father got home the second time he decided to have a well Dug near to the House as we had to carry or Draw our water on a sled in a Barrell with our Poneys. He thought that would never do, so he put men to Digging a well and they cept it up until they were down 40 or 50 foot and they stoped until spring of 1855.

Father had thought he would go down to the Fort and Preempt on our home there and pay \$125 [\$1.25] per acre, rather than make a homestead of it, and to live 5 years, for doubting that he would not be content to live constantly on it. And if they thought best they could move out to Grasshopper Falls.²⁸

But Times were getting so bad there and the Border Ruffians were making their Threats they would kill every Abolitionist there was in that country. So they would watch Father every time he came home and he had to have some one with him every place he went. Uncle Elijah would tell Father he was sorry he had spoken so Freely about making Kansas a Free state, as Uncle was a Pro-slavery man and owned slaves himself. But Father had always been a man that spoke his own mind, so he wrote many letters to Eastern people to come to Kansas. Whenever he was home some men came for Father to survey them a claim. He ran the quarter section lines as Far west as Grasshopper Falls, but he was suffering from his wound.

About this time of year, the Fall of 1854, they come to Father to go with them down 3 miles Below Fort Leavenworth to go with them to start the Town of Leavenworth [first sale of town lots was held on October 9]. He went and looked it over, and as he had gone in with the Town site company of Grasshopper Falls he thot that was enough, so he put most of his Time and money there.

27. James Frazier, A. J. Whitney, H. B. Jolley, Robert Riddle, and Isaac Cody were founders of Grasshopper Falls, now Valley Falls.—See A. T. Andreas-W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 505; sketch of Isaac Cody, p. 508. They staked their claims on December 25, 1854.

28. Cody could not have acquired the land at this time under the homestead act, as Julia implies, as it did not become effective until some 8 years later. Apparently, Julia refers here to the payment of \$1.25 per acre as the final step in acquiring title under the pre-emption act of 1841.

They built cabins and started the sawmill, so they had their own lumber to built with. As fast as People came Father took them out and Located them around there.

One family came from Ohio. He was a Dr. Northrup with his wife & 3 children and as the winter was setting, they did not want to go out to Grasshopper Falls until spring so mother let them stay with us as our House was Big. They had 2 rooms and lived there until Father & Dr. Northrup went out to Grasshopper Falls and they had Dr.'s House built and he had bought out one of the men who had his land joining the Town, so Dr. had his Office Built in his House. The spring of 1855 Father moved them out and then there was 6-8 Families there. The town grew fast and Father had grist mill added to the saw mill so when the farmers had the wheat harvested they could get it ground into Flour, and their corn.

In the spring of 1855 Dr. Northrup moved his family out of our home. In May we had a Baby Brother Born and they called him Charles Whitney, one of the men that went to Grasshopper Falls with Father.²⁹

As soon as it was noised out among the two Tribes of Indians that a young Pappoose boy came to the White Folks, first the Kickapoo Chief came to see the White Pappoose [saying] Kickapoo Pappoose come. He brought Beads, mogasins and Indian playthings. Mother gave the Indian Chief sugar after he made so much over the Baby. Then several days after that the Delaware chief came to say, Delaware Pappoose come, and he brought Trinkets. Mother asked him why he came. She told him of the Kickapoo Chief coming. He sayed, Delawares own this Land. Kickapoo fight long ago, take this Land, so Delaware go away, but Delaware call it Delaware Land. So mother treated him the same.

That spring when we wanted to put in a little Field, Willie and I got a small Plow and took our Poneys, as Father had taken his Horses with him, the ones they had not stolen from us. So Willie and I started out to Plow. Willie Drove the Poneys and I held the Plow. So all that seen it sayed we was doing a good job. One of the men that was building the Fence showed us how and we got along just fine, and one of them layed out the furrows for us to plant the corn. Willie Dropped the corn and I covered it with a hoe. We put in about 10 acres, as sod corn did not need cultivating.

29. Charles Whitney Cody, apparently named for A. J. Whitney, was born May 10, 1855; died October 10, 1864. The Doctor Northrup mentioned is identifiable as Dr. Lorenzo Northrup.

The men was working on the well, but when they were Down about 60 feet, Father gave it up. He was at home then and he wanted the Pick that was down in the well. He sayed to Willie, Come here and let me put you in this Bucket, which was a half Barrell that they brought up the Dirt and sand when they were digging. Willie sayed, No, sir, not me. I am never going down. I am always going up. I would rather climb that big tree. He [Father] sayed, Well, Julia, you will, I know. I sayed, Yes I will. So he helped me into this big Bucket. He told me not to get out of the Bucket, but reach and get the pick and put it into the Bucket. He sayed to Willie and the little sister to stay out there and not to go in and tell Mother. I called when I had it in, and he pulled me up, and then Mother happened to come up just as I landed up on and out of the well, but Mother was afraid to think of my going down there; the well was 60 feet deep. But the men came back; he told them they need not dig any farther. He payed them off and brought the Tools out and Took off the windlass and Rope. So we had to still haul or carry our water from the spring.

I remember one time when Father was home and he had failed to go to the spring before supper, so Father sayed to Willie, we will go and get some water. They started to the spring. They got within a few feet of the spring and the wild skunks made a raid on them and covered them with their fumes. They fought them with their pails and then they came back to the house and called for mother to send out their Guns and a lantern so they could see to load their guns. They went back to the spring in the Dark and they could see the Bright, Sparkling Eyes of them, and they both took aim at their eyes and then brought the Lantern to see to load their guns. They could see them all around. The fumes was terrible. They shot as long as they could stand it, then they got their pails of water and came back to the House. We could not use the water and Father & Willie had to take their clothes off and I took clean clothes out to them. The next morning Father went over to the spring to get more water and he Burred [buried] dozens of dead Polecats or skunks, and we all decided to get water during the daytime.

Another time I went to get something out of the Barrel for mother, a big skunk jumped out. The country was full of them. Our Turk Dog would bark at them, but he would not go after one. He was too wise. He would go with Willie and I to get the Cotton Tail Rabbits and pleaded to help us find them and get them out of

their holes for us to shoot. Then we would take home 6-10 nice fat Rabbits. They were fine eating.

Father and mother harked so much about we Children not having any school to go to, so they Disided to higher [hire] a Teacher and fix up the Cabin That Father first built. So then we had benches made and they got the Daughter of one of them, Miss Jennie Lyons, to teach school. We started with 10 Pupils and then 2 of the Kickapoo Indian Boys came. That was 12 and we had a nice little school. Willie and those 2 Indian Boys became great friends, learning each other's Language and trading. It was 6 miles from the Indian Agency, so no more came, but more Familys came in, so there was 15-18 all told. But the Proslavery Familys would not send their children. They was still on the look out to catch Father and sending messages what they intended to do when they got hold of him. When the school had been going on for 3 months, the Border Ruffians, or Pro Slavery, rode up to the school and told the Teacher that they did not Intend to let that Damded Abolitionist have a school; if they came back again they would set fire to the House and burn them all in it, as Cody had the most of the Brats in the school. So Miss Jennie came home and told Mother, as Father was out to Grasshopper Falls.

In the summer of 1855 the Town of Leavenworth was Growing fast with both Free State & ProSlavery, so there was a Mr. Mark Delahay came and Brought a newspaper Press and started the first Free State Paper in that part of Kansas and that Inraged the Border Ruffians. They were shurly [surely] on the War Path and a short time after that they threw the Press in to the Missouri River and made Threats what they would do if they started another Free State Paper there.³⁰

But Mr. Delahay and Father were great friends and his Family, they had 3 children. Their oldest Daughter, Mollie Delahay, was just a year younger than I and we became fast friends and must say now that she is still alive and I Visited her in San Antonio, Texas, the Fall the year of 1926 (corrected to 1925). Her Family are all gone but one Brother and my Family are all gone but my youngest sister Mary Cody Decker where my Brother passed away at 2932 Lafayette at Denver City. The winter of 1855 Father and Mother took me down to Leavenworth to go to school and so Mollie Delahay and I became fast friends and Father and Mr.

30. The Kickapoo Rangers, Cody's neighbors, destroyed Delahay's press on December 22, 1855, and Delahay abandoned his newspaper. The best summary of Delahay's career is John G. Clark, "Mark W. Delahay: Peripatetic Politician," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 25 (Autumn, 1959), pp. 301-312. For other citations see Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 19, Footnote 14.

Delahay were the best of friends. Mr. Delahay was very anxious for Father to become one of the Free State Delegates to the Topeka convention on September 19th. The convention was to meet on the 4th Tuesday of Nov. This convention was held for 16 days and adopted the Topeka Constitution.³¹

Father came home, but he had to live in hiding for fear of being shot down like they were doing around Lawrence, Kansas Territory. At that time the Governor was a Proslavery man and he would not help the Free state men at all, so they were in constant dread, and whenever Father came home he had to come in after Dusk and leave before it was light

I recall one time he came in and went to bed sick. He left his Horse with a Neighbor that lived up the creek from our home a half a mile away. They had a secret stable in the woods where Father kept him. The next day he was not able to get up and was in bed up stairs and as mother and sister Martha were sitting there a man rode up to the Door and threw the reins [reins] off of his Horses neck and he walked in and asked mother to fix him some Dinner. So Sister Martha went to fixing it for him. He asked mother where that Damd Abolitionist Husband was and that he had the Knife, and he took out of the scabrt [scabbard] and sharpened on his whet stone and sayed that was to take his heart's blood wherever he could find him.

Mother spoke up; she sayed, Julia, you and Willie take the children up stairs. We went up, took the 3 sisters up stairs. Mother told this man that she last hear from Father he was either at Grasshopper Falls or gone to Topeka. She told it in a way that the man could not deny her, but when we got up stairs Father had heard all that had been sayed. He sayed, Now you will have to protect me as I am too sick. Willie, you get your gun—it always stood behind the closet door—and Julia you get that ax, and Father sayed, Now if that man starts to come up stairs, Willie you shoot, and Julia, if Willie misses him, you hit him with the ax, for he might decide to search the House.

But mother talked to him while he was Eating and after he got through he looked around and sayed, I see something I can make use of. That was Father's Leather saddle bags. He took them down and sayed, When ever that Damd Abolitionist comes in we will be on the Look out for him and we will fix him as we are gone to

31. Isaac Cody was elections officer and returns judge at the election that ratified the Topeka constitution on December 15, 1855, and he was a member of the Topeka legislature, recorded as voting on 47 of its 50 roll calls during its sessions March 4-15, 1856.—*Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 13, pp. 166-235. It does not appear that Cody was a member of the Topeka constitutional convention.

kill ever one of these Abolitionists until we clear this Territory of them; and then he left. Mother had not told him only what was so; that was the only thing that kept Willie and I from having a little war with that Border Ruffian; otherwise some of us might have been killed. We had to be on the watch all the time when ever he was home.³²

That fall of 1855 Father and Mother took me down to Leavenworth to stay with the General Manager of the Big stores. I stayed with them and worked for my Board and went to School. Mollie Delahay and I seen each other every day. I would go after work, stay all night with her. They lived just out of Leavenworth. We always had a good time. Our Teacher was a Mr. McAppie [J. B. McAfee?] He was a Preacher; he taught school and Preached on Sunday in part of his House. The winter sooned passed. I would go out home every month for one Saturday. Willie would bring my Pony in to ride Home. The Border Ruffians were not so bad in the winter as summer, so Father could come home oftener, so we were all glad of that.

When spring opened up Father had our little Farm put in corn so we had the corn Field very close to the House. He was going with New Homesteaders and getting them Located on Farms, and he took sister Martha out and she filed on a homestead near Grasshopper Falls. In March I had to leave school and go home to help with the work as there was so much to do. I had to do the milking and help Willie with the chores & &. Willie and I had good times going after the Cows and then shooting at a mark, and taking the Pony team we would go down to the Timbers and get wood. Often we would meet those Border Ruffians and they would ask us questions where our Father was & &, and we would meet the Friendly Indians, especially the 2 Indian boys that went to school. They were always Friendly with Brother until they were grown to men; then the Kickapoos were moved out in to what is Decotas

That winter Father stayed out to his mill and had taken our cows out there, all but 2 cows. As the spring came of 1856 Father Ventured in, bringing several men with him, and always well armed in case of an attack by the Border Ruffians, as they were beginning to come in from Missouri by Bands, so they were determined to drive us out if possible. But as mother would say, We will stay until they kill us. The spring of 1856 brought our war and there we had plenty of it. Father was home and he

32. Slightly variant accounts of this episode appear in Cody, *Life*, pp. 51, 52; Cody, *Autobiography*, pp. 14, 15; Wetmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24. They name the assailant as Sharpe, a justice of the peace.

thought as long as he had a good pasture near, we better bring our 6-8 cows home. He told Brother and I to get on our Ponies and go out and bring them in, so we got started and got out in the afternoon. That was the longest ride I had ever taken, and Willie would ride so fast, when we got to Dr. Northrup's home I was worn out. Mrs. Northrup put me to bed. I could not get up. But by the time they got the cows and calves in, in a few days, we started back.

We only went half way and stoped at Mr. Lellie's,³³ as they had corrals, and when we stoped Willie went to speak to Mr Lellie—we knew them all. Mr. Lellie sayed it was all right to stay, but they would be a little noisy as their Daughter Daissy was to be married that night. They took me into the house. Mrs. Lellie and their Daughter Anna, my age, took me where I could change my riding habit for my dress. We carried my things in a war bag tied on back of my saddle. Soon after we eat supper the crowd began to come to the wedding and Daissy went up into the Loft up stairs, as they called up a ladder on to the Kitchen then on to a Loft room.

Mrs Lellie told me to stay with Anna, and Willie with the Boys. The Boys did not get into the house to see the wedding. They looked in the Window. I was with Anna; we seen all that was going on. They only had one Big Main room, the shed or Lean to Kitchen, and the attic room, but every thing but Chairs and benches was in the Big room. They cooked and Eat in the Kitchen, but that was the way most of the homesteaders lived in those days. This was a good big house to what some of them had. When the crowd got there, the missionary Preacher and the Groomsman came.

They went up the Lader to this attic room to see Miss Daisy and pretty soon we seen them come down. Poor girl, she did not know how to be helped down that Lader, as she was so accustomed to runing up and down it alone. I can't begin to describe her Wedding Dress. As near as I can remember it was of Lawn with large Flowers in the goods, a [w]reath of artificial Flowers on her head, with her Beautiful, long, black curls down to her wa[i]st. I thought she looked pretty gay. He was Dressed with a pla[i]n white shirt, dark pance [pants], no Vest. He looked pretty plain to me. They went into this room through the Kitchen, and Mrs. Lellie took us 2 girls with her. We thought it was a big fine wedding.

33. It might be Lillie; one wonders if in any way related to Gordon W. "Pawnee Bill" Lillie.

After the service 2 Fiddlers came in, and the Preacher; there must of been 50 there, all the homesteaders around the country, and they began to dance. We girls watched until Mrs. Lellie told us we would have to go to the Barn Loft to sleep as she had made our bed in the hay. We were in one end of the Loft and the Boys in the other end, and we slept as sound there as if we were in a bed in the House. In the morning we went into Breakfast. The House was all fixed up, and Anna asked where Daisy was. Their Mother sayed she had gone with Guy to his place. Anna sayed, Why did she do that? Her mother told her she was his wife now. Anna sayed, I am not going to leave home when I get married. They all laughed at her.

After breakfast Willie came in and asked them for his Bill for staying all night. He payed the Bill and we started off with our cattle, 7 head of cows & calves. We got home before dark and Father was looking for us. Some of the Cows knew they were coming home. Father & Mother sayed what good Children we were to help them so much.³⁴

They told us of how the Border Ruffians had been sending word to the House what all they were going to do. Father had several Familys that were waiting for him to take them out and Locate them on Homesteads, so Father did not stay long after we got home. When he left we had a man & his wife to do the work and so he had a good garden and got the water, and the woman took the housework off of my hands, so Willie and I had more time to ride and look after the stock. That suited us. We went down to Leavenworth for the mail, and shopping for mother.

As the wild Burrys began to ripen we would go pick strawburries first, then to the Timber for Goosburries, then rasburries & Blackburries; then in the fall wild plumbs, crabapples, grapes. So all summer we could get plenty of wild fruit and everything was nice. The corn got 6-8 feet tall, and all kinds of Vegetables we had plenty, and thought Kansas was beautiful if it was not infested with those Pro-slavery men. But they seemed to want it. One can see why.

Well, that summer our Neighbor Mr. Harney(?) was Putting up hay for the Government, and he had about 25 men working in the hayfields, and mother had spoken to some of the men that came

34. And well they might! It is an amazing commentary on the Border War that at its height, a girl 13 and a boy 10 should make a 30-mile trip unaccompanied, with an overnight stop coming back, to fetch a few cows. Apparently it was taken for granted that the Border Ruffians did not make war on women and children, as, of course, the incident of the knife-wielding Sharpe also shows. Few parents nowadays would send children of these ages a half mile away after dark.

from their camp to get milk. She told them how many Threats the Border Ruffians had maid so they sayed, In case they molest you just hollow to us; as their camp was not far from our House. So one night we heard a wagon coming towards the House and they were all Drunk and hollering what they would do. Mother lit the Candle and was at the Door as soon as the men were. They asked for the Damd old Abolitionist; that they were there to take him. By that time we children were calling for the men in the Haycamp. Mother called to the men and told them that her Husband was not there, though he would be there soon, as Jim Lane's band were on the way. The camp men hollowed, We are coming strong, and fired off their Guns. So the Border Ruffians threw something out of their wagons with a bump. and they started off faster than they came, and the men went back to camp, and we children and the man & wife, down stairs. We took the Lantern and went out where the wagon was. We found a 25 pound keg of powder which we found out later that they had bought it at the settlers store to put under our House to Blow us all up, but we were too quick for them.³⁵ They told it at the store that Gen. Jim Lane's company was there, so they waited for another time.

They heard later that Cody would be at home soon and they put men on Guard around of a short distance to catch him when he came in, and one of the Free State Neighbors came in and told Mother she must get word to Mr. Cody not to come now, as they intended to kill him as soon as they could get Eyes on him. Brother Willie was sick with the ague, and had just had a hard chill. He heard this Neighbor say to get word to Father. He got up and sayed, I am going to warn Father. Mother sayed, Why, son, you are sick and can't go. He sayed, I am going. Julia, get Prince and saddle him, and, Mother, you write a letter to Father, for I can go better than anyone else. And Mother sayed, Willie, where will you put the letter? He sayed, Give it to me and I will put it inside of my stocken before I put on my Boots.

So Mother wrote the letter to Father, telling him of the men a few nights before, and not to come home now as they were watching the House all the time. By this time Willie was ready to start. I had his Pony ready for him to get on, so he sayed good by and he was off. He did not start off fast as he was too sick, but as he went he felt better. He got out 8 miles to Stranger Creek, a stream he crossed. As he was crossing in the stream, he glanced

35. See, also, *Cody, Life*, pp. 50, 51; *Wetmore, op. cit.*, p. 25, for slightly variant versions.

up stream and seen a camp and he heard one man say, Oh, Boys, that is the Damdbd Abolitionist Boy. Let's go for him. Willie heard that and as the men in camp had to go get their Horses and saddle them, Willie thought that will give me time to get up the Hill and I will give them a chase.

So when Willie got up on the Praree he looked back and seen several men riding for dear life. He started out and they would gain on him, then he would start faster. He thought of Mr. Hewette's³⁶ big gate at his Farm. He thought if I can only keep ahead of them until I can get there, I will be all right. That was 9 miles from Stranger Creek and the wind was blowing and he was so sick he wondered if he could make it. His hat had blown off but he dare not stop as they were only a few hundred yards of him. When he got to the gate, and as Luck was on his side, he rode in and up to the House. He seen the Border Ruffians going back so he was safe. The men were just coming out from Dinner. Mr. Hewette came to him. He sayed, Why, what is this, Billie?³⁷ He told him about the Border Ruffians watching our House and Road for Father, and he was going to tell Father he must not come home now. Mr. Hewette went to take him off of his Horse. He sayed he must go on, but Mr. Hewette told him he had seen Father that morning and sayed he would not go home until the last of the week, and he told Willie he must rest his Pony or he would kill it, as it was about ready to drop now. Willie was so sick he had thrown up all over his Pony and the Pony was white with Fome.³⁸ He put a man to walk the Pony around until it was cool enough to clean it and take care of it, and he took Willie in to the House and told Mrs. Hewette to take care of Billie and she washed and bathed him and layed him down, gave him a Drink and he was asleep in a few minutes and then when he woke up his Headach had gone and she gave him something to Eat. Mr. Hewette came in to see how he was and told him that Prince his Pony was all right now and that he could go all right to see Father as it was only 8 miles from Grasshopper Falls. This happened in the summer of 1856 and in 1876 Mr. & Mrs. Hewette Told me of it just as I have wrote you.

They gave him one of their Boys hats and he thanked them and

36. In the several times this name appears it seems to be Hughit, Hughet, Hewitte, or Hewette. Possibly this was Harvey J. Hewitt, listed as a farmer in Grasshopper township, Jefferson county, in the 1860 federal census.

37. Mrs. Goodman does not miss the point that while her famous brother was always Willie or Will at home, he was always Billie or Bill to everyone else.

38. This nauseating detail seems to take all the press agency out of this story, about which some doubts have been expressed. Mrs. Goodman strips it of all false heroics, leaving it nevertheless a pretty heroic act for a sick little boy.

he rode along the rest of the way. Father seen him coming. He went to meet him. He feared the worst, but when he gave Father the letter and after he read it, they sayd they would not go home but would go over to Lawrence and see Gen. Jim Lane.³⁹ So they started next day, and we at Home were all wondering why we did not see Willie coming back, or some word from Father. The time went 10 days before we got word. Mother was worrying for fear they had both been killed. One night 2 men rode up and asked to stay all night and told they had just come from Jim Lane's Camp, and Mother told them of Willie going 10 days before that to notify Mr. Cody not to come home, and she had not one word from them. The 2 men told her that her Husband and son was with Gen. Jim Lane Company when they left that morning, and Little Billie, as they called him, was having the time of his life shooting at the marks with the men; he seemed to be the winner of them all and wonderful Boy he was, and that Mr. Cody was making speeches all the time, and he was a big man among them, and for Mother not to worry as they were all rite there, so Mother felt relieved to know both Father and Willie were safe with Friends.

So one morning I went to milk the cows, and as I cept my Pony in the same carrel with the cows, to my surprise my Pony was not there, had been stolen out, so I was left without anything to ride for the cows, or go to the store, or anything. We felt all broke up, but nothing to do about it, so we had to do the best we could, for that was the way we had been treated. They had stolen several of Father's best Horses, and they stole all of Father's machinery, such as mowing machine, rakes, and everything; took our small wagon and Plow. That left us without anything, and now there was a company of the Border Ruffians that had organized and called themselves the Kickapoo Rangers,⁴⁰ and they were a bad company to steal everything. It had become 2 weeks since Willie had left Home and we all thought something had happened to him until these 2 men came and told us about them being with Gen. Jim Lane and we were relieved.

It was not long until Father and Willie came in, along in the Night. We were all glad to see them, but was afraid to have Father

39. James H. Lane, former Democratic lieutenant governor of Indiana and political opportunist, marched his "Army of the North" through Iowa to Kansas in the interests of the Free-State cause, and was in and around Lawrence from August 1 to September 14, 1856. His fight with a Proslavery band at Hickory Point on September 14 apparently took place after the Codys had returned home.

40. The Kickapoo Rangers, named presumably for the Proslavery town of Kickapoo and the former Kickapoo Indian lands where the Codys lived, was a Proslavery militia charged with the destruction of Delahay's press, and with the brutal murder of Capt. Reese P. Brown of the Free-State militia.—See Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 20.

at home as they were watching. The House was long watched, as there was a hight just west of the House and any time we looked up there we could see men and horses with saddles on. The men would get off of their horses and lay down. We had a wonderful pair of Field Glasses that Father had brought with him from Iowa and they came in good use to watch these Border Ruffians.

Soon after Father and Brother got home Father had been so exposed by laying out in camp he took the quinsy (?) and was so sick, and did not dare lay in bed in the House so we took things out in to the Corn Field and made him a bed. Mother maid a skirt and put a big cape and a pastbord sun Bonnet on him so he looked like a woman from this hill where those men watched. He was sick for 2 week, and Neighbor Dr. Hathaway came after Night to see him and give him medisen.

While he was in that condition he desided to go down to the Fort. So, when he was just barely able to walk, by going around he could keep in the Corn Fields, and Willie and I would go down the main Road. Father carried his stick for a cain with a white Flag on it, so when he wanted to let us know, he would raise that up, and then we would look up and down the road to see if we seen anyone coming; then one of us go into him and take him water or something to Eat. It took him 3 days to go 4 miles to the Fort: 2 nights he layed down on the Ground to sleep. We would carry his quilts and blankets from one place to the next, and the third day he got within one mile to one of our good Free State Neighbor. The Border Ruffians let some of them [alone] as they were not so outspoken as Father was. That was why he had to suffer as he did.

When I went down to Leavenworth Mr. Delahay told me that my Father and he had talked it over, and Father had told him he might go East. So he gave me some letters for Father to take with. One letter was to Abraham Lincoln, if he got into Chicago.

When Father got to Mr. Lawrence's (?) we knew he would be all right, and we went back and took the Bedding home. We felt relieved to think he was safe. In a few days Mr. Lawrence came over to see Mother and tell her about Father. When they got down to the Fort they went to see the Quarter master and Father asked him what the Government intended to do about Protection the Free state Homesteaders. He sayed they did not intend to do anything; for Him to go home and attend to their own business. After Father heard that he told Mr. Lawrence that there was a



William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody with children on the show lot.
Photo courtesy Fred B. Hackett and Don Russell.



"My Father Stabbed," was the title of this sketch depicting the Proslavery assault on Isaac Cody, father of Buffalo Bill, in Leavenworth county, September 18, 1854. From *The Life of Hon. William F. Cody* . . . (Hartford, 1879).



William F. Cody
(age 4)
Photo courtesy
Ed Bartholomew.



Julia Cody Goodman
(1926)
Photo courtesy
H. S. Cody.

Steam Boat down at the landing, and he would go down and get on it and go to Cleveland, Ohio, and Visit his Brother Joseph and get more Emigrants to come and settle in Kansas. So he went and Mr. Curen (?) came to tell Mother where he had gone. He was very Poorly all the way on the boat until he got to Cleveland. Uncle Joe met him and took him to his home and got a Dr. and he was sick for several days.

Uncle Joe and Aunt Elvira were so good to him and, his mind relieved, he got real well, for him, but his wound would never be well; the stab he got from this man Dunn the first Fall we went there, 1854. But he got able to go around and see where he had lived in his younger days, and he seen sevrall of his sisters that was living around the old Cody Homestead on Euclid ave. I was shown the old Home in 1919 when I visited cousin Lindus Cody, my dear cousins, and I was glad to of seen where my Father had lived in his young days.

While he was there, the National Convention was to be held in Chicago, and Father and Uncle Joe went to it, and there Father met Abraham Lincoln and gave him the letter from Mr. Mark Delahay from Leavenworth, and Mr. Lincoln was glad to hear from his friend Mark Delahay; they had been Law Partners in Illinois. They had several talks together and he had Father to tell them at the Convention how the Free State settlers were treated in Kansas Territory. That was at the time of the organization of the Republican Party and after it was over and they Nominated Fremont & Dayton for the Presidency, but they were not elected, but Father went out speaking in behalf of Kansas, getting emigrants to go to Kansas.⁴¹

So he was gone 2 months, but he had Interested Hundreds to go to Kansas, and they began to flood into Kansas. The Border Ruf-fians were getting more quitte [quiet] as they did not watch our House, but the Last thing they done was to steal Willie's Pony Prince. One of the Kickapoo Rangers stole it so we were without a Pony, but this Mr. Lawrence let Willie Take one of his, so he could go after our cows and for use. Mother would go with some of the Neighbors to Leavenworth when she had to.

When Father got home we were all glad to see him. He was not well, but much better than he had been. When Willie told him about them stealing Prince with Tears in his eyes he told Willie

41. Mrs. Goodman makes several blunders here. Lincoln and Delahay were never law partners. The Republican national convention that nominated Fremont and Dayton was held in Philadelphia in June, 1856, before Isaac Cody went East. That he met Lincoln in Chicago at a political meeting, however, seems probable.

he should have another. But as it was getting in the Fall, these Border Ruffians bands wanted to disband, so the Kickapoo Rangers put up Notices on the Fences and Trees that anyone who had Horses in their Camps could have the same by coming on such a day and claim them and get them. Willie seen the man putting these up. He ran to the House with one of these circulars and told Mother he was going after Prince. Father had gone out to locate several Familys, but Willie told Mother he would go. Mother asked him how he was going. He sayed walk of course; he sayed he would ride home. So he started acrost the Fields. By going that way it was about 6 miles to the Kickapoo camp.

He got there and began to look in the stalls for Prince. When he came to where he was the Door was closed and locked, but he whistled and spoke to Prince, and he answered back. He was Tied in his stall, so he walked down to where the captin of the Company was. He sayed. Good morning, Capt., and took out of his hand one of these circulars. He sayed, When I read this I came to get my Pony. Young man, can you Prove you have a Horse here? he sayed. Yes, sir, if you will send a man up to stall 10 and open the Door and take that rope from around his neck, I will show you.

The man opened the Door of the stall, and Willie began to whistle and Prince heard him. The Horse he whinered and Willie whistled again. Prince kicked up and maid a jump and started for Willie and got to him and began to fondel around him as much as a person could. The Capt. seen this. He sayed, That must be your Horse. How will you take him home? Willie sayed Just give me my Lariyette they took with him, and they handed him a rope. He put it around his neck, then a noos around his nose, and he bent his knees so Willie could jump on him. He turned to the Capt. and thanked him for letting him have his Pony. The Capt. sayed to his secretary, Take this young man's name and address down, and when he gave his name, William F. Cody, Salt Creek, looked at it and maid the Remark that he was a Bright Boy of 10 years old and they wished him success through his life. In after years Willie met this captain and they became very good Friends.⁴²

Well, Father got these men settled on fine Homesteads, and they cept coming all winter and by spring 1857 he had Hundreds of Familys from Ohio & Illinois settled on these Homesteads, and in April we had our House full and tents put up in the yard and this Family had come up the Missouri River and the Children had con-

42. Another example of the amenities of "Bleeding Kansas." John W. Martin, who had been a member of the Lecompton constitutional convention, was captain of the Kickapoo Rangers at about this time, and possibly may be the one meant.

tracted scarlet fever & measles, so there were 4 that died, and it cept the men bussy digging Graves and making Coffins to put these little ones away.

It was a rainy time, and my Father worked out in the Rain, and one day after they had layed away a beautiful little girl of 6 years old, Father came home with a chill, and Mother put him to bed and called Dr. Hathaway, and he told mother his lungs had contracted, and to send to Weston, Missouri, for another Dr. and mother sent for Uncle Elijah to come and bring a Dr. He came, but the Drs. held a consultation but sayed there was nothing to be done as he could not live long. He passed away on the night of the 4th day, so we were left without a Father, and an invalid Mother, and sister Martha was out to her claim, but mother sent for her. She got home the night Father Died, so when Uncle Elijah attended to the Burial, and looked after every thing it took lots of the responsibility off of mother. Father was layed at the Cemetery near Leavenworth City. It was called Pilot Knob, a beautiful place, and when we went home and the Funeral was over, Mother would say to William and I that she was glad his God has taken our Father rather than to have him shot down as he had been threatened by the Border Ruffians. He was at rest now.⁴³

Now Brother Willie and I would get out together and plan what he must do to help take care of Mother and the 3 sisters and little Brother Charlie, as Father had so often told us that in case they should kill him what we must do, but of course mother did not know that we had both Promised Father what we must do for the Family when he was gone. So we were prepared for the worst, and we went to work to do as we had Promised Father.

As Mother sold Father's Big Team so then we only had one Pony. Mother sayed she would sell one of the Cows and he could buy a Pony to Drive with Prince, so she did. Then we had our team and mother rented the Farm Land that was fenced and gave up 2 rooms for the Family to live in, and then Martha went back to her claim, and Willie and I cept things going. Mother got these renters to fence the rest of the Farm Land, and in that way, when the lines were straightened, our House was half way acrost the Farm and so the Military Road was too far from the House. They had to open a gate to get into it, so we did not get the traders to stop with us, and Willie sayed he was going to get work.⁴⁴ I of course

43. Isaac Cody died on March 10, 1857.

44. She seems to imply here that there had been some profit in keeping open house for passing travelers, and that they had been running a sort of hotel until they fenced themselves off from the Military road.

done all the House work, as Mother felt she could not afford to hire help, and so all of the House work fell on me. The Girls would go bring the cows, but I done most of the milking, and got the water; in fact all of the heavy work. That summer all the Family had sore Eyes but me, and they had to stay in a Dark room, but every thing went along as well as could be expected.

After Willie's Eyes got well he went and hired to one of the Neighbors to Drive one of his ox teams with Hay. He was hauling his hay to Leavenworth to sell it, so Willie stayed with him several weeks at 50 cents pr. day. Then when he was through with that job he came home and brought his money and gave it to mother.

Then he told mother he wanted to go down and work for Russell, Majors & Waddell,⁴⁵ so he and mother took the Pony team and went down to Leavenworth, and as Mother done her bying in the Company store and Mr. Majors was waiting on Mother, he cept pulling on to mother and Mr. Majors sayed to Mother, What does the Boy want? Mother sayed, He has been saying he wanted to come down and go to work for your Company. Mr. Majors sayed, What can you do? Can you ride a horse? Willie spoke up and sayed that he and Mr. Russell had run Races when Mr. Russell came out in the Valley, so Mr. Majors sayed, Mrs. Cody, if you want him to go to work we will go in and talk to Mr. Russell, so they went into the office and Mr. Majors told Mr. Russell what young Billie Cody wanted.

Mr. Russell turned to Willie and asked him if he could ride as Express boy from there up to the Fort as they were talking of putting one on to take their Telegraph messages to and from the Office to the Telegraph Office at the Fort, which was 3 miles, as there was no Telegraph office in Leavenworth yet. Willie sayed he thought he could do that so they maid a deal, and Mr. Russell told Billie where to go and stay, and where to get a good mule, and to report at 8 the next morning. So he was there. Mr. Russell asked him if he knew where the Quartermaster's Office was. He sayed he did. Well, now, here is the message to take there, and bring back any answers, and go and come as quickly as you can. Billie sayed, Yes, sir, and went out, got on his mule and off. Went up and done his business and got the answers, walked into Mr. Russell's office, and as Mr. Russell turned around and seen Billie, he sayed, Why, Billie, have you not gone yet? He sayed, Yes, sir,

45. The Leavenworth partnership was organized as Majors & Russell, one of several affiliates of the company made famous by the Pony Express.

here are your answers. He took them and sayed, Why, Billie, you must not ride all my mules to death. Billie sayed, No, sir, I will not. He stayed there, his first job, for 2 months and was too confining for a Country Boy.

He had seen John Willis,⁴⁶ one of the wagon bosses that just got in from a trip. When he seen Willie he found out what he was doing, John sayed to him to ask Mr. Majors and Russell if he could not go out with him and heard the cattle. So Willie asked them and told them he was tired of Town and wanted to go out with John Willis and herd cattle. They sayed he could go. So he went, and they were only about 8 miles from home and he would ride over often. He came home with a revolver strapped around him and felt big. John Willis had given it to him. He stayed with John until they wanted to take the Oxen acrost into Missouri for the winter, so he came home.

Soon after Father died our Uncle Joe Cody came out from Ohio and came out to our House. He had brought several men with him and they went out to Grasshopper Falls and bought up lots of Farms. Uncle Joe bought 200 acres, a family Farm, maid his Residence, then built a house, and the next winter he went to the Legislature and [eventually] got the name of Grasshopper Falls changed to Valley Falls, and the Grasshopper stream changed to the Delaware and he maid himself very popular and was well liked.⁴⁷ He Built a good farm House and the spring of 1858 he brought out our aunt, his sister, Mrs. Sophia Cody Billings to keep House and cousin Lydia Billings. We were glad to have some relatives in Kansas.

Sister Martha was married the spring of 1858 and Willie did not approve of the wedding. She married a Mr. John Crain.⁴⁸ He was a carpenter. They went to Leavenworth. Our cousin Lucinda Cody Conyers, and Uncle Elijah Cody and Family, his wife, Aunt Margaret, and Daughter Doris, a little girl of 4 years [were there].

The fall of 1857 cousin Lucinda had Mother to let me come into Leavenworth and go to school. I went and stayed with her and worked for my board and she had 2 little boys, one 4, Elijah Cody Conyers, and the baby 1½. His name was Allie Conyers ⁴⁹ and they

46. John R. Willis.—See Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-32, 41.

47. Joseph Cody was also editor of *The Grasshopper*, a short-lived newspaper published at Grasshopper Falls, beginning June 5, 1858.

48. Crane in Lydia S. Cody, *The Cody Family in America*, p. 35, where the wedding date is given as February 7, 1858.

49. Albert R. Conyers, *ibid.*, p. 69, where his birth date is given as January 22, 1857, but Julia seems more likely to be right and the date should be 1856.

were good to me, but Cousin Lucinda was no worker so the work fell on me, as she was a young woman that had always cept maids and she did not have any mercy on others that could work. So I found it pretty hard to go to school and keep at the house work, and take care of the 2 little Boys. So when Martha was married I went out to the wedding, and Poor Mother was so poorly I sayed I was not going back to school as I knew Mother needed me more than Cousin Lucinda did. I had brought my clothes home with me and I did not go back, and Poor Mother cryed, and I asked her what she was crying about. She sayed she did want me to get schooling so much, but she knew she needed me too. I sayed to Mother, I am not going to leave you again if I never get any schooling. So I went to work and insisted on Mother resting and she would say, My dear, you are my treasure for you do the work so good and never make a complaint about anything. She would say, If it was not for you and Willie I could not live and keep you children together.

Willie and I would talk it over what we had Promised to Father to take good care of Mother and the other children and we sayed we would do it if we never went to School and we cept our word. Willie would say, As we are Mother's 2 oldest and sister Martha gone, now we will show Mother that we can do it, and we never faltered in trying to do what we had promised Father. We went on with the work. I would tell Willie of how nice it was to go to School the few months I had been, but thought my Duty was to stay and take care of mother. So I never spoke of school.

When the spring days came, Mother rented the Farmland and they put in Garden for us all, and I took care of the cows and told Mother I would let Mrs. Bucher have milk and butter for the vegetables. So in that way we got along, and Mother found a young man that had come to take up a claim. He was staying with us. He told Mother he had been a School Teacher in Illinois, so mother sent Willie & I around the Neighborhood to see if they wanted a School. As there was a man who had left his claim with a cabbinn on, so Mother found they could get this cabbinn, and she got 15-18 pupils at 2 dollars per month for him. He sayed he would teach and Mother boarded him, and we sent Willie and Eliza and Helen. Of course I had too much work to go, for I would have to have Dinner ready for the 3 children and the Teacher and do all the work. I was cept busy for a 15 year old girl. The school went on nicely for several months and Willie learned fast, and he would tell me all he learned, the same way as I had told him when I was in

Leavenworth the few months before. So we cept even as to going to school.⁵⁰

I don't think there ever was 2 children that had more Responsibility than we did. We never complained of it. The School was started and Mother started Willie, Eliza, Helen. Mary was 5 year and Mother sayed if she wanted to go. She sayed she would always want to go. So I of course could not go, as there was no one to do the chores and House work. I done all of the work and washing, ironing; in fact all that was done. As the children took their lunch, so I only had to get Dinner for Mother & myself, so I got along very well for a girl. So several months the school went along nicely, and Willie was making nicely learning for his age, and not any more advantages than he had had. He was 12 years old that February.

In August he was having a fine time helping the girls build their Play Houses out of sticks and stones. There was one of the girls, Mary Hiatte [Hyatt], who Willie was verry fond of and he was helping her build her Play House and one of the Boys that was 14 year old, Steve Gobel, and he thought it would be fun to get Willie mad. He would tear down the Play House as fast as Mary & Willie could fix it, until Willie could not stand it. He sayed, Now, Steve, I want you to let the girl's Play House alone. Steve spoke to Willie, saying, Who are you and what can you do about it? Willie sayed, Now I just warn you that if you tear this play House down again, Tomorrow I will show you what I will do. So no one at home knew anything about what he was doing, but the next day he put his sharp Boie [Bowie] knife down into his Boot leg and at Recess they all went out to Play, Willie Helping Mary with her Play House. Steve came around and began to Kick it down.

Willie sayed, Now Steve, you know what I told you yesterday. Now I will tell you again that if you tear it down again it will be dear for you. Steve sayed, You Little Big Brag, you can't do anything. Willie sayed, I will show you if you try it again. So Steve ran up and gave it a kick and just as he was kicking it, Willie pulled out his Boie Knife and stabled him in the calf of his leg, and Steve hollowed. Blood was runing pretty freely.

The School Children all began to scream and cry. Some one ran into the School House to the Teacher. He came out and called to

50. From this statement it might be deduced that Billie was quite as capable of writing an autobiography as Julia and that his original manuscript might look much like hers, including its grammar, spelling, and punctuation. Comparison with one surviving manuscript by him, and with many of his letters, bears this out. It is my opinion that he did write his first autobiography, and that much that is characteristic of him can be read through the extensive editing it obviously had.

Willie to come to him, but instead of Willie going to the Teacher, Willie went up over the Hill to where he knew that John Willis was camped with his ox Train ready to start out for old Fort Laramie. Willie told John about the Trouble he had with Steve Gobel. John sayed to Willie, Come get on here behind me and we will take those other Boys and go down and clean out that hole school, but Willie begged him not to. They looked down toward the School House. They seen 3 men riding towards the camp. John hustled Willie into a wagon and he was ready for the 3 men when they rode up and asked for that Bad Will Cody.

John Willis wanted to know who they wanted and every thing about it. It was Mr. Gobel, Steve's Father, and the constable, and another man. They sayed they wanted to get Will Cody as he had started up that way. John asked all kinds of questions; how and what his son Steve had done to Will that Will should stab Steve. The Father only knew one side, just what Steve told. John Willis told them that he had been in the West and knew there was always 2 sides, and he asked to show him the Papers that showed what right they had to arrest a Boy of 12 for just playing. They could not show any Lawfull Papers, so John Willis told the constable that he better get his Lawfull Papers before he tryed to arrest a Boy of 12 years old for just play, and John Willis told them that if they did find Willie that he would give them a chance to find out that Will Cody was in the Right whatever he done, and if they wanted any trouble, to just try to arrest Billie as they would all fight for him.⁵¹

So the men rode down to our House to Find from mother where Will was, but she sayed she had not seen Willie since he started to School in the morning. The School children and Teacher only sayed he went down and crost the creek was the last they seen him. Mr. Gobel told mother of their going up to where one of the Big Ox Trains was camped up on the Military Road, and all the Wagon Boss had to say, so they did not dare to search the wagons. But Mother knew that John Willis was camped up on the Road, as he had been to our house a few nights before.

So after the 3 men left, saying they would be back in the morning, Mother and I decided that Willie was with John Willis, so after supr I looked out and seen John Willis and Willie riding in. They came and talked to Mother, and John sayed, Now, Mrs. Cody,

51. Years later, in 1897, John Willis wrote to Colonel Cody of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and no one will be surprised to discover that Willis had become county judge of Poinsett county, Arkansas.—See Stella Adelyne Foote, *Letters From Buffalo Bill* (Billings, Mont., 1954), p. 46; Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31. Mrs. Goodman spells Steve's name as Goble, but Cody, *Life*, pp. 53-55, makes it Gobel, which seems more likely.

to save any trouble for you or for Will, you just let him go with me, as I need one Extra man, and I will take good care of him, and he shall sleep with me. After a long talk Mother gave up for him to go with John Willis. That was in August and they were to be gone until the last of Dec. and I got Willie's clothes and bedding, and he bade us all good by and went away with John, and How Mother did grieve for Willie. I said, Oh, Mother, this is all for the best for Mr. Gobel would make lots of Trouble & Expense for her. After he was gone we all felt relieved to think our Neighbor Mr. Gobel would soon forget it all, and Steve soon got over his stabled leg, and every thing was all right and we all forgot it.

So the time went on, and Emigrants came into Kansas, so we had lots of people at our House all the time. In the Fall Mother had our Farm all fenced and that left our big Log House a Quarter of mile away from the Military Road and Mother thought of 40 acres of our Land laying acrost the Military Road. She Disided to sell that, and Build a House on the Military Road, and she did sell it to the man whose Land did not come to the Road. It helped him out, and gave Mother the means to build our new House. About this time Uncle Elijah was living in Leavenworth. They had a store there, and Uncle Joe was living at Valley Falls. We seen them both quite often. In November we got letters from Sister Martha. They had moved to Johnson Co., Kansas. Martha told us she was sick, and it was not long until a messenger came ahead on Horseback to tell us that Mr. Crain was coming with her remains. Brother Willie had not got home yet. This was in November, 1858, and it was a great shock to us all. She was layed beside Father at Pilot Knob near Leavenworth, and after the Funeral her Husband went back to Johnson Co. and in December we had word that Brother would be home soon as the mule Trains Came faster than the ox.⁵²

When Willie was getting near home he got so restless he told the Wagon Boss that he could not wait, for the wagons were going too slow, so the last day but one, he told John he was going to start out on foot, and he walked 25 miles, and when he got on top of the Hill just above the House he began to whistle and call our Turk Dog. I happened to be out and I heard him call, and Turk started to meet him, and they were both so happy to see each other, and then I got to him, and then the 3 sisters were all coming to meet him.

We got to the House and Mother was so happy to have him back

52. Mrs. Goodman is specific in denying the story told by her sister Helen Cody Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts*, pp. 55, 56 (G. & D., pp. 57-60), that Will denounced Crain over Martha's grave at the burial.

as he had been gone since August, and Oh, how Dirty he was. The first thing Mother done was to have him strip, and cut off his long hair, as he was covered with the Bugs of the Plains, the worst you ever seen.⁵³ We had to burn all his clothes, but in a few hours Mother had him changed into our Beautiful Brother, only he had grown several inches in 4 months, and he sayed he was so hungry for something good to Eat, as they only had hard Tack, Bacon and black Coffee for weeks, and I fixed him a good supper. He sayed, Oh, Julia, that is so good. Mother sayed, Willie, you must not Eat so much; it will make you sick. He laughed and sayed that good things would not make him sick. It was what you did not have made you sick.

Mother told him of sister Martha's Death; he only sayed, I am glad she don't have to live with that man Crain, and he never grieved for her as he had a terrible dislike for the man, and it proved as Willie sayed. He was a bad man. He was a Bigamist. He had come to Kansas from Penn. and had left a wife and Family, so after we heard this, Willie would say, I told you he was a bad man. Will asked about Steve Gobel. Mother told him all about that there was; that Steve was all right.

Was no school this winter. Willie and I would take the Pony Team and go to the Timber and get wood. That saved Mother from highering [hiring] it. Mother and Willie took the team and Willie went in to get his money. He gave it all to Mother and he had several Dollars in his Pocket that the men had given him. The winter soon passed, as Willie and I spent lots of our time in Hunting, and with our Turk dog we would bring in lots of Rabbits, squarls and Prairie chickens, and had Traps to catch Quaill, as there was lots of them and we enjoyed getting them.

Now Mother was making arrangements to put up the New House over on the Military Road. Since the Fence was built everyone that came into our House had to come through the Gate, but they came just the same, so we had our House full at night. I had plenty to do. Willie would help me with the Choers, all but the milking. He sayed he was not going to ever learn to milk, and he cept his word. Mother had let the Contract to have our 17 room House Built, and Mother had to Board the men, and of course that work fell on me. There were from 12 to 18 men for a while working on it, and besides the Travelers we had, I had something to do. How I ever done it I can't begin to say.

Brother had a chance to go out again, and he told Mother he could

53. Details omitted in more romantic versions of the West.

do more for her to go out with Mr. McCarthy as he was just ready to start and they wanted an Extra man. They Traveled until they got out near the South Platte River, and they were in among the savage Indians, and they could see the Indians off a Distance. Mr. McCarthy told the man to see their guns were all loded and to keep near the Bank of the Platte River, and the men were scattered along, and Willie was behind them. The moon began to shine. He could hear the tramping of the Indians up on the Bank, and he heard shots and grones as if some one was hit, and Willie happened to look up and could see the war Bonnet of an Indian, and Willie could see he was coming towards him, as he was behind the Party, so he took aim and then he heard him come tumbling down the Bank.

The men heard his gun and they turned and went back and they sayed to Willie, What have you done? He sayed he heard a Noise up on the Bank and could just see the Feathers, and he sayed then he shot. He ran and some thing fell down. They sayed, Why, Billie has killed his first Indian, and they took his gun and war Bonnett and went on down stream until they reached Fort Kearny, and there the Government sent out soldiers to find as many of their cattle and any of their men they could, and the rest of our Party was sent back, and Willie came home for a few days to see how the New House was coming.

Then he seen Lue Sampson [Lew Simpson], who was getting ready to start again. He told Lew Simpson he was ready to go. They left for Salt Lake City with a Load of Provisions for the Trading Posts. They had lots of Trouble with the Mormons and they had their hole Train taken from them. They only gave Lou Simpson [*sic.*] one wagon with some little Provisions & their Blankets, and they Burned all the Wagons after Taking every thing out of them. They had to start back to Leavenworth afoot, but a Government mule Train came along from the West, and they got in with them and came back home.⁵⁴

We were glad to see him as we were getting ready to move into the Big House, and Willie sayed to Mother, How many of the Wagon Bosses do you want to Board there this winter? Mother

54. Lewis Simpson's wagon train was burned by Mormon militia under Maj. Lot Smith on October 4, 1857, the year of the "Mormon War." Here Mrs. Goodman's usually accurate memory for dates played her false, as her dating places it in 1859. However, Billie did return home with a wagon train captained by Lew Simpson early in 1859. He had gone out in July, he says (Cody, *Life*, p. 85) with Buck Bomer's wagon train to Fort Laramie, and then took supplies to a new post, Fort Wallach, obviously Camp Wallbach. As Camp Wallbach was occupied only from September, 1858, to April, 1859, this trip can be dated definitely. Cody's dating also is confusing. My tentative solution is: the runaway trip with Willis in August, 1857; the trip with Simpson in the Mormon War definitely was ended with the burning of the train on October 4, 1857; they went to Fort Bridger for the winter, and Billy Cody was remembered there by Pvt. Robert Morris Peck, 1st U. S. cavalry. The trip with McCarthy and killing of the first Indian then was early 1858; and the trip with Bomer later that same year.—See Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-39.

sayed to me, Julia, how many do you think you can cook for and take care of? I figured up the bed rooms and sayed, I think 6 regular. Willie began to name the ones he wanted, John Willis, Bill Hickok ⁵⁵ or Wild Bill as he was called afterwards, George Rose, Lew Simpson, and he sayed others he thought he could get, and so after we were moved and all settled he and a Friend had talked it over and decided they would go into the Trapping Business for the winter.

So his Friend, Dave Harrington, bought a yoke of oxen, wagon, and their Provisions and started. They got out about 200 miles. They struck a stream. They camped and decided that would be a good place, as there seemed to be plenty of Beavers, so they built a dug out and covered it with Grass and bush and Dirt. By building a dug out on the side of a hill, it made it easy. They put up a fire place and there was plenty of wood and they had their Traps all set, their oxen in a corral, and they were ready for Business and Their Prospects looked good, and right after they had gone to bed, they heard a commotion and they got up and Dressed and went out to see. There was a Big Bear in the corral Killing one of their oxen, and Dave shot at the Bear, and the Bear left the ox and was turning to Dave, and Willie with his Gun in his hand shot at the Bear in the Dark the best he could, but he hit the Bear and he fell to the ground Dead. Then they went to the ox, and found he was so badly hurt by the Bear they had to finish him, so they were left without a Team, but they decided they would bleed the ox and leave it until morning, then they would skin the ox and put it up for meat, and they would also skin the Bear, as he made them a big Bear robe. The next morning they found they had some as fine Fur animals as there was in the country, and while they cept their Traps bussy, and they were getting a great many, and they were beginning to count what they were making on the skins the time they had been there.

One morning while going the rounds of the Traps they spied a big herd of Elk Grazing around, and both were anxious to get a shot at the Elk, and aimed at the Biggest ones as Willie Sayed, Now, Dave, we will have some fine meat, and they were crossing the creek, Willie slipped on a stone and a stone slipped and came down on his Leg, and as he went to step his foot just dangled around. He called to Dave his leg was broke and it hurt so bad. When Dave got to him he sayed to Dave, I am no good now, you just shoot me

55. Mrs. Goodman's first mention of James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok. Cody says he first met Hickok with the Simpson (Mormon War) train.

now. But Dave laughed and sayed he would not do that, but would carry him to the hut. He sayed, You know you saved my life from that big Bear, so I will take care of you, and Dave sayed, I think I can fix your leg, as I learned a little about surgery. So he went to work setting and binding up his leg, and then putting him into the Bed.

They talked over what they thought would be for the best as long as they only had their wagon and one ox. They knew they could not get away, and they now had a big load of Pelts and Furs in their Dugout.

So the next morning they knew that Willie could not move for several weeks, so Dave and Willie had decided that Dave would make Willie as comfortable as Possible and Dave would go to the nearest Ranch which was over 100 miles, but Dave set to work getting plenty of wood chopped and brought in, so Willie could have it handy, and then he fixed a string with a stick; on the end he had a tin can so he could put it through the window and reach the snow. In that way he had plenty of water, and then he left Willie to go 100 miles to the first Ranch to get a pair of oxen, and Dave started after he gave Willie orders to not try to use his foot until he got back, and he left Willie there. In a few days he hobeled to the fire to fix him something to eat, and he had a stick, and every morning he would cut a notch in the stick, and he read what few Books he had.⁵⁶

Mother had given him a little Bible and he told us he read that all through and some other Books, and it was a long time, but nothing else could be done, and on the Twelveth day I was asleep I felt my shoulder touched, as my first thought was Dave, but on looking instead of Dave it was a Sioux Indian in war paint. His first thought was, now this is my last, and the Indians in their war paint, as they were on Warpath, and they cept coming in until the Dugout was Packed, and there was one stately old Brave came in. He worked his way to my Bunk. He was the main chief, and he came clost. As one of the Chiefs asked him in Sioux language what was the trouble, he answered, his leg, and showed it to them. He looked up and Reconized one Chief Rain-in-the-Face, who I had often seen,⁵⁷ and I talked with him and he Reconized me. I had almost lived with him and his boys. They had taught me the Sioux Language. I Showed Rain-in-the-Face and told him my Trouble, and asked him to let his war men spare my life. After while he told

56. One of a very few references to Cody's reading books.

57. At Fort Laramie the previous winter. This was not the Rain-in-the-Face of the Custer fight, but presumably his father.

me my life would be spared but the Indians would take my Provisions and guns, and in fact most everything I had to Eat, but the old Chief Rain-in-the-Face pointed to the remainder of a Deer hanging up. They took most everything in the Dugout, even to all of my matches. I was glad when they finely left.

I managed to keep the fire burning so I got along without matches, and now was to manage to spread out what rashons that was left. I was getting in Despar as the days was numbering up to 20, and the snow still coming down, which I knew that would Delay Dave Traveling, so I feared my time was coming, but cept up courage. It was now in the twenty-ninth day. I had about given up hope. I heard a cheerfull Shouting, Whoa, Billie. Now soon I reconized the Voice of Harrington. He then Holler, Billie, are you all right? I assured him I was, but the snow had Drifted up against the Door so hard that it took Dave some time to get it so he could get the Door opened.

Dave was happy to find him all right. Now for to arrange to Pack up their Pelts and Furs, and in a few days they were ready to start. It was a slow progress, as the snow was deep, and oxen are such sloe Travelers, but with Dave a big strong man they made their Trip of a Hundred miles, and Willie was now where he could give his Leg proper attention. He had it Dressed, and Dave got him a pair of crutches, so his Leg Improved fast, and when they sold their Hides and pelts, they payed for their Team, and then they Decided to come on home to Salt Creek Valley.

We were all happy to hear his Voice, but all so sorry to see him walking with crutches, and to hear of him having a Broken Leg, and we heard about Mr. Harrington; Mother and I could not thank him enough, and Mother invited him to make his home with us, so he did. They sold their oxen and wagon, and it was not long until Willie could lay by his crutches, with Mother for his Nurse, and we sisters all to wait on him, as we always did. And with Dave Harrington we 3 had a good time until spring opened up, and Dave decided to Rent our Farm and stay and farm it, so you can imagine a fine young man of 23 and like I of 16, but it only Proved to be a little Flirtation. Before the sumer was over I found so many that looked nicer than Dave did, and that winter we had 6 to 8 of the Bosses of big outfits, so young men were so plentifull. I liked them all the same, and I treated them all alike, for our Poor Mother was so Poorly that I could not see how she could get along without me, for the 3 sisters would rather play than work and stay in with Mother.

So I made up my mind I must do as our Dear Father had sayed to Willie to take care of Mother and the Family after he was gone, so that was in Willie's and my thoughts, and how often we would talk it over, and tell each other what we must do. Willie would say he would go out on the Planes and do the work and be with them.

Soon after Willie's Leg was well we stayed at home as long as he could, and this was the year that the Pony Express started, and he hired to go out and Ride the Pony Express, and he made the longest Ride of any of the others.⁵⁸ They sayed he was the youngest one and the Lightest and swiftest rider, and seemed to understand the Country, and the Rouffians, and how to handle them. He stayed several months.

This was about the Time that Abraham Lincoln was campaigning the west, and he visited our Friends Col. Mark Delahay; he and Mr. Lincoln had been Law pardnrs in Ill., and that day I happened to go Down to Leavenworth on Horseback to get the mail and do some shopping. When I rode up to Mr. Delahay's their daughter Mollie came out to meet me and to take me into the House. She and her mother both sayed, Oh, Julia, we are so glad you came in today, for we are going to have Mr. Lincoln here for Dinner. I sayed, Oh, I just can't stay for Dinner in this costum, for I had just put my riding habit over a gingham Dress. Mrs. Delahay sayed to Mollie, You run acrost and get Julia one of Maria's Dresses, as Maria and I were the same size, and Mollie was tall and thin; I was short and stout, but Mollie got a pretty white Dress for me, and I stayed and Eate Dinnr with Abraham Lincoln, which I have always been proud to tell. I was late getting home, and Mother was beginning to worry about what was keeping me, but when I told her she was so glad, for she sayed he was to be our next President, and as we all thought he was, and I was so glad I got to see him and to tell I had Dined with; and that was 1860.⁵⁹

When Willie got home Mother coaxed him to go to school, as we had a good Teacher that Fall, and the Neighbors had Built a New school House. We only had a Missionary Preacher about every 2-3 months, and Mother had services at our House whenever he

⁵⁸. Cody himself did not claim the longest Pony Express ride.—See Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

⁵⁹. On December 7, 1859, Lincoln wrote in the autograph album of Mary (Mollie?) Delahay: "Dear Mary, With pleasure I write my name in your Album— Ere long some younger man will be more happy to confer *his* name upon *you*— Don't allow it, Mary, until fully assured that he is worthy of the happiness— Dec. 7, 1859. Your friend, A. Lincoln."—Carl Sandburg, *Lincoln Collector: The Story of Oliver R. Barrett's Great Private Collection* (New York, 1950), p. 154. This probably was the date of the dinner in the Delahay home.

came, and when Willie got home and found that the Preacher was there; while he was out on the Planes they called any Preacher the sky pilot, and he would liked to of made fun but for the Risk it for Mother. He would only tell me the funny things the Planes men would say about them. But he finely Desided to go to school and the Teacher, Mr. Valentin Divinny was a good teacher and Willie learned, but as Mother was so poorly I could not leave her as I had all the work to do. That meant no Education and several times Mother's Friends wanted to take me and send me off to school.

I remember the sumer after Father Died there was a cousin, Darwin Cody from Cleveland, Ohio; Uncle Joe Cody had brought him out to House and he did not want to stay in Kansas, and he wanted Mother to let him take me back to Ohio, and he sayed he would put me in Oberlin school. Darwin was 21 and I was 14. But Mother sayed she could not spare me. Then another time a Friend of Mother's Family from Philadelphia, an old gentleman and a retired Coln., Lyons; he had never married and he took a Notion, he told Mother, he would adopt me, and would Educate me and make me his heir, but the same reason; Mother could not spare me.

Then after Abraham Lincoln was President, he made his Friend Mr. Mark Delahay U. S. Judge, and Judge Delahay & Mrs. Delahay was going to send their Daughter Mollie to Monticello, Ill., and they came out to ask Mother to let me go with Mollie. They told Mother if she would let me go, they would hire a girl to do my work. But Mother had the same Excuse. As you see, it was not for me to have an Education; only to work and take care of the House and Family.⁶⁰

Time went on and Spring was coming, and Brother Willie was getting restless. During the sumer of 1861 a company was being formed. They were known as The Red Legged Scouts. They all wore Red Legged Boots, and so Willie told Mother that he had promised he would not go to war, and as this company was to co-operate with the Regular Army along the Borders of Kansas and Missouri and to protect the Kansas People against such as the Quantrill and James Band & Younger Brothers who were doing many Deperdating, Robing & Burning the Farmers out, and so they were the ones that Burned the Town of Lawrence, and the Red Legged Scouts were just as busy as they could be in trying to keep the Gurrellias from Disturbing the Kansas Emigrants, and they Traveled all along the Kansas line, and down as far as New Mexico,

60. Mother deserves a word here. In a letter to friends in Iowa on August 28, 1859, Mary B. Cody wrote: "Willie is one of the smartest and best of boyes. . . . he is dissidely the brightest of the family. Julia is good some times I think she could do better." The last sentence is unpunctuated, but probably she intended a semicolon before, not after, "some times."

to the Old Santa Fee Trail, where the Indians was getting pretty bad." ⁶¹

So when ever he left home we did not know whether we would ever see him again. When he was as far as Santa Fee, they stoped there to rest for a few days, and there brother met Kit Carson, and he asked Willie to go to California with him, but Willie told him of Mother's Poor Health and he promised her he would not go far away as they might call him back.

The Red Leg Scouts stayed out all sumer, and in the Fall he came home, only making short trips away from Home as our Mother was still getting weaker, and with the money that Willie Brought Home and gave to Mother was a great help. He stayed home that winter and went to school most of the time, only when the Scouts sent for him to go out on a Scouting Tour. Then he would be gone for several days.

Uncle Joe and his wife had gone back to Cleveland, and Uncle Elijah had taken his wife and Daughter Paris had gone to Pikes Peak, or Denver as it was called afterwards. That was the last time we seen Uncle Elijah as he Died a few years later, and as his oldest Daughter Lucinda Cody Conyers still lived in Leavenworth, we saw them often. They had 2 sons, Elijah Cody Conyers and Allie Conyers.

The spring of 1862. In the spring Willie found that the Red Leg Scouts were going out in western Kansas to keep the Indians from killing all of the white homesteaders, so they were cept bussy all sumer.

In the Fall he came home to see mother as she was growing weaker, and I sayed to Willie, You know you won't stay Home here with me. What do you think I better do, as we both know that Mother can't live long, and have you thought of my living here in this Big House without a man to protect me and these 3 young girls? He had not thought of that, and he began to think, and he sayed, It seems like you better get married and have some one to help you, as I can't think of staying at home. As I began to mention the names of Diffrent young men he would say, No, you do not want him; and I spoke of several and he found something about him that he did not like. Al Goodman was then living just acrost the Road; he rented the place, and was a Industrious young man,

61. Billy's commander in the Red Legged Scouts was Capt. William S. Tough (also Tuft, Tuft, and Tuft in some records) who was pretty much guerrilla himself, although the organization was originally sponsored by Gens. Thomas Ewing and James G. Blunt. It was entirely home guard, with no federal recognition. However, Billy's trip to Santa Fe was as guide for the 9th Kansas cavalry under Lt. Col. Charles S. Clark.—See Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-60.

and one that did not Drink or use Tobacco, a good steady young man, and Willie sayed, Julia, he is the one for you to take.

But Willie left on one of his Trips, and Al came to our House every day, and when he began to talk to me, I sayed, Now, Al, whenever I get married it will be to a man that will be willing to help me to care for Mother and these 3 sisters and 2 Brothers, and I would tell him to lets Talk Business, not love, for my marrying was a Business Proposition, and so he promised he would do just as I sayed, and then we told Mother, and Mother sayed she was glad that Julia was marrying a young man that would stay and help her, and then she began to talk over just what she wanted done when she was gone. So on Dec. the 22, 1862, we were married.

Brother did not get home until after we had been married. I had wrote him and so he was prepared to meet us. He took hold of Al and I together and sayed, Well, Al, I am glad you are my Brother, for little Charley is too small to be a Brother. You are just rite, and they were True Brothers as long as they both lived.

That winter we stayed with Mother, and it did seame so nice for me not to have to go out and get wood and do the milking &&, and when Willie was home they worked together in such love and unity, and Mother seemed to get some better, but we knew she could never be well, and in the spring we hired a girl to do the work for Mother, and Al and I went to live in the old log house.

The spring of 1863 Al worked the Farm, and was with Mother most of the time, and Mother had Al to take her down to Leavenworth when ever she wanted to attend to Business. Willie had gone out with his Scouting Co., and he was there when I seen Mother was getting so bad. Al and I was with her most of the time. I happened to see a man going out to the Company. I wrote Willie to come home at once. He got home about a week before the day Mother passed away. That day she called the 3 sisters, Willie, little Brother Charlie, Al and I, and she told us just what she wanted each one of us to do. She told them she wanted I & Al to be the Gardians for the 5 younger, and to be cept together as long as they could. She had made all her arangments with John C. Douglass of Leavenworth. He was her Lawyer. So every thing was signed up, as she had her Business all aranged, and on November 23, 1863, Mother left us. Lord bless her dear soul; one of the most loving and Devoted Mothers that ever lived.⁶²

That winter we were all living in Mother's Big House, and Willie

62. Cody says he "engaged to conduct a small train to Denver for some merchants," and was in Denver when he received Julia's letter.—See Cody, *Life*, p. 135.

sayed to Al a few days after Mother was layed away, he sayed, Well, Pap, now I must ask you when I want anything. Well, he says, now I want your Permission to go and Inlist in the Army. In January, 1864, the seventh Kansas Volunteers came to Leavenworth from the south. Al and Brother went down and Willie told Al he wanted to Inlist in that Reg., so Al signed his Papers as his Gardian, and he was to go get his uniform, and he came out all Dressed in his new Blue suit, and he did look handsome. We were all so Devoted to him. We all grieved to see him go, but he was very happy.⁶³

Then Al took him back to his Company, and he was put in as one of the Scouts or Spys, and he Traveled all through the South. Would love to tell all he done, but would take too much time.

Now as to my 3 sisters, I and Al desided that they must be in school, so the Fall of 1864, we took them to Leavenworth and got in, and on Feb. 6 our first son, William Alvin Goodman, was Born. We had the 3 girls in School, onely little Brother Charlie at home with me, and the Fall of 1864 all the militia were called out, so Al had to go, and Price's army was starting for Fort Leavenworth, and as Al was leaving to go with the militia we thought best the 3 girls were home with me, so he brought them home, and as the Union army did not let the Rebel army get there, so Al was only away 6 weeks, and the girls all went back to school, and things went on as usual.⁶⁴

When Brother had been gone a year he got a Ferlo to come home, and was a pleasure that was for us all. But the time was too short, and the sisters all came out for a Reunion. and soon they were all gone, only sister May, the youngest, did not want to stay away from home. She would not stay long at a time.

The summer of 1865 Brother Charley took very sick, and Al wired to Willie, and he got a Furlow and he came home, and Brother Charley Died in Oct. 1865, and he had never been a strong boy. We were sorry to give him up, but everything went along until sister Eliza found a man she wanted to marry, so in Sept. 1865 she married Mr. George Myers. He had a home to take her to, and then sister May went to live with her.

63. Cody tells a quite different story of his enlistment: "I had no idea of doing anything of the kind; but one day, after having been under the influence of bad whisky, I awoke to find myself a soldier in the Seventh Kansas. I did not remember how or when I had enlisted."—*See Cody, Life*, p. 135. One wonders sometimes if Cody did not build up his drinking reputation with tall tales. He enlisted on February 19, 1864, and was assigned as a recruit to Co. H, 7th Kansas cavalry, Capt. Charles L. Wall, and served until September 29, 1865. For his campaigns and services *see Russell, op. cit.*, pp. 61-72.

64. William F. Cody and the 7th Kansas cavalry were active in the repulse of Maj. Gen. Sterling Price's 1864 raid into Missouri and Kansas.

Then in the Fall of 1865 Willie was Discharged, and he came home from the army, so things were getting quieter, only the Indians were bad in the west, and Willie went out with a Government Scouting Party, and he stayed out west until March, 1866, and then he came in, and told Al and I he was going to St. Louis to marry his Missouri Girl, and he went. On March 6, 1866, he married Louisa Frederici, and brought her to Leavenworth. He tried to content himself, but could not, so when the cool days came he was determined to go west. He left his wife and sister Hellen or Nellie as we called her. They were living in Leavenworth, and he went west.

Then he went to killing Buffalo for the Kansas Pacific R. R. in western Kansas, and he was out in western Kansas and he led the commands across the Planes, and he became Chief of the Scouts, and he led commands into the Indian country, and he got to Fort McPherson, Neb., and he was stationed there in 1867 and his wife and little Daughter Arta was in St. Louis, Mo., with her Parents when he was stationed there. He sent for them to come out to Fort McPherson. There was where he was made a Justice of the Peace, and they elected him to go to the Legislatur to Lincoln, Neb., and while he was there he won his Title of Honorable W. F. Cody and also Buffalo Bill.⁶⁵

While he was living there and in 1867-8 he done scouting around in Nebraska and western Kansas. They had their home in the Fort McPherson, and he wrote for Sister Nellie or Helen to come up there to make them a Visit. While she was there she met Mr. Alec Jester, and so she stayed there 6 months. While she was there he wrote for Sister May to come, and she also met her Future Husband, Mr. Edward Bradford. He was working on the Union Pacific R. R. as it was being built through that country then.

The summer of 1868 [winter, 1872] the Grand Duke Alexis made his Visit to America, and Brother showed him how to kill Buffalo, and that was when E. Z. C. Judson or Ned Buntin [Buntline], a Play writer, advised Brother to leave the Planes and go on the Stage, and he went and made a big success of it, but he was still in the Government service, and the year of 1868 [1872] he went to

65. Julia's summary of her brother's career is hasty and superficial. He was Democratic candidate for representative from the 26th district in 1872, and early returns showed him victor. However, one county's returns had gone astray; his opponent filed a contest, and Cody failed to go to Lincoln to claim his seat, so was declared loser. By that time Cody was busy on the melodrama stage in Chicago.—Louis A. Holmes, former president of the Nebraska Historical Society, dug out the details; see his article in *The Westerners Brand Book*, Chicago, Ill., v. 14 (February, 1958), pp. 90, 91, summarized in Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 191.

Chicago and sent his wife and their 2 children to St. Louis and sister Nellie & May both came back to Leavenworth.⁶⁶

Soon after that Sister Nellie was married to Mr. A. Jester and a year later May married Mr. Edd Bradford, so my mother's Family was all settled, and we had 3 children, our 2 boys and one girl, Elizabeth, born 1871. And now Brother was with his Theatre and making Big money, and we living where we started, Salt Creek Valley, Kansas. In 1874 Uncle Joe Cody and Aunt Elvira came to visit us, and they wanted Al and I to go out to Valley Falls and open up his Big Farm. So the spring of 1875 we moved out, and Al took charge of it, and they stayed with us. Their daughter was Josephine, now Josephine Cody Bentley (Mrs. Fred W. Bentley of Chicago). They all 3 stayed with us. We had our 4 children, another boy, George Cody Goodman, Born April 14, 1874, and I was glad to go where we had good schools & Churches for our Family. It was 2 years after we moved there Uncle Joe had went back with his Family to Cleveland, and the year of 1878 Uncle came back and spent a short time there. He was very Poorly when he left to go back, and that winter he Died, the winter of 1878-9, and Aunt Elvie & his Daughter Josephine Cody lived in Cleveland. Aunt Elvie Died in '94 or 5.

The year of 1885 Brother wanted us to go to North Platte, Nebraska. I had a daughter, Josephine Goodman, Born March, 1876, and Henry J. Goodman, Born 1878, and Finley A. Goodman, Born Sept. 1880, in Valley Falls, Kansas, and the year 1885 we moved to North Platte, Neb., and Al opened Brother's 3,000 acre Ranch. He called it Scouts Rest Ranch, and while living there Brother had started the Wild West Show the year of 1883, and was doing big Business in 1885, and he had the big 15 room Ranch House Built, and the Big Barn had the name of Scouts Rest Painted on the Roof. They could Read it a mile acrost the Ranch to the U. P. R. R., and while living there I Entertained from Royalty to Cow Boys, and there was old Scouts there all the time

We lived there until in 1892 we were called back to Kansas.⁶⁷ Our Daughter Elizabeth was married to John Williamson and went

66. Ned Buntline met Cody in 1869 and wrote a Buffalo Bill serial story that started in Street & Smith's *New York Weekly* on December 23, 1869. After Buffalo Bill gained national attention on the hunt of the Grand Duke Alexis in January, 1872, Ned Buntline wrote two more dime novels, converted one of them into a melodrama, and persuaded Cody to take the part of Buffalo Bill on the stage in Chicago in December, 1872. While Cody spent two summers as army scout between stage tours, he was not "still in the government service" during his stage tours.

67. Julia is silent on her brother's domestic difficulties. During this period Cody and his wife Louisa or "Lulu" were estranged and Julia and Lulu were not on speaking terms. Lulu wanted as ranch manager Horton Boal, husband of their daughter Arta, and he took over when Al Goodman quit because of poor health and returned to Kansas. Cody persuaded Al and Julia to return in 1895 but Al quit again in 1899 and died in 1901.

back to Oskaloosa, Kansas. She lived there until in 1898 she Died and left 2 children, Julia Mae Williamson and Alvin Goodman Williamson. While I was in Kansas in Cowley Co., our son Walter Frank was Born Sept. 1892, and in 1893 our 2 sons were in Denver. Our son William was married in 1888 to Anna Howard and in 1889 his wife Anna Died and left a baby Daughter 16 months old, and we had went back to North Platte the year of 1895, and when Willie's wife Anna H. Goodman Died, I took little Latolia G. home with me from Denver, Colo., and our Willie went to North Platte with me. He stayed there. Our sons Eddie and George both went to Denver in 1890. They were both in a carpet and curtain Store there. We cept Latolia until Willie married Lola Byrkit in 1893 and they took Latolia. Willie and Lola had 3 children, Josephine, Archibald, & Alice.

We left Scouts Rest Ranch and moved to North Platte as Al's Health was very bad the year of 1899 and he grew worse and Oct. 1901 Alvin Goodman Died.

Brother had now started the Town of Cody, Wyoming. Our Eddie was with us, George was in Denver. Willie had moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma. Josephine was teaching school there. Henry & Finley were there working, and our Walter was 7 years old.

Brother was in the East with his Wild West Show, and that Fall when he got to North Platte, after he stayed a few days he went out to look after his Corral he was building near the Town of Cody. When he came back from Cody he came to me and sayed, Now, Julia, I am Building a Big Stone Hotel, and next sumer when it is finished you must take little Walter and go out there and take charge of it, for when you can run a Big Ranch House with 20 of my Guests and that many Ranch Hands, you can run a Hotel. So the year of 1902 he sent me word to go to Cody, but I was to go by Denver, as he was to be there with his Wild West Show then. He was on the Road from April until November of every year. He traveled all over the United States, showed in every City over Ten Thousand Inhabitants.

The year of 1887 he made his first acrost the ocean to London. There he was received by King Edward who was Prince of Wales at that time. He was taken by Prince of Wales to see Queen Victoria, and the Prince of Wales took his Family to see the Wild West Show, as Brother had Royal seats built and trimmed in their Collors.

Our son Eddie, he was 18 when he went with his Uncle, and he had charge of the Grandstand seats, and a few days after the Prince and his Family were there and they all sat in the Royal seats, and

on this day the Princess of Wales⁶⁸ came to the show with her Escorts, and they bought their Tickets and went in with the crowd, and the Party of 6. As Eddie was passing Programs he Noticed them setting in the Grand stand. He went back and told his Uncle where they were setting. When he Rode out he went just in front of them and lifted his hat and Bowed Direct to them, and then he sent Eddie to ask them if he could not Escort them to the Royal seats. The Princess thanked him, and she told Eddie to thank the Col. and tell him that they were there to see and not to be seen, and when Eddie told his Uncle what she sayed, then he told Eddie to go ask her if she and her Party would not like to go to his Tent after the performance. She told Eddie she would be delighted, so his Uncle sent him to tell the manager of the Dining Tent to have his Table be trimed with the Royal Collors, and gave his orders that there should be no loud talk, and for everyone to stand until after she came in, and they were all seated at his Table, and Eddie sayed it was wonderfull to see 600 People of all classes and Race of the world to Obey his orders to a dot.

After that he was invited to the West minster Abbee to meet the Queen, and she asked him if he could bring a Representation up in her Court to show her what the Wild West was. The Prince of Wales and Brother aranged it, and one morning Brother took his Band and some of Every part and gave Queen Victoria a miniature Wild West Show.⁶⁹

After that he Dined and went to all of their Entertaining he could. He was admitted to Court, and was never an American that was treated by the Royalty as he was, and after he came home there were doz. of the Royalty that Visited Scouts Rest Ranch while I lived there. As I have often sayed, I Entertained at Scouts Rest Ranch from Royalty to Indians and Cow Boys. It was a wonderful Ranch of 4,000 acres.

We lived there until Al Goodman's health gone, and then in 1901, as I told before, he died and I went to Cody in 1902 and ran the Irma Hotel for several years, and then I built myself a Boarding and Rooming House, and my Daughter Josephine Goodman Thurston was with me. In 1907 my Daughter Josephine Goodman was married to Harry Wheaton Thurston, and in 1908 George Cody Goodman was married to Anna Bond in Monmouth, Ill., and I took

68. Later Queen Alexandra.

69. Queen Victoria attended a command performance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West at its regular arena in Earl's Court on May 11, 1887, and again at a performance for the Queen's Jubilee guests on June 20. It was in 1892 that a special performance, such as is described, was given for Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle.

my son, Walter Frank Goodman, to Lincoln, Nebraska, put him in School. In 1907 my son Eddie Robert Goodman married in North Platte, Neb., to Grace Sheldon Bratt, and Henry Joseph Goodman married Ella Janette, and in 1909 I sent my son Walter F. Goodman to Kearney, Neb., to the Military Academy for one year. In 1910 I went and met him in Lincoln. He took a trip through Iowa, Kansas, and back to Lincoln. He stayed there until 1917 when he graduated, the same spring, 1917, that my Brother passed away, Jan. 10, 1917, in Denver.

I was with him for six weeks before he died. Our sister Mary Cody Bradford had married Louis Decker in Cody, Wyoming, a few years before. Louis Decker is a Grandson of Sophia Cody Billings. His mother was Sophia Billings Decker— his grandmother was our father's sister, and Mr. Decker's uncle Horace Billings was the circus horseman who taught Brother Willie to ride.

Sister Mary Cody Bradford Decker has one son William Cody Bradford. Sister Nellie, or Helen Cody Jester Wetmore, had one Daughter, Mary Jester Allen.⁷⁰ She has one daughter Helen Cody Allen. My son Walter Frank Goodman married Clarice Breece in Lincoln Dec. 8, 1917, as he was ordered to war, and when he left for overseas his wife went back to Lincoln. He left March, 1918, and came back June, 1919, ordered to Fort Russell, Wyoming. He enlisted in the regular army as a cavalry officer. In 1921 on Sept. 26, Walter's 29th Birthday, their first Child was Born, Walter Frank, Jr., and Walter is now living in Honolulu.

This is as far as I need to go, and there may be some part of this History may have to be Rectified some, but this is as near as I can remember, and remember my mother telling me.

Signed this April, 1926, Julia Cody Goodman, at 121 East Beacon St., Alhambra, Calif.⁷¹

70. For many years in charge of the Buffalo Bill Museum in Cody. She died in 1960.

71. Julia Cody Goodman died on October 26, 1928, in Honolulu, while visiting her son there.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART EIGHT

1835

☐ January 17.—The printing of 1,000 copies of Isaac McCoy's 52-page *The Annual Register of Indian Affairs Within the Indian (or Western) Territory . . . January 1, 1835*, was completed at Shawnee Baptist Mission, by Jotham Meeker. (McCoy had turned over his manuscripts to Meeker on December 15, 1834, and the printer had started typesetting the next day.)

In this pamphlet McCoy described the state of civilization of each of the native and emigrant tribes of "Kansas"; listed the names of leading chiefs, of government employees (interpreters, blacksmiths, etc.), and of missionaries; also he gave some information about each mission. In format, and content, this first (of four) *Annual Registers* set the pattern for succeeding issues. (See December 9, 1835, annals, for item on the second issue.)

A change among the Kansa—a move westward by part of the nation (apparently some of Hard Chief's band) to be nearer the buffalo country—was recorded by McCoy. He located this group (about a third of the Kansa) on the *north* bank of the river "about 40 miles from their eastern boundary" [in present Pottawatomie county—roughly between St. George and Wamego]. He placed the rest of the Kansa in two locations: (1) about a third on the Kansas river's north bank within three miles of the Kansa eastern boundary [Fool Chief's village]; and (2) the other third a few miles higher up, on the *south* bank [American Chief's and Hard Chief's towns]. (These were the approximate sites of the villages of 1829—see pp. 58, 59.)

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary" (for printing information). In a March 5, 1834, letter, Missionary Wells Bushnell had written: "The Konzas, since last summer, have burnt their old villages[?] & moved 8[?] miles further up the river, & are building new ones." Though inaccurate, Bushnell's statement may indicate the time (autumn of 1833?) when the removal began. (His letter is in Presbyterian Historical Society, *American Indian Missions* correspondence—microfilm, Kansas State Historical Society [KHi].)

☐ BORN: at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), on January 21, Elizabeth Simerwell, daughter (and fourth child) of Missionaries Robert and Fanny (Goodridge) Simerwell.

(On March 1, 1866, she married John S. Carter. They resided near Auburn, Shawnee county, and had six children living at the time of her death, January 3, 1883.)

Ref: Meeker's "Diary"; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, p. 260 (where the birth date is given, erroneously, as January 24); and *Topeka Commonwealth*, February 24, 1883 (in KHi "Scrapbook," v. 6, p. 46), which also gives the date as January 24.

☐ February 2.—In Washington, Rep. William H. Ashley, of Missouri, presented to the house a petition, signed by 33 eastern "Kan-

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sas" and western Missouri residents (and forwarded by Isaac McCoy), asking "that a mail route be established from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Towson [on the Red river], on which the mail shall be transported weekly on horseback." The route outlined in the petition (dated November, 1834) is summarized here:

	<i>Miles</i>
<i>From Fort Leavenworth,* through the "Delaware Settlements":</i>	
To West Port * (on the west line of Missouri; near the Shawnee Agency)	about 35
" "Wea Smithery and Mission House" (10 miles <i>west</i> of the Missouri line)	" 40
" Harmony Mission (15 miles <i>east</i> of the Missouri line)	50
" The Osage Village (five miles <i>east</i> of the Osage Agency; and 30 miles <i>west</i> of Missouri)	70
" "Requa's Osage Settlement" (within the Cherokee country, southwest of the Senecas & Shawnees of Neosho; and 30 miles <i>west</i> of Arkansas territory)	80
" The west bank of Neosho (Grand) river at (Auguste P.) Chouteau's crossing	15
" "Union Mission House"	16
" The late "Agency of the Creek Indians on Verdigris River"	22
" Fort Gibson * (50 miles <i>west</i> of Arkansas territory)	4
Thence, passing the Cherokee Agency (on the <i>north</i> side of Arkansas river)	
" Choctaw Agency (on the <i>south</i> side of the Arkansas, within the Choctaw Nation)	65
" Fort Smith * (on the western line of Arkansas territory)	7
" Fort Towson * (20 miles <i>west</i> of Arkansas territory)	120

About 524

(* At these five locations there were post offices.)

The 33 signatures on the petition (original in the National Archives; photostat in KHi) present an interesting collection of autographs. The names:

H[enry] Dodge Col. U S Dragoons	M[arston] G. Clark S[u]b.
Matthew Duncan Capt.	Agent for Shawnees & others
U. S. Dragoons	George B Clark [son of M. G. Clark]
D[avid] Hunter, Capt. U. S. Drag.	Richd W Cummins U. S. Ind
J[ames] W. Hamilton 1st. Lt.	Agent for Delawares, Kickapoo,
& Adj. Dragoons	& Kansas Indians
B[enjamin] D. Moore 1st. Lieut	William Johnson Missionary
Dragoons	to Shawnees
A. B. Duncan of Clay County	Asa Jones Farmer at Shawnee
A[sbury] Ury Lt. Dragoons	Mission
Benj. F. Fellowes Asst Surgeon	Jotham Meeker, Printer, Ind. Ter.
Isaac McCoy of Jackson Co. Mo.	Robert Simerwell Missionary to
James P. Hickman of Jackson Co. Mo.	Potawatomie
John C. McCoy P[ost] M[aster]	I[ra] D Blanchard [missionary to]
Westport Mo.	Delawares

Anthony L. Davis	Emgt. Agt	Joseph Russell	Westport
Potawatomies		Thomas W. Polke	West Port
Johnston Lykins	Supt. Ind schools	Missouri	
&c., Indian Territory		Lemuel Ford	Capt U S Dragoons
Joseph Kerr	Missionary to Weas	L[ancaster] P Lupton	1st. Lieut
& Piankeshaws		Dragoons	
Henry Bradley	Missionary to Weas	G[aines] P Kingsbury	Lt Dragoons
& Piankeshaws		Jno L Watson	Lt Dragoons
Elisha Shepard	missionary to Weas	C B Lykins	
& Piankeshaws		Thos J. Givens	of Washington Co
Robert Johnson	Westport	Mo	[son-in-law of Isaac McCoy]

(On December 16 Representative Ashley again presented the petition to the house, where it was referred to the post office and post roads committee. *See, also*, January 5, 1836, entry.)

Ref: Isaac McCoy's letter of December 29, 1834 (in McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 22, KHi ms. division); W. H. Ashley letter of January 30, 1835 (in *ibid.*); the petition (among the records of the United States House of Representatives in the National Archives).

¶ February 24.—Jotham Meeker (at Shawnee Baptist Mission, present Johnson county) printed the first number of the *Shawanoë Sun*. (He had, on the 18th, started "setting types" for this small "newspaper.") The *Siwinowe Kesibwi* (*Shawnee Sun*) was "the first periodical publication to be printed in what is now Kansas" (McMurtrie); and "the first newspaper ever published exclusively in an Indian language" (McCoy). Dr. Johnston Lykins was the *Sun's* editor.

From 1835 up to as late as May, 1842, this publication was issued at irregular intervals, and presumably in small editions. Accompanying Douglas C. McMurtrie's article "The Shawnee Sun," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2, pp. 339-342, is an illustration of the first page of a November, 1841, issue of the *Siwinowe Kesibwi*. It was photographed from the only known extant copy of this publication—a copy then (1933) in private hands, and now in the Snyder collection of the University of Kansas City library.

Ref: Meeker "Diary"; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (1840), p. 486; letter by Kenneth J. LaBudde (director of libraries, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.), June 8, 1962, to L. Barry; D. C. McMurtrie's and A. H. Allen's *Jotham Meeker* . . . (Chicago, 1930), p. 159.

¶ In a February 26 report (based on incomplete returns), Comm'r Elbert Herring listed Indian agents, subagents, and other field employees hired subsequent to the Indian department reorganization act of June 30, 1834. In "Kansas" these employees were:

Richard W. Cummins, *agent*, Northern Agency, Western Territory; Marston G. Clark, *subagent* for the Ottawas, Shawnees, etc. (but *see* Clark's resignation, p. 500); Paul Liguette Chouteau, *subagent* for the Osages; *interpreters* Joseph James (for the Kansa), James Conner (for the Delawares), Peter Cudjoe ["Cadue" in later lists] (for the Kickapoos), Baptiste Mongrain (for the Osages), Henry Clay (for the Ottawas and Shawnees); *blacksmiths* Robert

Dunlap (for the Delawares), James McGill (for the Kansa); *teachers* Henry Rennick (for the Delawares), J. C. Berryman (for the Kickapoos).

Ref: 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 181* (Serial 275). Some errors in the printed list have been corrected; also some data have been added above, to link names correctly with tribes, etc.

¶ Early in the year Marston G. Clark resigned as subagent "for the Shawanees, Ottawas and other emigrant tribes, including the Kickapoos, the Weas and Piankeshaws, the Kaskaskias and Peorias"—a post he had held since the closing of the Kansa Agency, August 15, 1834. His resignation was accepted effective March 31.

Comm'r Elbert Herring, in a March 20 letter, wrote Isaac McCoy that "The Secretary of War has determined not to fill that Sub Agency, but to attach it to some other agency." (Until 1837 Agent R. W. Cummins had the added responsibilities.)

Clark (a "Kansas" resident since May, 1829—see p. 52), returned to his Salem, Ind., home and was elected to the state legislature in August. (He had been an Indiana state senator, and a representative from Washington county, prior to his appointment to the Indian service.)

Ref: Office of Indian Affairs records (OIA) in the National Archives, Records Group No. 75; McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 22 (for Herring letter); *Indiana Historical Collections*, Indianapolis, v. 24, p. 134, v. 40, pp. 187, 189, 198, 226; William H. English's *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio 1778-1783* . . . (Indianapolis and Kansas City, Mo., 1896), v. 1, p. 34, v. 2, pp. 866, 978. When Clark first came to "Kansas" he was *subagent* to the Kansa; by a July 12, 1832, appointment he became Kansa *agent*.

¶ By April 18 German botanist Charles A. Geyer was on the "western borders of the state of Missouri," preparing for a botanical tour beyond the frontier. He later described this trip (made with only one companion) as a "journey to the Pawnee-loups Indians on the Big Nemahaw[?] and lower North Fork of the Platte river." (If his point of departure was Independence, Mo., as seems likely, or Liberty, he presumably crossed present northeast Kansas to reach the Big Nemaha country.)

The tour "turned out abortive on account of fever and maltreatment by a party of Indians." Geyer was barely able to make it back to the Missouri border, where he spent a long time recuperating. About September 9 he embarked "from the mouth of the Kansas river," on an American Fur Company steamboat bound for St. Louis. He met, on board, French scientist and explorer Joseph N. Nicolle, and Scottish traveler Charles A. Murray.

Ref: Susan D. McKelvey's *Botanical Explorations* . . . (1955), p. 660; Charles A. Murray's *Travels in North America* . . . (London, 1839), v. 2, pp. 107, 108. In McKelvey, and some other sources, the botanist's name is given as "Karl Andreas Geyer."—See *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. 41 (June, 1940), p. 184.

¶ Robert Campbell (partner of William Sublette) and a small party (including Andrew Sublette?) probably crossed "Kansas" by way of "Sublette's Trace" in the latter part of April. Campbell had left St. Louis on April 9, bound for "Fort Laramie" to transfer his and Sublette's property at that post to the fur company formed the pre-

ceding summer—the merger of Fontenelle & Drips with Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, and Bridger—to which they had sold out. He remained some 15 days at Laramie river.

On the return journey, in June and July, Campbell made successful use of boats on the North Platte and Platte to transport his buffalo robes down to Missouri; but also had a land party (which included Andrew Sublette) with fur-laden pack mules, which followed down the Platte's north bank.

At the forks of the Platte Campbell was able to avoid trouble with the hostile Arickaras then located there. On June 27 his party met the west-bound American Fur Company expedition headed by Lucien Fontenelle (*see* May 14 entry). Of this encounter Dr. Marcus Whitman wrote: "met Messrs Campbell & Sublit returning from the mountains with twelve men"; and the Rev. Samuel Parker noted: "met Messrs. Campbell and Sublette with a small caravan, returning from the Black Hills."

Campbell and the land party crossed the Missouri at, or near Bellevue, and came down the left bank to Joseph Robidoux's Blacksnake Hills post (St. Joseph, Mo. now); and continued on to St. Louis where they arrived July 15.

Ref: Robert Campbell dictation in the Bancroft Library (courtesy of Dale L. Morgan); *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 48 (August 8, 1835), p. 406; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 18, 1835; Samuel Parker's *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* . . . , 3d edition (Ithaca, N. Y., 1842), p. 47; Marcus Whitman's "Journal and Report," in *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, v. 28, p. 245; D. B. Nunis, Jr., *Andrew Sublette* . . . (Los Angeles, 1960), pp. 55, 56; John E. Sunder, *Bill Sublette*, . . . (Norman, Okla., c1959), pp. 145, 146.

¶ In the spring(?) Joseph V. Hamilton became sutler at Fort Leavenworth. He replaced Alexander G. Morgan; and continued to hold the position till 1839.

(In an 1839 letter Col. S. W. Kearny—commandant at Fort Leavenworth—stated that Hamilton had by then been sutler [and "a very bad one" in his opinion] for four years; that in May, 1839, the "Council at this Post" had re-nominated him; that he [Kearny] had objected; and subsequently he had found it necessary to discipline Maj. Clifton Wharton and the two other council officers when they persisted in choosing Hamilton. On his own behalf, Joseph V. Hamilton then went to Washington, saw the secretary of war; failed to get the sutler's post; received, instead, appointment as an Indian agent.)

Ref: *The Trail Guide* (publication of the Kansas City Posse, The Westerners), Kansas City, Mo., v. 1, No. 3 (July, 1956), pp. 18, 19 (for Kearny's letter). Though the relationship, if any, has not been determined, it is noteworthy that the post adjutant at Fort Leavenworth in early 1835 was Lt. James W. Hamilton.

¶ May 9-10.—The Rev. Samuel Parker, of New York, left his temporary abode at Liberty, Mo., and rode to Fort Leavenworth where he was a guest at "Lieut. S's" [probably Lt. Enoch Steen's] home. On Sunday, the 10th, he preached three times "and most of the people of the garrison assembled."

(Parker, and Dr. Marcus Whitman, employed by the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions to determine the missionary needs in the

"Oregon country," had been at Liberty since mid-April, awaiting the arrival of the American Fur Company's westbound caravan.)

Ref: Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32. (The first edition of Parker's *Journal* was published in 1838.)

¶ May 14.—Leaving Liberty, Mo., the American Fur Company caravan (headed by Lucien Fontenelle) moved northward—up the Missouri's left bank—en route to Bellevue (Neb.), from which place they would follow up the Platte towards the Rocky mountains, and the rendezvous on the Green river (Wyo.). With this party were the Rev. Samuel Parker, Dr. Marcus Whitman (*see* preceding entry), and, as far as Bellevue, the Rev. Moses Merrill, missionary to the Otoes.

On the 18th this party arrived at Joseph Robidoux's Blacksnake Hills trading post [St. Joseph, Mo.]; and on May 30, crossed the Missouri to Bellevue, where the missionaries remained till June 22. Cholera broke out among the mountain men on June 10—many, including Fontenelle, were stricken. Doctor Whitman's efforts helped save most of them, but at least three died.

The caravan which set out on June 21 (between 50 and 60 men, six wagons, three yoke of oxen, and nearly 200 horses and mules—each man a horse to ride, and a horse and a mule to pack) arrived at Fort Laramie (Wyo.) on July 26. There, Thomas Fitzpatrick took charge and got the party to the rendezvous on August 12 (some five weeks late). At Green river it was arranged that Samuel Parker should continue west to examine the Oregon country (he reached Fort Walla Walla on October 6); while Marcus Whitman was to return East to gather a missionary party for a station among the Indians of the Far West. (*See* October 26 annals entry.)

Ref: Marcus Whitman's "Journal and Report," *loc. cit.*, pp. 239-250; Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-86; A. B. Hulbert's *Marcus Whitman, Crusader* . . . (1936), pt. 1, pp. 89-135 (Samuel Parker's journal), pp. 146-165 (Marcus Whitman's journal—varying slightly from the one noted above); Bernard De Voto's *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947), pp. 218-238. A statement by William Clark (in "Letters Received" by the Office of Indian Affairs, letter of April 28, 1835—microfilm from the National Archives), notes the issuance of a trading license to Fontenelle, Fitzpatrick & Co. on April 21, 1835.

¶ The annual spring caravan to Santa Fe rendezvoused "west of Independence"—presumably in May. According to Josiah Gregg's compilation (in 1844) a total of about 140 men (40 of them proprietors) and some 75 wagons took merchandise estimated at \$140,000 to the southwest during 1835.

Ref: *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, v. 48 (July 18, 1835), p. 337; Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* . . . (New York, London, 1844), v. 2, p. 160.

¶ May 27.—Capt. David Hunter and Company D, (First) U. S. dragoons left Fort Leavenworth on a summer patrol. Sgt. Hugh Evans stated that Hunter's command was "Dispatched to Fort Gibson to range along the Osage boundary to keep them [the Osages] from committing depredations they are so frequently engaged in."

(The date of return is not known; but it was before September 3 when the Scottish traveler Murray found Captain Hunter in charge at Fort Leavenworth.)

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 14 (September, 1927), p. 193 (for Sgt. Hugh Evans' statement); *Iowa Historical Record*, Iowa City, v. 8 (April, 1892), p. 254 (Col. Henry Dodge's May 12, 1835, letter); 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 181* (Serial 289); C. A. Murray's *Travels in North America* . . . (London, 1839), v. 2, p. 105.

¶ From Fort Leavenworth, on May 29, Col. Henry Dodge and three (First) U. S. dragoon companies (a total force of 125), headed northward to the Platte, on the first leg of a circuit tour up that river and its South Fork as far as the Rocky mountains, and then homeward by way of the Arkansas river and Santa Fe trail. John Gantt (ex-army officer; and fur trader since 1831—see p. 183) was guide for the expedition.

Capt. Lemuel Ford, Capt. Matthew Duncan, and Lt. Lancaster P. Lupton commanded the dragoon companies (G, C, and A). Lt. Gaines P. Kingsbury was acting adjutant and journalist, Lt. Burdett A. Terrett (A. A. Q. M.) the commissary officer, Lt. Enoch Steen in charge of ordnance, and Asst. Surg. Benjamin F. Fellowes the medical officer. Agent John Dougherty was along as far as the Grand Pawnee village; and Mr. Winter's trading party (which included "Big Fallon") traveled in company beyond the forks of the Platte (losing one man—drowned in the "Grand Nemaha"—en route). Four Delawares were in the party, principally as hunters. The cavalcade included pack mules, 25 beef cattle, two small wheel-mounted swivels, and (part of the way) two flour-laden ox wagons. Captain Duncan's small wagon made the entire journey.

Crossing Wolf river (present Doniphan county) on June 1, and the "Grand Nemahaw" on the 3d, the dragoons arrived June 10 at the Otoe-Missouri village, on the Platte. Dodge held council with these Indians on the 11th; and with the Omahas (at the same camp) on the 17th. Next day the march up the Platte was resumed; and on the 21st the expedition camped near the Grand Pawnees' village. There, on the 23d, Dodge met assembled delegates of the Pawnee bands for a talk; then marched again upriver, on the 24th.

The dragoons passed the forks of the Platte on July 4, and camped some 20 miles up the South Fork. On the 5th chiefs and head men of the "savage and treacherous" Arickaras came to Dodge's camp for a council. (John Gantt had persuaded these Indians that the troops were not on a punitive expedition.) They were sternly advised to change their ways. The march upriver continued on the 6th. Near the base of the Rockies, on July 24, the dragoons left the South Fork and turned southward towards the waters of the upper Arkansas, stopping for the night of the 26th "opposite" Pikes Peak, and making their first camp on the Arkansas river, July 30th.

They passed John Gantt's abandoned trading post (Fort Cass) on August 1. Five days later, and some 60 miles down the Arkansas, they came to "Messrs. Bent and St. Vrain's trading establishment"—the recently-built "Bent's Fort" (Fort William)—and made camp a mile below it.

On August 11 Colonel Dodge met assembled Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Gros Ventres of the Prairie (also a few Blackfeet and Pawnees) in council.

(See August 12 entry for the dragoons' homeward journey.)

Ref: *Iowa Historical Record*, v. 8 (April, 1892), pp. 254, 256-265; *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, v. 6, pp. 130-146, or 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 181* (Serial 289) for Lt. G. P. Kingsbury's official journal of Dodge's 1835 expedition; Capt. Lemuel Ford's journal, edited by Louis Pelzer, is in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (March, 1926), pp. 550-579, and has also been published (with two manuscript maps of the Santa Fe trail-Arkansas river route, and additional data) in *March of the First Dragoons to the Rocky Mountains in 1835* . . . (Denver, 1957) by Nolie Mumey; Sgt. Hugh Evans' journal (which ends August 19) is in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 14 (September, 1927), pp. 192-214; "A Summer Upon the Prairie" (a narrative of the expedition, ending August 16), by "F," originally published in the *Army and Navy Chronicle* (vols. 2 and 3, 1836, is more accessible in A. B. Hulbert's *The Call of the Columbia* (Denver, 1934), pp. 228-305 (Hulbert arbitrarily assigned authorship to Capt. Lemuel Ford); [James Hildreth's] *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1836) is another source; Lt. Enoch Steen's 1836 map—one of two maps that accompanied the expedition report—has been reproduced, and discussed, in Carl I. Wheat's *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (San Francisco, 1958), v. 2, pp. 149, 150, and facing p. 157.

❧ The American Fur Company's steamboat *Diana*, which left St. Louis on May 20 to ascend the Missouri, passed along the "Kansas" shore around the end of May; and, again, on the downward journey, in the fore part of July.

The *Diana* was scheduled to go to Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone river; but despite a fine stage of water, she apparently went no higher than Fort Pierre (Pierre, S. D.) according to Kenneth McKenzie (of Fort Union), who later wrote: ". . . there was no person on board to direct the self-willed Captain & no one at Fort Pierre to enforce his proceeding to this place. . . ." However, the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* of July 16, reporting the *Diana's* return, stated she arrived "from the mouth of the Little Missouri" (much higher than Fort Pierre). Two, out of 30 persons stricken by cholera while aboard, had died.

Ref: *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, p. 63 (for items from the *Missouri Republican*); Francis A. Chardon's *Journal at Fort Clark*, edited by Annie H. Abel (1932), p. 380 (for McKenzie letter of December 10, 1835).

❧ In a letter of June 16 the Rev. Thomas Johnson wrote of a recent visit to the Kansa Indians:

I found but few of them at home. The most of the tribe had started to hunt buffalo two days before we reached the villages. These Indians live on the Kansas river . . . and have their villages on both sides . . ., but a part of the nation have removed 40 miles higher up the river, for the purpose of getting near the buffalo. I never before saw any part of the human family in so wretched a condition. They live chiefly in dirt houses. They cultivate only a small portion of ground, and this done chiefly by the women, with hoes. They do not plough. They have no fences. Their only dependence for meat is on the chase, and the deer have entirely disappeared from their prairies. They have to go 250 miles, or farther, to find the buffalo, and then are frequently driven back by their enemies; and should they succeed in finding the buffalo, if they bring any of the meat home, it frequently has to be packed by their women, for many of them have no horses to ride; and their means of support are becoming more difficult every year, for the buffalo, like the deer, are fast retreating.

Ref: *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York, v. 9 (July 31, 1835), p. 194; or *KHC*, v. 16, p. 237.

❧ July 2.—Conducted by William Gordon, a delegation of 38 Potawatamies from Lake Michigan—en route to examine the lands (in

southwestern "Iowa") assigned to them under the treaty of Chicago, 1833—passed through Westport, Mo., and took the route through "eastern Kansas" to Fort Leavenworth and its vicinity (where several hundred Pottawatomies—immigrants of 1833 and 1834—were living). Chief Alexander Robinson was a member of the party.

Congress, on March 3, had appropriated \$9,453 to defray the expenses of this tour. It may have been the end of July before the delegation reached, and began exploring, the reserve in "Iowa." (Gordon's journal of the expedition covers only the dates July 30 to September 12.) Upon returning to Chicago, in the early autumn, the delegation reported the country unsuitable, being scarce in timber, and more remote than anticipated (with hostile Sioux near by).

Ref: Isaac McCoy's "Journal," July 2, 1835; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 4, p. 791; 24 Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 348* (Serial 283), pp. 3-7, or *Indiana Historical Collections*, v. 26, pp. 265, 266; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register* . . . January, 1836, p. 20; Grant Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, c1946), pp. 105, 122. William Gordon's "Journal" (not seen by this compiler) is in the National Archives. G. J. Garaghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), v. 1, pp. 426, 427 (for reference to Chief Robinson).

¶ July 2-4.—Late on the 2nd, the Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, of Scotland, arrived at Fort Leavenworth, accompanied by his Scotch servant, and a "young gentleman from Germany" named Vernunft. Murray's objectives: to make "a tour . . . [to acquaint himself with] the manners and habits of the extreme West, and of the tribes beyond the American settlements"—as stated in his subsequently-published *Travels in North America*—first edition, London, 1839.

This trio had left St. Louis late in June; traveled upriver on the *John Hancock*; outfitted at Liberty, Mo.; and started west, on horseback, with pack animals early on July 2—crossing the Missouri in the evening. At the fort, "Lieutenant C———" [Lt. George H. Crosman, of the Sixth infantry, probably], who was in charge of the small summer garrison, gave them a hospitable reception. (See May 27 and 29 entries for dispersal of the post's dragoons.)

The Fourth of July was celebrated with a 24-gun salute; followed by a festive dinner (with Madeira and champagne). While the officers and their guests were still at table, Agent John Dougherty arrived from the Platte with 150 Pawnee chiefs and warriors. A dozen or so leading men joined the party, by invitation. Outside, around numerous campfires, the rest of the Indians roasted "on rough sticks huge fragments of a newly-killed ox." (See, also, July 7 entry.)

Ref: Murray, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 237-253. Lt. P. St. G. Cooke—the only dragoon officer who could be identified with "Lieutenant C———" was in the East; also, Murray, later, in his book (v. 2, p. 91) seems to indicate that the lieutenant was regularly stationed at Jefferson Barracks, where the garrison was composed of Sixth infantry troops. See Otis E. Young's *The West of Philip St. George Cooke* . . . (Glendale, Calif., 1955) for Cooke.

¶ July 4-18.—The Rev. Charles Felix Van Quickenborne arrived at the Kickapoo settlements (above Fort Leavenworth) on the 4th; said Mass on Sunday (the 5th) at the house of Laurence Pensineau,

American Fur Company trader; remained among the Kickapoos, apparently, till July 13 or 14; received assurances that Catholic missionaries would be welcomed by the chiefs and head men; and was, from July 15-18(?), a visitor at the mouth of the Kansas, before returning to St. Louis.

(Father Van Quickenborne had left St. Louis on June 20 on a steamboat; reached Independence 10 days later; and subsequently had spent a few days as guest of "a gentleman of the American Fur Company" [presumably Francis G. Chouteau] at his residence near the junction of the Kansas with the Missouri; then traveled by way of Grinter's ferry and the Fort Leavenworth road to the Kickapoo reserve.)

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City* . . . (Chicago, 1920), pp. 89, 90; and his *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, pp. 258, 387-389.

¶ July 7.—The Hon. Charles A. Murray and party of three (his servant; the young German, Vernunft; and a teen-age hired hand, John Hardy), departed from Fort Leavenworth with 150 Pawnees (*see* preceding entry), bound for the upper Republican river, to join the main body of Indians (then moving down from the Platte) and accompany them on the summer buffalo hunt. Murray's particular "host" was the aging "Sa-ni-tsa-rish" (Sharitarish), former head chief of the Grand Pawnees. (A French-Pawnee "interpreter"—Louis La Chapelle—with these Indians, spoke no English.)

Traveling west-northwest, they crossed the "Great Nimahaw" on July 13; reached the Little Blue and traveled up its bank for some time; forded it, and moved west-southwest to strike the Republican; followed up that river some six days. Two weeks after leaving the fort, they joined the huge Pawnee camp (600 buffalo-skin lodges; some 5,000 persons, and several thousand horses). Missionary John Dunbar was with the Indians. (Murray described him as taciturn, indolent, and phlegmatic.)

Continuing their journey, the Pawnees (after crossing the Republican—probably near its forks, north of present Phillips county) traversed (apparently on a southwest course) a "barren and desolate prairie" where the prairie dog and the owl abounded (in the region of the stream now called Prairie Dog creek), and entered the buffalo country. On July 22 the Indians killed some 80 animals. They continued to hunt and to move camp from time to time. On July 30 Murray noted: "We must hereafter make a southeastern march in order to avail ourselves of the sources of the Saline River and other streams falling into the Kansas. . . ." By August 3 they were in an area which, by description ("gigantic columns of some mighty though ruined portico" 60 to 70 feet high; huge broken pillars; a region of fast-eroding cliffs, and of ravines 30 to 50 feet deep and as wide) seems to place them at Monument Rocks(?), present Gove county. The Indians made a "grand *chasse*" (a great surround of buffalo) on August 5. Next day they moved camp a few miles south, where, wrote Murray (who had a telescope), it was possible to see "the distant fringe of timber marking the Upper Arkansas."

Weary of life with the Pawnees, Murray and his three companions made a start for "home," on August 8. On the 9th Vernunft was thrown from his

horse and trampled; and the quartet had to return to the Indian camp. But, on August 11, accompanied by two Pawnee guides, they made a second start. (Vernunft traveled with his injured arm in a sling; and on a different horse.)

They set a northeast course. Traveling on barren ridges, on the 14th, they saw below them a stream the Pawnee guides called "Snake River" (apparently the Saline). After descending the declivity to the water (which was extremely salty), Murray wrote: "I never should have believed it possible that so many rattlesnakes could have assembled together as I saw in that ravine. I think there must have been nearly enough to fatten a drove of Missouri hogs." This same day the two Pawnees left them. Murray (resolute and competent in every crisis) took over as guide. He had a compass, and it was his aim to move northeast—and return to the Republican. He located a buffalo trace which led them out of the cul-de-sac of "Snake" river gorge, and northward.

By August 18 they had come to a large stream bearing east-northeast which they followed about 14 miles. Then they struck an Indian trail; followed it northward; found a merging trail; entered an area of more vegetation; traversed a swampy and marshy region (in present southeast Jewell? county); and on August 21 or 22 arrived at the "Kanzas" (Republican fork).

In descending to the river they came to a spot commanding a beautiful view of the Republican's course, where, wrote Murray, there had evidently *once been a permanent Indian village* (the Republican Pawnee town known as the Pike-Pawnee village, in Republic county of today). He also noted that on the journey west (in July), the Pawnees had shown him a site "about fifty miles west of the spot where we now were" where they had once lived (*i. e.*, the Webster co., Neb., site). [For more on these locations, *see KHQ*, v. 27 (Winter, 1961), p. 541.]

After crossing the Republican, Murray led his companions north, in order to strike the trail made on the outward journey. On August 25 they found the sought-for trace and proceeded joyfully eastward on it. After 10 days of following the July-made path, they arrived at Fort Leavenworth on September 3.

Capt. David Hunter (commanding officer) was Murray's host for several days. About September 9, having disposed of his outfit and horses, the Scotsman boarded a steamboat (of the American Fur Company—*see* April 18 entry), and reached St. Louis September 12.

Ref: Murray, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 258-473, v. 2, pp. 1-90.

❧ "Chouteau's [Catholic] Church at the mouth of the Kansas river" (approximately at the south line of Eleventh street, at the intersection with Pennsylvania avenue, present Kansas City, Mo.) apparently was built in the late spring, and first used in July.

This log structure (20' x 30' with presbytery) was erected on land which the Rev. Benedict Roux (*see* p. 348) had obtained before his departure in late April, and with money chiefly supplied by the Chouteaus. (The contract had been let before Roux left.)

In "Chouteau's Church," on July 15, the Rev. Charles F. Van Quickenborne (*see* July 4 entry) baptized Louis Lessert (son of Clement and Julia [Roy] Lessert); and on the 18th, he baptized Cyprian Ferrier (son of Cyprian and Louise [Valle] Ferrier).

(About November, 1839, "Chouteau's Church" was first called the church of "St. Francis Regis"—and under that name it appeared in Catholic records thereafter.)

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings* . . . , facing p. 80, 90; also, his *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, pp. 258-261. (In Garraghan the name is "Terrien," but in other records it is "Ferrier," or "Farrier.")

¶ Two French tourists—Louis Richard Cortambert, and a younger man "Laurent"—arrived at Independence, Mo., by steamboat, around midyear. (They had already traveled for several weeks through Eastern United States.) With a notion to camp on a Missouri river bluff in the Indian country, they hired a wagon and driver, and took the road to Fort Leavenworth. After crossing the Kansas at "Ferry-town, petit village d'Indiens" (the Delaware, or Grinter, ferry), they met a government agent (Cummins?) whose warnings of dangers and difficulties caused them to reconsider, and to return to Missouri.

Several days later, on foot, the two again set out from Independence—heading southward. At Harmony Mission they were delighted to find a small inn run by a Frenchman. Determined to spend some time far from all habitation, Cortambert and "Laurent" obtained a horse and journeyed as far as the bank of the Marmaton river, where, in an area rich in coal and other minerals, they built a shelter and resided for about three weeks. (Their camp was *probably* west of Missouri, in present Bourbon county.) Near the end of August, both men fell ill of the prevalent "fever and ague"; were eventually rescued by Missourians; and spent a long period of recuperation at Harmony, at the Frenchman's inn.

In December Cortambert, his health recovered, began a journey to Fort Gibson. En route he visited the Chouteaus' trading post in the Osage village of "Manrinhabatso" (on the Neosho's west bank, over four miles west and north of present St. Paul, Neosho co.), where he gathered information about the Osages, and met two of the Indians (a man and a woman) who had gone to France in 1827 (*see* p. 36). Continuing down the Neosho, Cortambert stopped at Auguste P. Chouteau's Saline trading post (in the Cherokee country) around Christmas-time; and probably reached Fort Gibson (in the Creek country) before year's end. (Later, he left for France from the port of New Orleans.)

Louis R. Cortambert's *Voyage au Pays des Osages* . . . (the book which described his travels in America) was published at Paris in 1837. Of particular interest is his listing of the six principal Osage settlements—four in "Kansas" (all in present Neosho county), and two in "Oklahoma." The Neosho river towns: (1) "Manrinhabatso" (or "celui qui touche au ciel"); (2) two leagues *below*, and also on the right bank, the town usually known as White Hair's ("les Cheveux blancs"); (3) *above* Manrinhabatso, a town known as the Peaceful Heart ("Coeur tranquille"); (4) and still higher, the village of the Little Osages. On the Verdigris ("Vert-de-gris") river, to the southwest were two Osage bands: the Big Hill ("Grosse Côte") to the north, and Clermont's large settlement ("la Chénrière") to the south.

Ref: Louis R. Cortambert's *Voyage au Pays des Osages* . . . (Paris, 1837).

¶ In mid-July it was reported at St. Louis, that 10 persons had died of cholera at "Fontenelle's post" (the American Fur Company post), about a mile from Bellevue [Neb.].

When Dr. Marcus Whitman subsequently spent a few October days at Bellevue he was told the Omahas had lost 180 of their people, and the Otoes 60, to cholera.

Ref: *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 63 (for St. Louis Missouri Republican item); *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, v. 28, p. 252 (for Whitman).

¶ **DIED:** on August 11, at Wea Presbyterian Mission (present Miami county), Kerwin Swift Kerr (aged three months and eight days), son of the Rev. Joseph and Mary Ann Kerr.

(It is probable this child was born at Independence, Mo., for his mother, ill, had spent some time there in the spring of 1835.) He was the Kerrs' second infant son to be buried in "Kansas."

Ref: Joseph Kerr's August, 1835, letter, in Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence (microfilm, KHi).

¶ On August 12 Col. Henry Dodge and his (First) U. S. dragoon command left camp, below Bent's Fort (*see* May 29 entry), and began the homeward march, down the Arkansas, to Fort Leavenworth. Lt. G. P. Kingsbury's journal states:

"The command . . . was in a most perfect state of health. . . . The horses in fine order. . . . The colonel had seen all the Indians he expected to see, and had established friendly relations with them all; had marched one thousand miles over a beautiful and interesting country, and we started for home with that joyous and self-satisfied feeling . . . of having accomplished the full object of the expedition."

They came to a Cheyenne camp on the 14th (50 miles below Bent's Fort); then a party of Pawnee Loups and Arickaras arrived; and on the 16th Colonel Dodge held a last council with the Indians of the region. The dragoons marched again on August 17; crossed the "Colorado-Kansas" line on the 18th(?); and reached Chouteau's Island on the 19th. They came to the Santa Fe trail crossing of the Arkansas (55 miles below Chouteau's Island) on the 23d; took the dry route; arrived at rain-swollen Pawnee fork on the 29th; crossed the baggage in a buffalo boat and swam the horses, on the 30th; passed, on the same day "a noted Rock Sandy called Pawney rock where was found a great many of the Rocky Mountain adventurer names engraved" (Capt. Lemuel Ford added his); and camped that night at Walnut creek. They reached the Little Arkansas on September 2; were delayed by rain at Cottonwood crossing till the 7th; and arrived at Council Grove the next evening (" . . . a most butifull rich grove of timber near one mile in width the richest groth of timber thickly covered with Peavine where our horses fared sumptously. we found Several Bea trees with fine honey. encampted on the East Side of the timber in the edge of the preurie [prairie]").

Pvt. Samuel Hunt, of Company A, aged 23, died on September 11. He was buried on a high prairie—five miles west of present Burlingame, Osage county, and not far from the stream now called Dragoon creek. A stone with the

inscription "S. Hunt, U. S. D." still marks the grave of the only casualty of the 1835 expedition.

The dragoons passed "Round and Elm groves" on the 15th, then proceeded northwardly to Grinter's (or Delaware) crossing of the Kansas. Using both a flat ferry and a pirogue, the command crossed by early evening, making camp in a lot at Robert Dunlap's (the Delawares' blacksmith), only 22 miles from "home." On September 16 Colonel Dodge and his dragoons returned to Fort Leavenworth, after an absence of three and a half months, and a journey of about 1,645 miles.

Ref: Same as for May 29 entry. Capt. Lemuel Ford's sketch maps (reproduced in Nolie Mumey's edition of Ford's diaries) are notable for their showing of "Fort Cass," "Fort William," and "Bent's Fort" on the Upper Arkansas; and in the "Kansas" section of the Santa Fe trail for the designation of present Big Coon creek as "Raccoon cr."; also for the showing of "Old Kansas lodges" west of Big Coon creek, and of alternate routes from above Big Coon creek to the Cottonwood crossing.

¶ In August Capt. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville (after three years in the West—see p. 194), and a company of trappers, having come down from the Rocky mountains by way of the Platte, crossed "Kansas" (presumably on "Sublette's Trace"—the established route), and arrived at Independence on the 22d, looking like a "procession of tatterdemalion savages. . . ."

Zenas Leonard (who had gone to the mountains in 1831—see pp. 183, 184) was in this party; and, in his later-written narrative, stated that they reached "the Pawnee Village" about July 25(?), traded with the Indians for some corn, and continued to Independence, arriving August 29 [*i. e.*, the 22d].

See, also, May, 1836, annals.

Ref: Washington Irving's *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* . . ., edited by E. W. Todd (c1961), pp. 370, 394; John C. Ewers, editor, *Adventures of Zenas Leonard* . . . (c1959), p. 161.

¶ August 24.—The Comanches and the Wichitas signed a peace treaty with the United States, and with representatives of the Cherokees, Muscogeas (Western Creeks), Choctaws, Osages, Senecas, and Quapaws, at temporary "Camp Holmes" (about 150 miles southwest of Fort Gibson, and some five miles northeast of present Purcell, Okla.), within the country assigned by the United States to the Western Creeks.

This first treaty (see p. 365) with the western prairie Indians also contained a provision that the "eastern" Indians could hunt and trap as far west as the limits of the United States; and granted to U. S. citizens passage to Santa Fe across the western Indians' country.

(Camp Holmes had been established on June 2 by Maj. R. B. Mason and U. S. dragoons from the Fort Gibson area. Seventh infantry troops joined them in July, as the western Indians gathered, and Comanche hostility was rumored. The Kiowas came, grew tired of waiting, and departed before the council. The U. S. commissioners [Gen. Mathew Arbuckle and Montfort Stokes], accompanied by two Seventh infantry companies and some of the eastern Indian delegates, did not arrive at Camp Holmes till August 19.)

Soon after the treaty, Auguste P. Chouteau established a small fortified post on the Camp Holmes site, and traded with the Comanches, Kiowas, Wichitas, and other western tribes, till his death in 1838.

Ref: Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), pp. 159-164; also, his *Advancing the Frontier* . . . (Norman, 1933), p. 232; H. P. Beers' *The Western Military Frontier* . . . (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 113, 114; C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 435-439; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 18, pp. 281-292 (Dr. Leonard McPhail's journal, June-August, 1835).

¶ During the late summer the incidence of "fever and ague"—"the scourge of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys"—apparently was abnormally high in Missouri and "Kansas."

Scottish traveler Murray, arriving at Fort Leavenworth (from the west) on September 3, wrote: "it was painful to see the number of sunken eyes and ashy cheeks" (Capt. David Hunter's wife was one of the convalescents); and later remarked "the wan and unhealthy appearance of all the settlers on the banks of the Missouri between the Fort and St. Louis," stating that on his downriver steamboat journey he had landed perhaps 20 times, and that the "fever and ague" seemed to have struck every family, leaving "haggard and emaciated" men, women, and children.

French traveler Cortambert who spent some three months (September through November) recuperating from the "fever and ague" at Harmony, Mo., stated that very few persons escaped the malarial illness which was then epidemic from the Missouri to the Arkansas.

Ref: Murray, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 74, 75; L. R. Cortambert's *Voyage au Pays des Osages* . . . (Paris, 1837), pp. 26-28.

¶ September 19.—Missionaries John Dunbar and Samuel Allis, Jr., in company with 16 Pawnee Loups and an interpreter, arrived at Fort Leavenworth; and remained five days. (The Indians had made the trip to receive some of their annuities.)

(The party had left the Pawnee Loup village [some 60 miles above the mouth of the Platte's Loup Fork] on September 12. Only a few days before that, Dunbar and Allis had returned to the village after accompanying Pawnee bands on the summer buffalo hunt in western "Kansas" and southwestern "Nebraska.")

From Fort Leavenworth the Indians and the missionaries set out for Bellevue (Neb.)—arriving there October 3. They spent two days at the American Fur Company post (a mile distant) where Dr. Marcus Whitman (en route East) was a guest. Then, on October 9, started up the Platte—Dunbar stopping at the Grand Pawnee village and Allis continuing with the Pawnee Loups. (With these bands they spent the winter.)

Ref: KHC, v. 14, pp. 619, 705, 706; *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, v. 28, pp. 250, 251.

¶ BORN: at Kickapoo Methodist Mission (present Leavenworth county), on September 22, Gerard Q. Berryman, son of the Rev. J. C. and Sarah C. (Cessna) Berryman.

Ref: *Leavenworth Times*, September 21, 1925; or, Remsburg "Stork" clippings, in KHi library.

¶ **DIED:** on September 23, at a Wea village near the Marais des Cygnes (in present Miami county), Maquakononga, or Negro Legs, aged about 90(?), principal chief of the Weas.

(He had signed the 1809, 1816, and 1820 treaties made by his nation with the United States, in Indiana. Probably he came to "Kansas" in 1831—*see* p. 181.)

Ref: Mary Ann (Mrs. Joseph) Kerr's letter of September 28, 1835, in Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence (microfilms, KHi).

¶ In October the annual fall caravan returning from Santa Fe crossed "Kansas." At Columbia, Mo., it was reported on the 24th that most of the traders had arrived there after a successful trip and that the returns included \$200,000 in specie, 300 mules, some horses, furs, and other items.

Ref: *Missouri Intelligencer*, Columbia, October 24, 1835; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 49 (November 21, 1835), p. 188.

¶ October 26-31.—Dr. Marcus Whitman, traveling down the Missouri (from Bellevue [Neb.] by boat, in company with J. P. Cabbane, stopped, briefly, at Fort Leavenworth on the 26th. (With him were two Nez Perces boys he was taking East.)

Thomas Fitzpatrick and a small mounted party (en route from Bellevue to Missouri) arrived at the fort on the 28th (and remained till the 31st). Apparently the British army captain William Drummond Stewart was with Fitzpatrick on this leg of the journey from the mountains. Warren A. Ferris (a trapper since 1830—*see* p. 169) was another in the party. On October 31, just before their departure, these travelers witnessed a review of Colonel Dodge's (First) U. S. dragoon command.

(A company of about 80, headed by Fitzpatrick, had left the Green river [Wyo.] rendezvous on August 27. With these trappers were Dr. Marcus Whitman [*see* May 14 entry] and Captain Stewart [who had journeyed west in 1833—*see* p. 324]. The party reached Fort Laramie on September 8; followed down the Platte to near its mouth; arrived at the Council Bluffs and Bellevue area around October 10; and there dispersed, to proceed to Missouri by various routes, and at different times. Whitman, a guest at Bellevue from October 12 to the 20th, then started downriver [as noted above]. Fitzpatrick's group, on horseback, left Bellevue on October 17 and were 11 days en route to Fort Leavenworth.)

Ref: Marcus Whitman's "Journal and Report," *loc. cit.*, v. 28, pp. 250-253; W. A. Ferris' *Life in the Rocky Mountains* . . . edited by P. C. Phillips (Denver, 1940), p. 288; DeVoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 235, 439.

¶ December 2.—A party of 252 Pottawatomies (and Ottawas and Chippewas united with them) from Lake Michigan, under the charge of Capt. John B. F. Russell (Fifth U. S. infantry), arrived in the Little Platte country (across the Missouri from Fort Leaven-

worth, and from the Kickapoo reserve—where 454 Pottawatomies already were residing).

(About 460 other Pottawatomies from this company of emigrants spent the winter of 1835-1836 on Skunk river, in southeastern "Iowa." The intended destination of all these Indians was a reserve in southwestern "Iowa," which had been assigned under the Chicago treaty of September 26, 1833.)

Reluctant to proceed northward to the reserve (influenced by the adverse report of the Pottawatomie exploring delegation—see July 2 entry), the party of 252 Indians remained in the Little Platte country till 1837. Their location was described as "on Todd's Creek about fourteen miles below [and across the Missouri from] the Garrison [Fort Leavenworth] on the road to Liberty." Sub-agent Anthony L. Davis (residing at "Kickapoo Town" several miles above the fort) was given temporary charge of the new arrivals.

Ref: *Indiana Historical Collections*, v. 26, pp. 184-186, 207, 208, 231, 265, 266; A. L. Davis' letter of January 1, 1836, in McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 23 (KHI ms. division); Isaac McCoy's "Journal," December 14, 1835; Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians*, p. 106; 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 348* (Serial 283), pp. 2, 3.

❧ December 9.—The second issue of Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register of Indian Affairs*, bearing a title-page date of January 1, 1836, was published at the Shawnee Baptist Mission. Jotham Meeker printed 1,500 copies of this 91-page, revised edition of the *Register* (See p. 497 for note on the January, 1835, issue.)

Among the changes, and events, of the year, as reported by McCoy:

(1) New missionaries at Shawnee Methodist Mission were: the Rev. William Ketron and wife, the Rev. David G. Gregory and wife, and Mrs. — — Miller.

(2) Captain Patterson, the Delawares' head chief had died; and his successor as principal chief was Nah-ko-min. [Patterson's death occurred prior to July 22, 1835.]

(3) At the Kansa lower village (Fool Chief's) the government had fenced 20 acres of land; plowed 10 acres; and erected a good, hewed-log house for the principal chief (White Plume, apparently, since McCoy listed "Nam-pa-war-rah or White Feather" as the Kansa "principal chief"). Also, the "smithery" had been removed from the old Kansa Agency (closed in 1834—see p. 365), and relocated "near their lower village."

(4) On the Kickapoo reserve a church (to cost \$700), and a saw and grist mill (worth \$3,000), were being erected by the government.

Ref: McCoy's *Annual Register* . . . 1836, pp. 24, 28-31; Meeker's "Diary"; D. C. McMurtrie and A. H. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 146, 147; OIA, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 6, lists a letter by William Clark of March 28, 1835, enclosing an R. W. Cummins letter asking for money to enable him to remove the Kansa blacksmith shop, and in the margin is a note: "Apr 9 authorized to remove it"; 24th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 137* (Serial 303), p. 12 (contains a statement that during the year ending September 30, 1836, Michael Rice was paid \$3,000 for his services in erecting a saw and grist mill for the Kickapoos), and p. 29 (during the same period, J. Milburn was paid \$700 "for [erecting] church for Kickapoos"). In "Letters Received" by the Office of Indian Affairs (microfilm from the National Archives), is a July 22, 1835, letter listing Nah-ko-min as head chief of the Delawares.

❧ December 24.—A memorial was placed before the U. S. senate from the citizens of Clay county, Mo., asking for (1) protection

from Indians, and (2) the establishment of a line of frontier posts from the upper Mississippi to Red River in the south, linked by a military road to be patrolled by U. S. dragoons.

The memorial (signed by John Thornton, chairman, and Edward M. Samuel, secretary) was an endorsement of Indian Agent John Dougherty's plan for protection of the frontier—a plan proposed by him in a letter of December 16, 1834.

See, also, July 2, 1836, entry.

Ref: *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, v. 5, pp. 729-731, v. 6, pp. 12-15; H. P. Beers' *The Western Military Frontier* . . . (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 118.

¶ December 29.—The Cherokee Indians, in a treaty with the United States made at New Echota, Ga., relinquished claim to all lands east of the Mississippi and agreed to remove, within two years, to the 7,000,000-acre reservation west of Arkansas territory and Missouri guaranteed to them by the treaty of May 6, 1828 (*see* p. 39).

However, the 1835 treaty provided an additional reserve of about 800,000 acres at the Cherokees' request (and at a cost to them of \$500,000). This tract was the rectangle of land between the Osage reserve and the State of Missouri (*see* map facing p. 177 for visual reference), in present southeastern Kansas. Its bounds ran from the southeast corner of the Osage reserve northward, 50 miles, to the northeast corner of that reserve, then east 25 miles to the Missouri line, then south for approximately 50 miles, then west 25 miles to the place of beginning. It was unassigned land, except for a few Osage half-breed tracts (granted by the treaty of 1825), to which the government extinguished title before selling the 800,000-acre area to the Cherokees in 1836. The new owners did not occupy this tract, and it came to be known as the *Cherokee Neutral Lands*.

As one writer has pointed out: "Had the Cherokees contented themselves with . . . [the original] seven million acres they could not have properly been called Kansas emigrants; because their [original] reserve extended only a very short distance [a little over two miles] beyond [north of] the thirty-seventh parallel" [the southern Kansas boundary of today].

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 439-448; KHC, v. 8, pp. 77, 82 (for quote).

(Part Nine Will Appear in the Spring, 1963, Issue.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

HELP FROM WISCONSIN

From the Milwaukee (Wis.) *Sentinel*, May 17, 1856.

HO! WE ARE OFF FOR KANSAS!

KANSAS EMIGRANT TRAIN!

THE KANSAS TRAIN, consisting of eight covered wagons, will leave Milwaukee, Tuesday morning, May 20th, starting from Spring Street Hill, where the first encampment of the train will be made on Monday night.

"Free Homes for Kansas," "The right of the people to govern themselves," are our watchwords.

E. G. ROSS,
J. B. COFFIN,
J. B. HUTT,
and fifty others.

GEO. D. LATHROP,
G. W. LEE,
ROBERT EARLE,

HEWEY H. FOX,
LEONARD BUSH,
W. RAYMOND,

my17

From the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, June 10, 1856.

THE MILWAUKEE KANSAS COMPANY.—On Friday last, E. G. Ross, Esq. (formerly foreman of the Milwaukee *Sentinel* office) with his company, passed through this city enroute to Kansas. We venture the assertion, that a finer company never left their eastern homes for settlement in the far West. The men are fully able to perform any kind of duty which they may be called on to perform, whether as farmers or mechanics. Their wagons are fitted up with an extra care for comfort and convenience. Mr. Ross, the captain of the company, has a beautiful rifle of Milwaukee Manufacture, with the following inscription neatly engraved on a silver plate:—"Presented to E. G. Ross by his comrades in the Milwaukee *Sentinel* Office, as a mark of personal regard and in earnest of their good wishes for Freedom in Kansas. Milwaukee, April 5th, 1856."

A gentleman of this city presented a choice and valuable revolver to one of the company. The boys in the Journal Office, true to the general instincts of the "Craft" gave several pounds of "bait" for Deer and other kinds of game. Some other donations were made. The company will go by the way of Dubuque through Iowa, and will comprise on leaving the State, from a hundred to two hundred and fifty persons.

God bless them and sustain them through all their privations and troubles! May their success equal their courage and self-devotion.—Beloit [Wis.] *Journal*, June 6.

Edmund G. Ross, leader of the company, became prominent in Kansas as a newspaper publisher, and nationally as a U. S. senator when he voted in 1868 to save President Johnson from ouster.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Historical articles of interest to Kansans appearing in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* in recent months included: "Into Kansas To See Art, a Horse, Campuses, and a Fair," a report of a visit to museums, schools, and other points of historical interest in the Lawrence and Topeka areas, by Fred Kiewit, September 10, 1961; "Cherokee Strip Run 68 Years Ago," an account by the late Dave Mullendore, one of the participants, September 15; "Welsh Found Good and Bad in Mid-West of 1870's," by Brian Dunning, December 26; "K. U.'s John Fraser Made Mark as a Soldier," by Ray Morgan, April 3, 1962; "Simple Rhymes Won Walt Whitman Fame," by John Edward Hicks, May 5; "Fossil Bones of Early Horse Found in Kansas Gravel Pit May Be 500,000 Years Old," by Alvin S. McCoy, June 3; and "He [Ralph E. Seaton] Tells of a Different Dodge City," by Bill Moore, July 11. Among articles of historical interest in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* were: "As a Briton [Thomas Gladstone] Saw 'Bleeding Kansas,'" by Brian Dunning, October 25, 1961; "County Seat Town [Russell Springs] That Won't Die," by Mabel I. Jagger, November 1; and "Homestead Act Spurred Rush to West Century Ago," by Robert Pearman, May 19, 1962.

"Present Day Union Pacific Railroad Was Granted Charter by Kansas Legislature During Year 1855," a story of the building of the Union Pacific in Kansas, was published in the *Hays Daily News*, December 3, 1961. In the issue of April 22, 1962, the *News* printed "Religion Was First in Lives of Pioneer German-Russian Settlers in Ellis County," by Amy Toepfer and Agnes C. Dreiling; and "Kansas' Disneyland Is Preserved in Tradition for Generations to Come," by Kittie Dale, appeared April 29. Kansas' "Disneyland" originated when Kepple and Tom Disney settled near Ellis in 1878 and 1886 respectively. The article describes points of interest on the property for the present-day visitor. Other recent articles in the *News* included: "Buffaloes Roam Mighty, Proud in Many Places Across the United States," May 20; "General [Alexander] Hays Was a Brave, Stern Soldier," by Raymond L. Welty, and "Fort Hays State College Marks 60th Birthday Quietly," June 24; and "'Prairie Dog Dave' [Morrow] Slays White Buffalo," by the late Ernest Dewey, August 5.

In observance of the Kansas centennial year and Oakley's 75th anniversary, the *Oakley Graphic* published a 68-page special edition December 28, 1961.

"E. W. Howe—A Self-Educated Educator," by Kenneth S. Cooper, was printed in *The Educational Forum*, Menasha, Wis., January, 1962. From 1914 to 1933 the "Sage of Potato Hill" instructed the world through the pages of his magazine, *E. W. Howe's Monthly*, Atchison.

Recent articles in O. W. Mosher's column, "Museum Notes," in the *Emporia Gazette* included: "Liquor and Blue Laws Made News in 1860's," January 18, 1962; "Refugee Indians Were Fed in Area During Civil War," February 1; "Bushwhackers Caused Fear in Emporia During 1860's," February 2; "Courting in Hammock Was Common Here in Gay 90's," February 6; "History of Welsh in Lyon County Started in 1850's," February 22; "History of Dunlap Is Full of Excitement of Old West," May 3; "Emporia's First Hero [Arthur I. Baker] Was Killed by Quantrill Raiders," May 9; "Lyon County Frontier Life Had Hardships and Rewards," May 17; "Memorial Day Observances in County Started in 1883," May 30; "Lyon County Named After Brave Union Army General [Nathaniel Lyon]," June 25; and "Fourth of July Was Once Celebrated in Grand Style," July 4.

Kansas newspapers publishing progress editions in recent months included: *Kansas City Kansan*, January 28, 1962; *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, February 25; *Winfield Daily Courier*, February 26; *Newton Kansan*, March 7; *Bonner Springs Chieftain*, March 15; and *Parsons News*, April 12.

"History of the Kansa Indians," was the feature of the February, 1962, number of the *Heritage of Kansas*, published by the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia.

"Famous Trail Had Great Part in Early Kansas Development," a historical sketch of the Santa Fe trail by Philip S. Edwards, was published in the *Wichita Eagle and Beacon Magazine*, February 25, 1962.

An article by Col. Ray G. Sparks entitled "Tall Bull's Captives," comprised the March, 1962, issue of *The Trail Guide*, Kansas City, Mo. Sparks relates the story of Susanna Alderdice, Maria Weichell, and others who endured captivity and other sufferings at the hands of the Indians in 1869.

Steven M. Spencer is the author of a four-part feature entitled "The Menningers of Kansas," which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, April 7, 14, 21, 28, 1962.

Lt. D. B. Long, stationed at Fort Wallace in 1866-1868, where his wife and her sister were the only women on the post, wrote, in 1911, of his experiences as a soldier in Kansas. Part of his manuscript was published in the *Oakley Graphic*, May 10, 17, 1962. The sister, Agnes Sage, died in 1867, a victim of the cholera epidemic.

Biographical notes on Col. W. C. Whitney and a brief history of the hotel he built in Cawker City in 1874, the Whitney House, were printed in the *Cawker City Ledger*, May 10, 1962.

Northeast Johnson county history continued to be featured in Elizabeth Barnes' column, "Historic Johnson County," in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, May 10, 17, and 24, 1962. On June 28 the column included a history of the *Johnson County Herald*, and on July 12 a biographical sketch of Antonia Hauser Rieke.

Gordon S. Hohn is the author of the following articles in recent issues of the *Marysville Advocate*: "Emigrant Path Westward Resulted in the Founding of Marysville," May 17, 1962; "1900 Celebrations Here Featured Top Quality Horses and Huge Sells Circus," June 7; "Old-Time Marysville Grocer [E. D. White] Recalled Horse and Buggy Days, First Auto," June 28; "Carden Was Busy Railroad Camp in 1909 With Construction Underway," July 5; and "Early Day Marysville Moved From Shibley Knoll Eastward in 1857," July 12. "Homestead Act 100 Years Old This Month; Paved Way for Small Farms," by Byron E. Guise, was printed in the *Advocate*, May 31.

Early Pittsburg history is reviewed in an article by Lawrence A. Barrett, published in the *Pittsburg Sun*, May 18, 1962, in observance of the city's 86th anniversary.

Geuda Springs history was reviewed in an article in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, May 23, 1962. The Cowley-Sumner county town was once a resort area. On May 31 the *Traveler* printed "Port of Arkansas City' Once Did Thriving Business During River Traffic Days Here."

"Black Jack Community [Douglas County] Was Making History 106 Years Ago," was published in the *Wellsville Globe*, May 31, 1962.

Histories of the Prairie View Church of the Brethren, Scott county, were published in the *News Chronicle*, Scott City, May 31, 1962, and the *Garden City Telegram*, June 1. The church had its beginning in 1886 in a dugout.

"Recollections of Fort Wallace," from an autobiography by David Burton Long, written about 1913, was included in the June, 1962, number of *The Westerners Brand Book*, Chicago.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Lincoln, Neb., June, 1962, published "The Populist Image of Vernon Louis Parrington," by James L. Colwell. The author examines the influence that Parrington's experiences as a youth in rural Kansas in the final decades of the 19th century had upon his intellectual development.

Mrs. J. C. Pond has compiled a history of the Milan post office which was printed in the *Argonia Argosy*, June 7, 1962, and the *Conway Springs Star*, June 14. The post office was established in 1875.

Publication of a series of articles on the history of Stockton, by Ellsworth Dodrill, began in the June 7, 1962, issue of the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton. The town was started in 1871 and was incorporated in 1880.

A 208-page "One Kansas" edition, containing descriptive and informative material on all areas of the state, was published by the *Wichita Sunday Eagle and Beacon*, June 10, 1962.

A series of articles by Larry Bradford on the history of the Dodge City area began appearing in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, June 12, 1962. Among the stories were: "Famed Eddie Foy Appeared in City," June 15; "Rail Line Comes in 1872 and Dodge City Grows Immediately," June 19; "Buffalo Hunting Big Thing in Early History of Dodge City," and "Stagecoach Plays Big Role in Transportation of Old West," June 25; "Pioneer Housewife Fine Worker With What Equipment She Had," July 2; "Early-Day Cowboy Capital Cattle Trade Tremendous," July 4; and "Bullfight Livens Up Dull Time in City," July 11. June 19 the *Globe* printed its fourth edition of the special traveler's section, with articles and pictures from 1878.

On April 24, 1887, the cornerstone was laid for St. George's Catholic church in Fairview township, Republic county. In 1950 the building was moved to Munden. A history of the church was published in the *Belleville Telescope*, June 14, 1962.

Kittie Dale is the author of "The Gay 90's Gold Rush of Ellis County," in the *Ellis Review*, June 14, 1962, and "Old Rock School [in Ellis] Provides Many Fond Memories," in the *Hays Daily News*, July 1.

A history of the Harveyville Telephone Co., by Susie Butler, was published in the *Harveyville Monitor*, June 14, 1962.

The issue of June 15, 1962, of *The Northwestern Kansas Register*, Salina, in observance of the 75th anniversary of the Diocese of Salina, included a 74-page historical section.

A history of the Protection First Christian church appeared in the *Protection Post*, June 15, 1962. The church is currently celebrating the 50th anniversary of its founding.

Organized June 23, 1872, by the Rev. W. W. Boggs, the First Presbyterian church of Wellington was featured in a historical sketch in the *Wellington Daily News*, June 16, 1962.

Brief church histories appearing in recent issues of the *Atchison Daily Globe* included: St. Ann's Catholic, Effingham, June 17, 1962; Effingham Methodist, June 24; and Everest Christian, July 8.

A history of St. Mary's Catholic church of Holyrood, by Mrs. Glenn Breford, appeared in the *Holyrood Gazette*, June 20, 1962, and the *Bushton News*, July 5.

Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic church of Cawker City was the subject of a historical article appearing in the *Cawker City Ledger*, June 21, 1962. The first church building was erected in 1879.

Residents of the Delavan, Morris county, community met May 16, 1887, and formed School District No. 77, according to a history of the school, by Mrs. Alfred Yackle, published in the *White City Register*, June 21, 1962, and the *Council Grove Republican*, June 22.

Beginning June 21, 1962, the *Logan Republican* published a biographical series on the John C. Kinter family. Kinter homesteaded in Phillips county in 1872.

Early Ottawa history is sketched by F. H. Parks in an article entitled "Treaty 100 Years Ago [With the Indians] Gave World the City of Ottawa," published in the *Ottawa Herald*, June 22, 1962.

A biographical sketch of Mrs. Rosa Legleiter, oldest resident of Liebenthal, by Gordon Beiberle, appeared in the *Great Bend Daily Tribune*, June 24, 1962. In its July 15 issue, the *Tribune* devoted a half page to Claffin history. Included were a history of early Claffin and recollections of the town's early days by Dillie Hardten and Mary Kimpler. Also in the July 15 issue, the *Tribune* published McCracken's early history as recalled by four of her senior citizens,

Nellie P. Dutton, Patrick J. Jennings, Harry Sultzer, and Kate Derr. The town recently observed its 75th anniversary.

"Bits of History," a column of Highland information, by J. H. Lusk, was published in the *Highland Vidette*, June 28, 1962.

"Stability of Golden Valley Pioneers Still Inspiring," a brief history of the Allen county community of Golden Valley, by R. L. Thompson, appeared in the *Iola Register*, June 28, 1962.

St. Mary's Catholic church, Gorham, was the subject of a historical article in the *Russell Daily News*, June 28, 1962. The first services were held in the Gorham church in 1898. On July 6 the *News* printed an article on the St. Mary's Catholic church of Russell. Catholic services were first held in Russell about 1874 and a church building was erected in 1886.

Fort Larned's flagpoles were the subject of an article by Isabel Doerr Campbell in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, June 30, 1962, the *Great Bend Daily Tribune*, July 1, and the *Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, July 3. The first pole of which there is a record was erected in 1863.

High Plains history, agriculture, industry, and natural resources are featured in the mid-1962 number of the *Plainsman*, Dodge City.

Articles in the July, 1962, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, included: "Early Days in Kansas," by the late Gertrude Robertson Burlingame; "Letters From Mrs. [Charles] Curtis," edited by Margaret Morns Holman; a continuation of George A. Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County"; "The Pioneer Spirit," by Russell K. Hickman; "A Contrast [of Old-Time and Modern Grocery Stores]," by the late Mrs. A. H. Horton; and "Did You Know That—," a group of news items from Shawnee county newspapers of the 1870's and 1880's, by Mary Davis Sander.

Notes on the history of the *Hutchinson News*, by John McCormally, appeared in the *News*, July 4 and 5, 1962. The first issue was published July 4, 1872.

Historical articles and pictures featuring Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, were included in the July 5, 1962, issue of the *Emporia Times*. The college is currently observing its centennial.

Mrs. John Cossman has written an account of the Hodgeman county community of Bundyville, which was printed in the *Jetmore Republican*, July 5, 1962, and the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, July 11.

The article features the history of the grocery and general merchandise store operated by Mr. and Mrs. Everett Bundy until its recent closing.

A brief history of the Waverly Methodist church appeared in the *Waverly Gazette*, July 5, 1962, and the *Daily Republican*, Burlington, July 10. The church received its charter in 1882, two years after Methodist services were first held in the area.

In 1887 the town of Lebanon was moved to its present location. The story of the move, and other notes on the town, are featured in an article in the *Lebanon Times*, July 12, 1962.

Sam Jent is author of a biographical sketch of Ed Hewins, Chautauqua county pioneer, which appeared in the *Cedar Vale Messenger*, July 12, 1962.

Kansas Historical Notes

J. Lincoln Strong, Smith Center, was chosen president of the Smith County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting, November 3, 1961. Roy Lumpkin was elected vice-president, and Mrs. Van Venables, secretary. Emmet Womer was the retiring president.

The 36th annual meeting of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Social Science was held at Marymount College, Salina, May 4 and 5, 1962. Papers presented at the gathering relative to Kansas history were: "Anarchy and Populism in Kansas, 1886-1891," by Richard Denton, El Dorado Junior College; "How the Populists Lost the Kansas Election of 1894," by Walter K. Nugent, Kansas State University, Manhattan; and "Joseph L. Bristow: The Editor's Road to Politics," by A. Bower Sageser, Kansas State University, Manhattan. The final session was held at the Eisenhower Library, Abilene, where Robert Bolton, acting director of the library, gave a description of the library and its facilities for historical research. Officers elected at the business meeting were: John J. Zimmerman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, president; and Ernest B. Bader, Washburn University, Topeka, vice-president. New members of the executive council are: Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, Marymount College, the retiring president, and Ambrose Saricks, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

At the annual meeting of the Jewell County Historical Society, May 19, 1962, in Mankato, Clarence Black was re-elected president; Lily Henningsen, vice-president; Bernice Howard, secretary; Lucy Wiley, treasurer; and E. I. Chilcott, J. R. Beeler, Mrs. Kenneth Maag, and Mrs. Howard Edwards, directors.

The Barton County Historical Society held its annual meeting May 20, 1962, at Fort Zarah Park. At the business session the following officers were elected: Virgil Ernsting, Great Bend, president; Mrs. Ernest Grossardt, Claflin, first vice-president; Louis Ernsting, Ellinwood, second vice-president; R. E. Sullivan, Hoisington, third vice-president; Mrs. William C. Wells, Great Bend, treasurer; Mrs. Roy Evanson, Claflin, corresponding secretary; Wayne Huff, Claflin, publicity director; Mrs. A. H. Lanterman, Ellinwood, co-ordinator; and Mrs. Galen Unruh, Pawnee Rock, historian. Paul Gibler, Claflin, was the retiring president.

Robert W. Baughman was re-elected president of the Seward County Historical Society at the organization's annual meeting, May 29, 1962, in Coronado Museum, Liberal. Lewis C. Eyman was

chosen vice-president; Mrs. Frank Williamson, secretary; Fred Hill, treasurer; and Oliver S. Brown, Robert Larrabee, Harold Worthington, Charles Taylor, R. J. Leete, Price Davies, Floyd Massoni, Frank Boles, Everett Johns, Milton Blakemore, Harry E. Chrisman, Lloyd Lambert, Helen Baughman, Max Zimmerman, N. S. Leply, Ann Lockas, and James Yoxall, directors. The society received a donation from Baughman to purchase additional ground for expansion of the museum.

On May 30, 1962, the Allen County Historical Society opened its museum in the 93-year-old former county jail in Iola. About 600 persons viewed the displays on opening day.

More than 300 visitors attended the opening of the Wilson County Historical Museum, June 3, 1962, in the courthouse at Fredonia. The museum is the result of efforts of the Wilson County Historical Society, and the co-operation of the Wilson county commissioners. It is open weekday afternoons and Saturday mornings.

Directors of the Kiowa County Pioneer Museum met in Greensburg, June 5, 1962, and elected the following officers: Keith Brown, president; James Greenleaf, vice-president; Marietta Weaver, secretary; and Gena Hildinger, treasurer. Other directors are: Mrs. Capitola Lanier, Herbert Parkin, and Weaver Fleener.

Mrs. Alice MacGregor was re-elected president of the Barber County Historical Society at a meeting June 16, 1962, in Medicine Lodge. Other officers chosen included: D. C. Chads, first vice-president; Mrs. Alice Rankin, second vice-president; Mrs. Lois Cook, third vice-president; I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, co-ordinator; Edith McGrath, secretary; H. E. Nixon, treasurer; Jack Fisher, in charge of publicity; and Mrs. Marjorie Stranathan, historian.

Ross Baker was re-elected president of the Peabody Historical Society at a business meeting June 26, 1962. Mrs. N. H. Poe was named vice-president; Grace Roberts, secretary-treasurer; and W. V. Krause, director.

Current officers of the Rush County Historical Society are: Harry Grass, president; Oliver Wilhelm, first vice-president; Bert Ficken, second vice-president; and Stan Merrill, treasurer.

Kittie Dale is the author of a recently published 10-page pamphlet entitled *The Legend of Praying John Horrigan*. Horrigan appeared in Ellis about 1870 where, due to the mystery concerning his previous life and his habit of kneeling on the open prairie to pray, he soon became legendary.

Part four of volume one of *Regimental Publications & Personal Narratives of the Civil War—A Checklist*, by C. E. Dornbusch, was published by the New York Public Library in 1962. The paper-bound volume includes a seven-page section listing publications relative to Kansans and Kansas units.

The Time Now Past is the title of a recently published 75-page history of Kansas Wesleyan University, Salina, by Jack Warner VanDerhoof. The school first opened its doors to students September 15, 1886.

County and Community Names in Kansas is the title of a recently issued 83-page, paper-bound volume by Wayne E. Corley. Origins of the names of the 105 counties and over 1,000 Kansas communities are listed.

Gen. George A. Custer's *My Life on the Plains*, first published in 1874, has been reissued this year in a 418-page book, with an introduction by Edgar I. Stewart, by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Tale of Two Towns, a 175-page volume by Helen Ward Rennie, published in 1961 by the Royal Publishing Co., Dallas, Tex., is the story of two Kansas Montezumas, one founded in the mid-1880's which lasted less than a decade, and the present town, founded in 1912.

A 200-page, paper-bound volume entitled *Fort Hays Kansas State College: An Historical Story*, by Lyman Dwight Wooster, was published in 1961. The college opened June 23, 1902, as the Western Branch State Normal School.

Christian Krehbiel's autobiography, written in 1906, was recently published in a 160-page volume entitled *Prairie Pioneer*, by the Faith and Life Press, Newton. Krehbiel came to America from Germany in the early 1850's and to Kansas in the middle 1870's where he was instrumental in establishing several Mennonite settlements.

Robert John Walker: A Politician From Jackson to Lincoln, a 288-page volume by James P. Shenton, was published in 1961 by the Columbia University Press, New York and London. Walker was governor of the Territory of Kansas for several months in 1857.

A 401-page biography of Nelson A. Miles entitled *The Unregimented General*, by Virginia W. Johnson, was published in 1962 by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. Miles saw service in the Civil War, against the Indians on the Plains, and in the Spanish-American War.

Errata and Addenda, Volume XXVIII

Page 32, lines 16 and 17. Instead of "the half-breed Clement Lessert (interpreter)," read "Clement Lessert (interpreter) and his Kansa family." [Lessert was a French-Canadian and had no Indian blood according to available records.]

Page 39, middle of page. At least one other steamboat—the *Mandan* (which went up as far as the Council Bluffs in 1824)—navigated the "upper" Missouri between 1821 and 1828. Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, May 31, 1824; Benjamin O'Fallon letters of July 9 and 17, 1824, courtesy of Dale L. Morgan, Bancroft Library.

Page 52, line 5. Clark accepted in March, the appointment made in February.

Page 119, paragraph 2, lines 3 and 4. Robert E. Starburg, *not* Starbury.

Page 140, paragraph 3, line 4. Harry, *not* Jarry, Jenista.

Page 168, paragraph 2. Susannah A. Yoacham was the daughter of Daniel and Rosannah (*May*) Yoacham, *not* of Daniel and Rosannah (*Campbell*) Yoacham.

Page 195, line 6. Nathaniel J. Wyeth, *not* Nathaniel B. Wyeth.

Page 202, middle of page. Chouteau's Shawnee reserve post was in present Wyandotte county, *not* Johnson county.

Facing page 208. Photograph labeled Patrick F. Sughrue is Patrick H. Sughrue.

Page 342, line 8 from bottom. J. L., *not* J. S., Bean.

Page 359, paragraph 4. Lt. Col., *not* Col., S. W. Kearny.

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